Assembly Proceedings

Official Report

West Bengal Legislative Assembly

Third Session (Budget), 1951

(From 8th February to ~~[illegible] April,~~ 28th Feb., 1951)

The 8th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 27th and 28th February, 1951.

GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL.

GOVERNOR.

His Excellency Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister, Leader of the House and Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Home (excluding Defence National Volunteer Force), Medical and Public Health, and Refugee Rehabilitation.

The Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Finance, and Commerce and Industries (including Cinchona).

The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Minister-in-charge of the Education Department.

The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja, Minister-in-charge of the Local Self-Government Department.

The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Food and Agriculture and Veterinary.

The Hon'ble Hem Chandra Naskar, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Forests (excluding Cinchona) and Fisheries.

The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Works and Buildings and Land and Land Revenue.

The Hon'ble Bhupati Majumdar, Minister-in-charge of the Departments of Irrigation and Waterways, and Home (Defence—National Volunteer Force).

The Hon'ble Nikunja Behary Maity, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Supplies.

The Hon'ble Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar, Minister-in-charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments.

The Hon'ble Kalipada Mookerjee, Minister-in-charge of the Labour Department.

The Hon'ble Syama Prosad Barman, Minister-in-charge of the Excise Department.

The Hon'ble Dr. Rafiuddin Ahmed, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Co-operation, Credit, Relief and Rehabilitation.

WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN.

DEPUTY SPEAKER.

Sj. ASHUTOSH MALLICK.

SECRETARY.

Sj. AJITA RANJAN MUKHERJEA, M.SC., B.L.

SPECIAL OFFICER.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA CHOWDHURI, B.L., ADVOCATE.

REGISTRAR.

Janab RAFIQUR RAHMAN, M.A., B.L.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

A

Abdul Wahid Sarkar, Janab. [Hooghly.]
Abdulla, Janab S. M. [24-Parganas Municipal.]
Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Janab. [Muslim Chamber of Commerce.]
Abdus Shokur, Janab. [24-Parganas, Central.]
(a) Abul Hashem, Janab. [Burdwan.]

B

Badrudduja, Janab Syed. [Jangipur.]
Bandyopadhyay, Sj. Pramatha Nath. [Midnapore South-West.]
Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath. [Howrah (Registered Factories).]
§Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar. [Howrah.]
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra. [Calcutta and Suburbs (Registered Factories).]

Note :—Sj. stands for Srijut, and Sja. stands for Srijukta.
(a) Resigned on 19th April, 1951.
§Chief Government Whip.

Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad. [West Dinajpur-*cum*-Malda.]
Basu, Sj. Jyoti. [Railway Trade Union.]
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra. [24-Parganas North-West.]
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada. [Murshidabad.]
Bhowmick, Sja. Bina. [Calcutta General.]
Brahmin, Sj. Ratanlal. [Darjeeling Sadar.]

C

Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra. [Northern District Municipal.]
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada. [Nadia.]
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath. [Bankura East.]
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad. [Jhargram-*cum*-Ghatal.]
Clarke, Mr. C. E. [Calcutta Trades Association, Indian Jute Mills Association, Indian Tea Association and Indian Mining Association.]

D

Das, Sj. Radha Nath. [Hooghly Noth-East.]
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath. [Jalpaiguri-*cum*-Siliguri.]
*Dass, Sj. Kanailal. [Burdwan Central.]
De, Sj. Kanai Lal. [Bankura West.]
*Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath. [Jhargram-*cum*-Ghatal.]
Dutt-Masumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu. [Barrackpore (Registered Factories).]

G

Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari. [24-Parganas Municipal.]
*Gayen, Sj. Arabinda. [Howrah.]
Ghose, Sj. A. K. [Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.]
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar. [Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.]
Ghose, Dr. P. C. [Birbhum.]
Golam, Hamidur Rahman, Janab. [West Dinajpur.]
Gomes, Mr. D. [Calcutta-*cum*-Presidency Division.]
Gupta, Sj. J. C. [Calcutta South Central.]

H

Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand. [Murshidabad.]
Husan Ara Begum, Janab. [Murshidabad.]

J

†Jalan, The Hon'ble Iswar Das. [Calcutta West.]
Jasimuddin Ahmed, Mr. [24-Parganas, South.]

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*Parliamentary Secretary.

†The Hon'ble Speaker.

K

Kasem Ali Mirza, Shahibzada Kawan Jah Saiyid. [Murshidabad South-West.]
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md. [Berhampore.]

M

Mahammad Kased Ali, Janab. [24-Parganas, North-East.]
Mahammad Syed Mia, Janab. [Malda.]
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra. [Midnapore Central.]
Mahtab, Sj. Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. [Burdwan Landholders.]
Maiti, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari. [Burdwan Division North Municipal.]
*Majhi, Sj. Nishapati. [Birbhum.]
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati. [Hooghly-*cum*-Howrah Municipal.]
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra. [Midnapore South-East.]
†Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh. [Bankura West.]
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad. [Burdwan North-West.]
*Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari. [Burdwan North-West.]
*Mandal, Sj. Krishna Prasad. [Midnapore Centre.]
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra. [Cooch Behar.]
Misra, Sj. *Sowrindra Mohan. [West Dinajpur-*cim*-Malda.]
Mohamad Rafique, Shaikh. [Calcutta North.]
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab. [Nadia.]
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada. [Calcutta East.]
Mudassir Hossain, Janab. [Birbhum.]
Muhammad Idris, Janab. [Howrah.]
Muhammad Qumruddin, Janab. [Barrackpore Municipal.]
Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed. [Bankura.]
Mukherji, Sj. Dhirendra Narayan. [Hooghly North-East.]
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal. [Calcutta Central.]
Musharruff Hossain, Janab. [Jalpaiguri-*cum*-Darjeeling.]

N

Nandy, Maharaja Sris Chandra. [Presidency Landholders.]
*Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar. [24-Parganas North-West.]
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra. [24-Parganas South-East.]

P

Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath. [Burdwan Central.]
Pentony, Mr. L. R. [Anglo-Indian.]
Platel, Mr. R. E. [Anglo-Indian.]
Poddar, Sj. Anandilal. [Marwari Association.]
*Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta. [Midnapore East.]

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*Parliamentary Secretary.

†Deputy Speaker.

R

Rafiuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Dr. [Hooghly-*cum*-Howrah Municipality.]

Rai, Sj. Sheo Kumar. [Darjeeling.]

Ricketts, Mrs. E. M. [Anglo-Indian.]

Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra. [University.]

Roy, Sj. Jajneswar. [Jalpaiguri-*cum*-Siliguri.]

Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra. [Cooch Behar.]

S

Sarker, The Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan. [Indian Chamber of Commerce.]

Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath. [Colliery (Coal Mines).]

Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra. [Hooghly South-West.]

Serajuddin Ahammad, Janab. [Midnapore.]

*Shamsul Huq, Janab. [Calcutta South.]

Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra. [24-Parganas South-East.]

W

Walker, Mr. J. R. [Bengal Chamber of Commerce.]

Wilks, Mr. G. C. D. [Anglo-Indian.]

Z

Zaman, Janab A. M. A. [Hooghly-*cum*-Serampore (Registered Factories).]

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*Parliamentary Secretary.

THE WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Official Reports of the Third Session, 1951.

Volume III.—No. 1.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 8th February, 1951, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 63 members.

Oath.

Mr. SPEAKER: Any member present who has not made an oath or affirmation of allegiance should come and take the oath or affirmation of allegiance.

The following members then took the oath or affirmation of allegiance:—

(1) The Hon'ble Dr. Rafiuddin Ahmed, and

(2) Sj. Jyoti Basu.

Panel of Chairmen.

Mr. SPEAKER: In accordance with the provisions of rule 7 of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules, I nominate the following members of the Assembly to form a Panel of Chairmen for the ensuing session:—

(1) Dr. P. C. Ghosh,

(2) Sj. J. C. Gupta,

(3) Janab Mudassir Hossain, and

(4) Janab Husan Ara Begum.

Unless otherwise arranged, the senior member among them present in the above order will preside over the deliberations of this Assembly in my absence and in the absence of the Deputy Speaker.

Arrival of His Excellency the Governor into the Chamber.

Mr. SPEAKER: Ladies and Gentlemen, His Excellency will be coming very shortly. A programme has already been circulated to the members of the House according to which I shall have to go with His Excellency to see him off after he has delivered his speech, but the Session will continue and after His Excellency has left the Chamber, honourable members are requested to keep to their seats, as thereafter a copy of the speech will be laid by me on the table and the respective motions, if any, will be moved.

[*At this stage the Secretary and the Special Officer of the Assembly left the Chamber. His Excellency the Governor was received by the Secretary on the stairs and the Special Officer announced from the south door of the Chamber to the Hon'ble Speaker that His Excellency the*

Governor was without. The Hon'ble Speaker preceded by the Marshall then left the Chamber.

The Hon'ble Speaker met His Excellency in the centre of the inner square under the small dome in the vestibule. His Excellency then entered the Chamber in a procession in the following order:—

Marshall with the Mace,

Special Officer,

Secretary to the Assembly,

The Hon'ble Speaker,

His Excellency,

Secretary to His Excellency the Governor,

Aide-de-Camp.]

Mr. SPEAKER: I invite Your Excellency to take the Chair and deliver your Address.

Thereupon His Excellency took the Chair and delivered the following speech:—

Members of the Legislative Assembly,

We are meeting today under the shadow of a great sorrow. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—a wise, courageous and farsighted statesman, who by his robust approach to Indian problems since the Partition had added greatly to the stability of the State, the greatest unifier of India which this country has seen—is no more with us. He had been a fighter and a soldier all his life and almost to his last day he struggled and fougkt for the country. Every one of us would miss the masterful grip which he had over the changing and challenging conditions of this vast country. We pray that his soul may guide us in our future march.

Another great luminary on the horizon of India has passed away. Sri Aurobindo, a son of Bengal, who combined in himself the spirit of a Karma Yogin and a revolutionary, has left us. He had a clear vision, almost to the end, of the destiny of this country about which he issued messages to us clothed with a spiritual fervour, all his own. Even though a veritable recluse, he kept himself in the closest touch with the rapidly changing world outside. Whenever needed, he expressed his ideas in the clearest language. We are certain that his spirit will hover round us and continue to guide our footsteps.

Since we last met in September, 1950, great events have happened in the world outside which may have a repercussion in every country of the world. Unhappily, the conflict in Korea continues to disturb the peace of the world. Darjeeling District is close to Nepal and Tibet, and therefore developments in those two countries are of great concern to us. The Nepal situation caused us great concern although it is a matter for gratification that the condition there is rapidly coming to normal with the active consent and co-operation of all parties concerned.

I note with pleasure that during the last few months the Delhi Pact has led to encouraging results in respect of our relations with East Pakistan, and there is now a noticeable stream of East Bengal refugees returning to their homes in East Bengal. This is, however, mostly confined to agriculturists. This happy result has, in a large part, been due to the joint labours of the two Central Government Ministers of India and Pakistan, who have endeavoured earnestly to restore peace and confidence in the two sister communities by their joint tours in West Bengal as well as in East Bengal. There have been some inter-border incidents during the harvest season, but I am glad to say that these have been mostly thrashed

out in the periodical Chief Secretaries' Conference. Out of 35 lakhs of refugees, who had come into West Bengal, it is estimated that about 12 lakhs have gone back to their homes in East Bengal. Similarly, out of 11 lakh Muslims who had migrated from West Bengal, it is estimated that 7·50 lakhs have returned to their homes here. These are welcome developments, and I hope that they will continue. Even then, it is plain that lakhs of people have come over to this State with the definite intention of making their homes here, and efforts have to be made for their relief and rehabilitation here. Nearly 12 lakhs of persons have been rehabilitated so far out of the 23 lakhs mentioned above who have not gone back, i.e., over 50 per cent., through various measures adopted by my Government and with the help and the resources made available to my Government by the Government of India. In this process of rehabilitation, the refugees themselves have in many cases taken the initiative and secured Government help. Nearly 14 crores of rupees have been spent for the refugees partly on loans and partly on grants since the year 1947-48. The Government of India and my Government have, apart from giving relief to individual agriculturists, artisans, doctors, lawyers, students, etc., and rehabilitating multitudes of other refugees in various ways, conceived the idea of establishing colonies or townships in different parts of Bengal. One such township has been started by the Government of India at a place called Fulia in the district of Nadia. The land was acquired for the the township by my Government and this settlement is being developed on a co-operative basis, the refugees themselves helping in the making of bricks, construction of houses, and in other ways. It is one of the Central Government schemes for fostering self-help amongst the refugees, and it has already achieved a fair amount of success. My Government have also taken about 12 thousand acres in the Kanchrapara area for the purpose of founding a township for middle-class population which will be suitably developed and offered for sale to individuals who desire to have a comfortable living amidst healthy surroundings. Both these schemes, and several smaller ones, it is expected, will help in relieving the congestion in the overcrowded city of Calcutta.

The Commissions of Enquiry appointed for West Bengal and Assam for the purpose of finding out the cause of the disturbances and making recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of troubles in future have finished their work. We understand that their reports are under consideration of the Central Government. The East Bengal Commission have nearly concluded their work also.

Amongst the measures which will come before you for your consideration would be one to find a remedy for the situation which has arisen as a result of heavy influx of refugees. A large number of refugees have occupied in an unauthorised fashion lands and houses belonging to private owners or to Government. While it is recognised on all hands that it is the primary duty of Government to take all steps for the protection of life and property, nevertheless the present situation is abnormal and a complicated one, and ejectment of squatters without finding them alternative accommodation might lead to great human suffering. My Government are giving the most earnest consideration to this matter in all its aspects, and specific proposals in the form of a Bill will be laid before you for your consideration in this behalf.

Last year I referred to the incidence of disease amongst refugees. Tuberculosis and Small-pox have been rampant amongst them, partly because they are displaced from their sheltered state and partly because many are staying in such remote places that it is difficult for the health organisations to reach them. We have increased the provision for Tuberculosis beds in Kanchrapara, Jadavpore, Digri, Beliaghata and Medical College, but they are still too few compared to the prevalence of the disease.

Every day cases come up before the Health Department of persons who are in a very distressed state and unable to enter a hospital or meet the cost of medicines. One donor has placed a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of meeting the cost of medicines for some of these refugee patients. Thanks of every one would go to him.

I am distressed to find that the food situation in this State and in the whole of India continues to be very serious. The Government of India have directed that the cereal rations be further reduced for a period in order to build up a stock for the rainy day. My Government are proceeding apace with their scheme of procurement of foodgrains, as otherwise it would be impossible to meet their obligations for statutory rationed areas, and to provide modified rationing for other deficit pockets. Towards the latter part of 1950, for some weeks, the Food Department had a very anxious time because the price of rice had shot up high in certain areas. The timely despatch of foodgrains to such areas lowered the prices and restored confidence. The Central Government and their Food Minister have repeatedly declared their intention to give all support to the States in the procurement of food and we understand that more than 3½ million tons of foodgrains are being imported. The question of transport from countries outside India remains a difficult hurdle.

The question of increased production of food necessarily implies arrangements for extension of irrigation projects. In this State three types of irrigation projects are undertaken. Large numbers of tanks have been re-excavated during the year. Small irrigation schemes, mostly taken up by the villagers themselves with help from my Government, and larger irrigation projects, particularly the Mayurakshi Project, have been proceeded with, with the result that in spite of many difficulties, West Bengal was able to provide 12 ozs. of cereals to the rationed population throughout the last year.

To achieve this increased production, it is essential that our cultivators should foster co-operative activities among themselves, and by establishing co-operative production societies help each other in the provision of good and improved seeds, improved agricultural implements and bullocks, composts and organic and green manures of various kinds and the betterment of existing sources of irrigation. My Government are anxious to promote the development of this co-operative enterprise to the maximum extent possible, but it is obvious that this is a field primarily for effort on the part of cultivators of the soil; and I trust that public-spirited citizens and non-official groups throughout West Bengal will propagate the message of co-operative endeavour in the countryside and thus materially assist the Government's own efforts in this direction.

The difficulty of providing cereals in sufficient quantities raises the question whether any alternative food could be made available. During the last year the price of vegetables in Greater Calcutta consisting of 75 lakhs of people was so high that the poorer people had to be satisfied with food consisting only of rice and dal. If even half a pound of vegetables could be added to each meal it would not only satisfy hunger but also supply vitamins and minerals which are wanting in the food at present taken by the poorer classes. In order to obviate this difficulty my Government have started on a scheme of integrating the relief and rehabilitation programme of the refugees with one for the supply of vegetables at a cheap rate to the people of this city and the State. For this purpose horticulture schemes have been sanctioned and steps have been taken to arrange for increased production of vegetables. This will not only provide sufficient alternative food to the people but will also be a source of income to the refugees who take to horticulture. Land is acquired by my Government and leased out to the refugees who are given money help for seeds and manure, etc., in

order that they may produce one hundred maunds of vegetables from one bigha of land. It is a new scheme and we are hoping that it will succeed. Towards the same end, namely, the provision of alternative food, my Government have procured two trawlers with Danish experts who are getting us fish from the deep sea. On the first occasion they brought in 350 maunds of fish and on the second occasion more than 600 maunds of fish. Arrangements are being made whereby the fish will be sold at controlled rates from Government stalls in different markets of the city. We hope and trust that private agencies also will be encouraged to explore deep-sea fishing in order to supply rich, nourishing food to the people of this State.

Last year I mentioned about the provision of roads in West Bengal. My Government have gone ahead with their scheme for providing roads, particularly roads in the border areas, roads connecting the different refugee settlements and roads to replace those destroyed or damaged during the rains of last year in Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas.

I am glad to be able to say that the law and order situation in the State has, on the whole, been quite satisfactory since your last session. There have been some sporadic but deplorable instances of gangsterism and my Government are doing their best to tackle such cases, which have met with universal condemnation. The finding of the Law Courts has been that the detention of political prisoners as made under Security laws is repugnant to the Constitution and a large number of detained persons have been released. Everyday we are faced with new and newer situations which require constant vigilance and a fresh approach on our part to meet them.

Estimates for the public services for the coming financial year will be laid before you at an early stage of the session. You will also be asked to approve further supplementary financial measures for the current year in due course.

In this session various important measures will be placed before you for consideration. I have already referred to the problem of the squatters. The question of amending the Calcutta Municipal Act will be before you. The legislation for the reorganization of the Calcutta University is also a matter which will be placed for your consideration. There is another very important financial measure which will be placed before you, namely, the question of increasing the tax rates to be levied on trade vehicles—taxis, buses and lorries—used for hire in order to increase the revenues of the State for the development projects. A Committee appointed by the Government of India went into the whole question of rates of taxation on motor vehicles and they found that every other State in India has a higher rate of taxes for public vehicles than ourselves. According to the recommendation of the Committee a proposal for increase of taxation on vehicles plying for hire will be placed before you for consideration. As I have indicated above, we need more roads and have embarked on a big road scheme. This additional taxation will be of great help in implementing it.

As I indicated in September last, all preparations for conducting the census are complete. The counting will begin from tomorrow and will be finished by the 3rd of March. The provisional figures will be published in a month after the census operations are over.

All the preliminaries for holding elections to the Legislatures have been completed. The last day for filing claims and objections to the Preliminary Roll has been extended to 28th February, 1951. My Government's proposals for delimitation of constituencies have been sent over to Delhi for final decision. It is hoped that very soon the matter will be finalized.

I now leave you to your task with the prayer that you may come to right decisions on the many intricate problems which will engage your attention.

[*His Excellency left the Chamber in procession in the same order as mentioned before.*]

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: On a point of privilege, Sir. মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, আমি একটা adjournment motionএর notice দিয়েছিলাম, কিন্তু আপনি সেটা এখানে উপস্থিত করার স্বীকৃতি দেন নাই। আপনার সঙ্গে আমার কাল—

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Banerji, will you please wait a bit?

Motion for an Address in reply to the Governor's Speech.

Sj. SHYAMAPADA BHATTACHARYYA: Sir, I beg to move that a respectful Address in reply be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows:—

"Your Excellency, we, the Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, assembled in this session beg to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the most excellent speech which Your Excellency has delivered to this House".

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I second it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Honourable members will please send in their amendments, if any, to the above motion by 1 p.m. on the 10th February, 1951, at the latest.

Point of Privilege.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: আমার একটা মুলতবী প্রস্তাবের notice দিলে, আপনি সেই motionটা উপস্থিত করবার অনুমতি দেন নাই। আপনার সঙ্গে কাল কথা বলে যতটা বুঝতে পেরেছি তাতে মনে হয় দুই কারণে আপনি এ বিষয়ে স্বীকৃতি দেন নাই প্রথমত:—

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Banerji, you know very well that when the Speaker refuses consent to an adjournment motion the reason for which consent was refused cannot be discussed in the House. The position is that no such discussion can be permitted. All the same I can tell you this much that the motion which you sent in related to a matter which was *sub judice*. Secondly, when a member has an opportunity to discuss the very same matter while discussing the Governor's Address or while discussing the Budget and when such is the case, I think, the natural work of the Legislature should not be interfered with by adjournment motion. As such I cannot permit any discussion upon this motion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, আমি কোন discussion করতে চাইনে। আমি খালি একটা বিষয়ে আপনার কাছ থেকে ruling চাই। সেটা হচ্ছে এই যে আপনার কথা থেকে বুঝতে পেরেছি যে যদি কোন opportunity থাকে কোনও একটা বিষয়ে আলোচনা করবার জন্য তবে সে বিষয়ে adjournment motion move করার আপনি আর অনুমতি দেবেন না। এখন পরিষদ সম্বন্ধে যে ব্যবস্থা তাতে প্রতি বৈঠকের প্রারম্ভেই গভর্ণর একটি করে ভাষণ দেবেন, তারপরে——

Mr. SPEAKER: I repeat I cannot allow any discussion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: I want your ruling, Sir. আমি discussion করব না, আমি কেবল একটা ruling চাই। যদি এইটেই হয় যে গভর্ণর বক্তৃতা দিলে adjournment motion move করার অনুমতি দেবেন না, —তবে আমি জানতে চাই কোন অবস্থায় অনুমতি দেবেন। এই সম্বন্ধে আমি একটা স্পষ্ট ruling চাই —যে কোন অবস্থায় adjournment motion উত্থাপিত করার অনুমতি পাবো। আমি শুধু এইটেই জানতে চাই এবং একটা ruling চাই যে আমরা কোন্ অবস্থায় adjournment motion move করতে পারব, আর কোন্ অবস্থায় পারব না।

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: On a point of privilege, Sir. I would also like to say something on the subject of adjournment motion. I would refer, Sir, to our Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules, rule 89 whereof reads as follows:

"The right to move the adjournment of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance shall be subject to the following restrictions, namely:—

* * * * * *

'(iv) the motion must not anticipate a matter which has been previously appointed for consideration, or with reference to which a notice of motion has been previously given; and

(v) the motion must not deal with a matter on which a resolution could not be moved'."

I do not know, Sir, whether the adjournment motion notice of which was given by Dr. Banerji, contravenes any of these restrictions. To my mind it seems that Dr. Banerji's motion contravenes none of these restrictions.

Mr. SPEAKER: You need not argue that point any further, Mr. Ghose. We cannot go on discussing hypothetical cases.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Because it relates to a member's right to move an adjournment motion I am concerned with it and I rose on a Point of Privilege or on a Point of Order. Sir, if you will refer to——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, excuse me. I have already permitted a certain amount of latitude in drawing my attention to that subject, but when once the ruling has been given by me you cannot discuss that ruling. If you still wish to draw my attention to that subject I think you can very well do so in my chamber and not here. The practice is—and it is a well settled one—that whenever an adjournment motion is to be moved, if there in an opportunity for discussion of that very subject shortly thereafter, generally such adjournment motions are not allowed and I have got enough of authority to substantiate this proposition. The subject-matter of Dr. Banerji's adjournment motion is *sub judice*. On that ground alone we cannot discuss that matter. That matter has ended now.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, my submission is that simply because we will have an opportunity to discuss the subject-matter of an adjournment motion while discussing the Governor's speech or the Budget proposals at a later stage, we should not be denied the opportunity of discussing it earlier. In this connection I would refer to the rulings of ex-Speaker Sir Azizul Haque in which he maintained that because the subject of an adjournment motion could be discussed during Budget discussion that was not sufficient ground for disallowing that motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, I regret I cannot permit a general discussion of this subject. So far as Dr. Banerji's motion is concerned it was not allowed to be moved not only on that ground but on the main ground of the subject of his motion being *sub judice.* In such circumstances you are simply discussing hypothetical questions. Still I am prepared to discuss this with you in my chamber and not here. After consent has been refused to a motion that motion cannot be thrashed out in the House and I cannot permit any more time of the House being devoted to a subject which members are not entitled to discuss in this House at all.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: I see your point, Sir. But the practice of this House has been that even after leave has been refused that matter is raised to draw the attention of the Speaker for his reconsideration. Of course if you feel that that practice should no longer continue you are of course welcome to intimate to us to that effect.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir. On the subject of my adjournment motion I wish to make some submissions and my motion was on the subject of Ration Cards. I am not going into any discussion and I shall not mind your ruling out discussing this subject also today or for ever. But just now from what you have told Dr. Banerji I think, Sir, you are laying down a very dangerous precedent for us because you have just now said that if we have an opportunity to discuss such things during budget discussion or at any other time we should not bring up such matters in the form of adjournment motions now. I shall not speak on any hypothetical case and I shall be very specific. Suppose, Sir, there was firing yesterday and some people died, and if this urgent and important matter cannot be discussed then and there here by way of adjournment motions but can be discussed only at the time of discussing the Police budget, then, Sir, I am afraid we would have no other alternative but to keep quiet in this House and let Government do as they please. Now, Sir, speaking on my motion regarding Ration Cards and rising prices of food articles, according to your ruling just now given, Sir, I do realise that I can discuss this at the time of discussing the Governor's speech, but what I am anxious for is what happens when a grave situation arises in West Bengal which threatens law and order, and therefore——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please. I am sorry I cannot allow the subject-matter of an adjournment motion consent to which has been refused to be discussed in the House. Simply for the satisfaction of members I did allow a certain amount of latitude to speak in that connection but I cannot allow an indefinite discussion as to why the motion was disallowed. But if a discussion is to be raised, you please raise it at the proper time, but not now.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, আমি একটা কথা বলব। Sir ordinary discussion এবং adjournment motionএর মধ্যে far difference রয়েছে। আপনি আমাদের adjournment motion আনবার অধিকারটা নিয়ে নেবেন—তা নিয়েও কি আমরা discussion করতে পারব না।

Mr. SPEAKER: No ruling can be given on a hypothetical case. Here is a motion which I have disallowed. As a matter of fact I have not given my consent. Whenever a consent is refused the matter cannot be touched even.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of privilege, Sir. আপনি যদি শুধু বলতেন,--consent দেব না কথা বলতামনা, চুপ করে থাকতাম। কিন্তু আপনি কয়েকটা additional কথা বলেছেন। সেইজন্য আমাদেরও এবিষয়ে কথা বলতে হলো। আপনি বলেছেন যে--যে matterএ discussion করবার opportunity আছে তার উপর আর adjournment motion দেওয়া হবে না। এবিষয়ে, আপনাদের Speakerদের meetingএ কি হয়েছে না হয়েছে, সেটা আমাদের কাছে প্রামাণ্য নয়, আমাদের কাছে (pointing to a parliamentary handbook in his hand) এর মধ্যে যা আছে তাতে কোথাও লেখা নাই যেটা আলোচনা করবার opportunity রয়েছে সেটা আর discussion করা যাবে না। কাজেই আপনি যে কথাটা বল্লেন সে সম্বন্ধে একটু discussion করতে চাই। অবশ্য এটা ঠিক যে আপনার ruling আমরা মাথা পেতে নিতে বাধ্য। কিন্তু সেটা যদি অন্যায় বলে মনে করি তবে সে কথা বলবারও privilege আমাদের আছে। আপনি যে rulingটা দিয়েছেন সেটা একটা dangerous ruling, এইজন্যই আমরা কথা বলতে বাধ্য হচ্ছি।

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, I beg to submit for your consideration that you have laid down a very dangerous proposition that an adjournment motion cannot be moved when it can be discussed in connection with Governor's Address or in the course of budget discussion. That means that the Governor will deliver an Address at the beginning of every session and therefore there can be no adjournment motion. Therefore I submit that it is taking away the rights and privileges of the members of the House. So I would request you to reconsider the matter. If you have given a wrong decision I would appeal to you to reconsider the position. If you think so, on merit you may reject it but if you say that it is a subject-matter of discussion in the light of the Governor's Address and that therefore no adjournment motion can be moved, then no adjournment motion can be moved at all in the Legislature. So I would request you to reconsider the matter.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: Sir, in the light of the observations made by some honourable members of this House to reconsider your decision may I respectfully submit that it would not be derogatory to your position to do so. If the rules permit, it is a right and privilege of the members of the House to move adjournment motion. Sir, you are the custodian of our rights and if the decision in your view has been wrong in the light of the observations made, it is up to you to revise your ruling, because it is going to curtail our rights which you are here to protect.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I want to place two things before the House. Even supposing you had accepted this motion it is not necessary or essential that we must discuss it today. A date is generally appointed for such discussion. My second point is that according to the constitution Governor's speech has precedence over all others and the discussion on Governor's speech has precedence over all other proceedings of the Assembly. Therefore, Sir, even if my friend shakes his head, I would like him to consult the constitution which he does not know. I repeat again that the Governor's speech has precedence over all other business of the House and that the diesussion on it will take place before any other item can be taken up in the House. Therefore, Sir, your suggestion, sharing the thought of the members of the Assembly which you are not required to do, that the discussion may take place during the discussion on the Governor's speech gives the earliest opportunity to the members to discuss even before any other item can be taken up by the members according to the constitution. Therefore in spite of the question of the subject-matter of Dr. Banerji's adjournment motion being *sub judice* which is another important matter you have given the earliest opportunity to the members of the House. This is not a question of curtailing the privilege of the House. I often hear it is a question of privilege, but what is that privilege. It is the privilege against the ruling of the Chair. Sir, the privilege is to protect your own right. So far as the proceedings are concerned it is the privilege of the Chair to either accept or reject a motion. My friend, Sj. Sibnath Banerjee, has reasonably said, "You have refused to give your consent and I have nothing to say against that. But since you have raised certain facts that affect my right, and I want to have that point cleared." Therefore I submit that the ruling of the Chair should never be questioned in the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: To stop this discussion further I can say that so far I have considered this point and I have come to this decision that when an opportunity is there to discuss a particular subject the proceedings of the House should not be disturbed. I have my authority for taking this decision but I am open to conviction and I will consider it again no doubt. But if any member has got to say anything he can do so in my Chamber.

So far as the rules are concerned it is obvious that the Speaker's consent is insisted upon on the discussion of the subject. Therefore once the consent has been refused naturally there can be no discussion on the subject in the House nor can I give you an opportunity at this stage. But I can assure you that I will consider this matter again. In spite of the fact that so far I am convinced, if I find that there is something which may be done in that respect, I will consider that point. But because no discussion can be allowed now, I cannot allow it. Moreover, a new situation has arisen after the Governor's Address. You can now move a motion and have discussion on it. Therefore please rest assured that I do not want to curtail the privilege of any member of this House and I will see to it that the privileges are maintained.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: On a point of privilege, Sir. I want to know whether it is true, as the Leader of the House has said, that the discussion on the Governor's Address also is a subject that must take place before any motion for adjournment can be moved.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I did not say that.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already explained that it is impossible for me to give a ruling on the subject now. Had I given my consent and had the motion been before the House, I would have been justified in giving my ruling. At present I am not. Therefore I hope no further discussion will take place over this question.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: আজকে একটা ঘটনা ঘটলো—সেটা নিয়ে আমি adjournment motion আনতে চাই—কিন্তু সেই বিষয়ে সেই matterএর উপর কোন discussionএর opportunity যদি কাল পর্শু বা এক week পরেই থাকে তাহলে আমারও বোধ হয় যে আমি adjournment motions move করতে পারি।

Mr. SPEAKER: Every adjournment motion has to be discussed on its merits—not on any hypothetical basis. When an adjournment motion is before us, then we shall discuss whether this adjournment motion should be allowed or not. The general rule is that if an adjournment motion is brought and if there is an opportunity to discuss generally, the business of the House is not adjourned.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: I wanted a clarification on this point. The Leader of the House, if I understood him aright, said that the Governor's Address must precede all other motions. Are the discussions to precede——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please take your seat.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: I want a ruling on that point. He wanted to mislead the House by saying that the Governor's Address must precede all other motions—adjournment or any other motion—and the discussion on the Governor's Address also must precede.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I never said that.

Mr. SPEAKER: You all want me to give a ruling on a hpyothetical case. Here the Hon'ble Leader of the House has mentioned something. Now the discussion is not there. On what motion should I give a ruling? No question of ruling arises at this stage. When the proper time comes, certainly a ruling will be given.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: The Chief Minister does not know what he is talking about.

Obituary.

Mr. SPEAKER: Now, before we take up the other business of the House, I would, with the permission of the House, move the following resolution from the Chair:

This Assembly expresses its profound sense of sorrow at the sad death of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sri Aurobindu, Sri Amritalal V. Thakkar and Mr. W. C. Wordsworth and at the loss that the nation has suffered as a result thereof and extend its most heart-felt sympathy to the members of the bereaved families.

We have met here today under the shadow of several bereavements from which the nation has suffered since we met last. We have lost Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was the greatest pillar of strength to our nation. He served the cause of the country for more than 30 years with unflinching zeal and indomitable courage and determination and played a great part in the achievement of independence of this country and even after independence was attained, he played a great part in the consolidation of this country. His services to the nation have been so great, so well known, that I need not dwell at length over them. When the nation achieved its independence, everybody thought that the seven hundred Indian States will form Ulsters and will create difficulties in the proper administration of this country. Fortunately for us and fortunately due to the strength and determination of that great soul, within two years we found these Indian States, which had a great history behind them, were crumbling and they crumbled and the entire Indian States were wiped out and now the Indian nation has emerged triumphant. Though he died full of age—and we cannot expect people to live for ever—it was a very great calamity for us because in the infancy of our State, we wanted a determined soul like him to pilot the ship of our State. Unfortunately, God ordained otherwise. We have lost since independence was attained great stalwarts of the nation who would have added strength to the nation by giving advice in solving the difficulties, but we have lost them and we have got to struggle single-handed for the achievement of our objectives for which this nation has achieved its independence.

We have also lost Sri Aurobinda. Though Sri Aurobinda retired long ago and led a spiritual life, every one of us knows quite well and the nation knows quite well what part he played in the struggle for independence in those days when nobody dared even to utter a single word against the British Raj without undergoing the severest penalty. No doubt, he retired from active political life, but his spiritual influence was over the entire country and we cannot belittle the great moral and spiritual influence that a nation must have in order to rise to its full growth.

We have also lost Thakkar Bapa who died at the age of 82 years. With regard to him, Mahatmaji said that he was an institution in himself. He served the cause of the Harijans for a very very long period and devoted his life unostentatiously for the services of the people of this country.

I also wish to refer to the death of Mr. W. C. Wordsworth who was an esteemed member of this House for a long time. Unfortunately he is no more. He was a great educationist. He was loved and respected by all during his sojourn in this country.

I do hope that all of you will unite with one voice to join me in passing this resolution, but before I put this resolution to the House, I would like that those members who wish to take part in this reference may be allowed to do so.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to associate myself with every word of what you have said with regard to these four gentlemen.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to associate myself and with me the members of my party with what you and the Hon'ble the Leader of the House have said. Sir, we are under the shadow of a great calamity in that we have lost one of our greatest leaders, Sardar Patel. Sir, above all he was a practical man and he weighed everything unemotionally and with cold reasoning and once he took a decision he pursued his objective with a single-minded devotion. Sir, the integration of the States of India, as you have mentioned, will live as an everlasting monument to his memory, but, Sir, as a Moslem of West Bengal I have special reasons to be grateful to him and to his memory. Sir, after the barbarous and unprecedented carnage that overtook this city and also the Province and after the historic Delhi Agreement was concluded, it was he, Sardar Patel, that came to Bengal to reason with the unruly elements and to see that the historic pact was implemented. Sir, in life Sardarji had very little rest. He was a hard worker and he died in saddle. Let us now hope, Sir, that his soul rests in peace.

Sir, Sri Aurobinda was a revolutionary in his early life and then he turned a recluse and attained the stature of a Saint, a Rishi. Sir, endowed with super-abundance of divine light in his philosophy he brought about a synthesis of this world and the next.

Sir, Thakkar Bapa died at the ripe old age of 82 years. He served his country well. We are all mortals, and however dearly we love our people and our leaders among us, one day we must lose them.

Mr. Wordsworth was one of my professors. I studied under him, and when I heard of his death I was especially sorry. He was a lovable personality. Not only as a colleague in the old united Bengal Assembly but as one of his pupils, I have very dear memories of Mr. Wordsworth. I shall only conclude by saying that lives of great men remind us that we can make our lives sublime and departing leave behind us footprints on the sand of time.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: সর্দ্দার প্যাটেলের সঙ্গে আমাদের পরিচয় অতি ঘনিষ্ট। তাঁর সঙ্গে মিলেমিশে কাজ করবার সৌভাগ্য আমাদের অনেক ঘটেছে। তিনি কি রকম দৃঢ়-প্রতিজ্ঞ মানুষ ছিলেন, যে সংকল্প তিনি গ্রহণ করতেন তা কাজে পরিণত করবার জন্য তিনি কিরূপ আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করতেন তা তাঁর সঙ্গে যাঁদের মেলবার সৌভাগ্য ঘটেছে তাঁরাই জানেন। ১৯২১ সালের পর থেকে স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম যতগুলি হয়েছে মাহাত্মা গান্ধীর নেতৃত্বে তার সবগুলিতেই তিনি একনিষ্ঠভাবে যোগ দিয়েছেন। ১৯২৮ সালে বারদৌলি সত্যাগ্রহের সময় তিনি "সর্দ্দার" আখ্যাটী পান। তারপর আমাদের স্বাধীনতা লাভের পর বহুধা বিভক্ত ভারতকে কিরকমভাবে তিনি এক করেছেন তা আমরা সকলেই জানি। আজ যখন ভারতের বাইরে ও ভিতরে এক সঙ্কটজনক অবস্থা, তখন তাঁর মতন একজন নেতার অভাব আমরা মর্ম্মে মর্ম্মে অনুভব করছি।

তারপর ঋষি অরবিন্দের কথা কে না জানে। আমরা যখন তরুণ ছিলাম তখন বিপ্লবের উদ্দীপনাময়ী যে বাণী তিনি তাঁর কাগজের মারফৎ প্রচার করতেন তাতে আমাদের প্রাণে বৈপ্লবিক উদ্দীপণার সঞ্চার হতো এবং পরবর্ত্তী কালে তিনি যেসব কথা লিখেছেন সেসব দার্শনিক কথা জাতির ও জগতের পক্ষে অমূল্য সম্পদ।

তারপর ঠক্করবাপার কথা, তিনি একজন নীরব কর্ম্মী ছিলেন, জাতিধর্ম্মনির্বিশেষে তিনি সকলের বিশেষ করে নিপীড়িত জনগণের শেষদিন পর্য্যন্ত সেবা করে গিয়েছেন।

আর মিঃ ওয়ার্ডসওয়ার্থ—এই পরিষদে আমাদের সঙ্গে কাজ করেছেন, আমরা তাঁর অনেক বক্তৃতা শুনে যথেষ্ট উপকৃত হয়েছি। অতএব মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয় এই সব মাননীয় মৃতব্যক্তিদের সম্বন্ধে এখানে আপনি যে অভিমত প্রকাশ করলেন তাঁর প্রত্যেকটী কথার সঙ্গে আমরা একমত এবং তাঁর প্রতিটী কথা আমরা অনুমোদন করি।

Mr. J. R. WALKER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to associate myself with everything you have said and also the previous speakers. It is only for the last two years that I have had the opportunity of meeting

Sardar Patel, and I can tell you, Sir, that it was a pleasure as also a privilege to me every time I had the opportunity of meeting him to get his counsel and his advice; and, Sir, I can say quite honestly that India lost a great leader.

Mr. Wordsworth was a great personal friend of mine, and we worked together in this Assembly before the partition. Every one who had the opportunity of working with him will remember not only his witty speeches but also his profound speeches which were all designed at all time for the benefit of this country and this Province in particular.

Mr. SPEAKER: I request the House to pass the resolution standing as a mark of respect to the memory of the departed.

(Members rose in their seats.)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Secretary will do the needful.

There will be no meeting of the House tomorrow as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased. The House stands adjourned to 4 p.m. on the 12th February, 1951.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 5-5 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 12th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 12th February, 1951, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 61 members.

Admissibility of adjournment motion.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE : On a matter of privilege, Sir, সেদিন যে আবেদন আপনার কাছে অনেকেই আমরা করেছিলাম--adjournment motion সম্বন্ধে--reconsider করতে অনুরোধ করেছিলাম, সেটা করা হয়েছে কিনা এবং করা হলে, তার ফল কি হয়েছে সেটা জানালে সুখী হব।

Mr. SPEAKER: I have considered the matter and this is my ruling on the points.

On the 8th February last there were five notices of adjournment motions —one given by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji regarding the police firing on the 27th December, 1950, in Jadavgarh Colony at Dhakuria, one by Sj. Jyoti Basu regarding the reduction of food rations and enhancement of price, and three by Sj. Sibnath Banerjee regarding non-supply of special rations to industrial workers, failure of Government to settle disputes arising out of lockout in the Barasat-Basirhat Light Railway and failure of Government to settle the recent strike in the University Press. The rules of this House require the consent of the Speaker before the adjournment motion is moved in the House. I carefully considered the said motions and came to the conclusion that consent could not be given to any of the adjournment motions under the rules and parliamentary practice and I acted accordingly.

After His Excellency the Governor's speech the matter was referred to by the sponsors of the said adjournment motions. The rule is that the decision of the Speaker refusing consent is neither referred to nor discussed in the House and this rule is well recognised. Sir Azizul Haque so far back as 1st June, 1939, gave the following ruling:—

> "When consent to an adjournment motion has not been given by the Speaker nothing in respect of such motion can be referred to in the House." (Proceedings, 1st June, 1939, Volume LIV, No. 9, p. 216.)

When the matter, however, was referred to in the House I mentioned for the satisfaction of the sponsors and the other members one of the grounds of refusal of consent apart from other grounds on which the adjournment motions could not be allowed, viz., that there was sufficient opportunity shortly to discuss the subject-matters of the adjournment motions during the debate on the Governor's speech as well as during the Budget discussions.

Though this ground has all along been recognised in this House as well established, some honourable members of the Opposition considered it to be a dangerous precedent as it took away a very valuable right of the members. Though I did not agree with their view, yet considering the anxiety felt by the members. I assured them that I would once more consider the matter

Since then I have considered the point carefully and I have come to the conclusion that I was right in refusing consent to the said adjournment motions and that such refusal was neither a dangerous precedent nor one which took away any supposed right or privilege of any of the members of this House.

The rights and privileges of the members of this House are based upon our rules and recognised parliamentary practice and nobody can claim any right or privilege contrary to the same.

We have been following the principles of parliamentary practice which is followed in the British House of Commons. Standing Order No. 8 of the British House of Commons relates to adjournment motions and allows a member to move an adjournment motion "for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance". The Standing Order is therefore similar in substance to the rule of this Assembly. The circumstances under which adjournment motions are disallowed are discussed in May's Parliamentary Practice (14th Edition, pages 343-348). On page 345 it mentions as follows:—

> "The motion has been refused when an ordinary parliamentary opportunity will occur shortly or in time."

As instance it refers to—

> "When the matter could be raised on the Estimates; when the vote on Account or a stage of a Consolidated Fund Bill was to be taken in the next few days; when debate on adjournment for the holidays was due shortly; when it was capable of being dealt with on the adjournment after eleven o'clock or that the matter could be raised on the Appropriation Bill next day."

The general meaning of this Standing Order is best set out in the words f Mr. Speaker Peel—

> "What I think was contemplated was the occurrence of some sudden emergency either in home or foreign affairs."

It seems that we have got an impression—which is wrong—that an djournment motion is a normal device for raising discussion on any nportant matter; but it should be remembered that whatever the importance f the matter may be, the question is whether it is of such an importance that he House must leave all other business, however important they may be, ut that matter must have precedence over every other business of the House. he rule regarding adjournment motions is similar also in Canada. Mr. peaker Rhodes in one of the cases mentioned in Beauchesne's Parliamentary ules and Forms—3rd edition, page 744, said as follows:—

> "Urgency, within the meaning of the rule is not a question whether the matter proposed to be discussed is of urgent importance—it may be infinitely of urgent importance to those affected—the question is whether it is urgent within the meaning of rule 39; in other words, whether it is a matter of that urgency which would cause harm to the public interest if the ordinary opportunities provided by the rules of the House were not able to permit the subject to be brought on early enough."

e disallowed the motion because a member would have an opportunity to ise the matter on going into Supply. In another case Mr. Speaker Black nentioned in page 746 of the said book) disallowed an adjournment motion ecause the matter could be discussed on the address in reply to the speech om the Throne.

In the House of Commons in England, adjournment motions have become matters of rare occurrence. Sir Gilbert Campion in his book "An introduction to the Procedure of the House of Commons" (page 117) has stated as follows:—

> "In the period 1919 to 1926 the equivalent of one full day in each session was given over to adjournment motions but in the period 1928 to 1936 an increasingly strict interpretation of the Standing Order has reduced the time to a negligible quantity."

Coming to the parliamentary practice in our own country I find that Mr. Speaker Mavlankar in his ruling in connection with the adjournment motion regarding Mir Laik Ali dealt with the question of adjournment motions and their admissibility and came to the conclusion that the rules regarding adjournment motions should be strictly construed and the old relaxation should be removed and the procedure of claiming precedence for a particular matter over the normal business of the House must be brought within legitimate and proper limits and that such interpretation was necessary in the interest of efficient working of the House and in consonance with the new Constitutional set-up. In the Legislative Assembly Debates of the Central Legislature, dated the 15th February, 1945 (pages 212-13), it was held as follows:—

> "I rule that the matter is not urgent and that it is a matter which will be discussed shortly during the Budget debate. I declare the motion out of order."

Coming to our own Assembly my predecessors have uniformly held that adjournment motions should not be allowed when it was possible to discuss the same otherwise and that an adjournment motion on a matter which may be discused at the time when the Budget is discussed and the time for such discussion is at hand, an adjournment motion on such matter is out of order. (Proceedings, 27th February, 1941, Volume LIX, No. 2, page 130, Proceedings, 5th March, 1941, Volume LIX, No. 2, pages 349 and 350.) Mr. Speaker Nausher Ali also held as follows:—

> "When the subject-matter of an adjournment motion tabled during the Budget session was capable of being discussed in a debate on a demand for grant on a subsequent day, the adjournment motion was disallowed." (Proceedings, 12th March, 1945, Volume LXIX, No. 2, page 21.)

The conclusion therefore is that when there would occur an opportunity to discuss the subject-matter of an adjournment motion shortly or in time, such an adjournment motion would be disallowed. I would, however, add that the rule is not an absolute rule and a case when it arises will have to be judged on the question of urgency on its own merits. If a matter is of such grave importance or sudden emergency that the discussion cannot be delayed at all, the Speaker may permit the discussion of an adjournment motion on such a matter.

Points of Privilege.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: এটা এখানে discussion করতে চাই না।

Mr. SPEAKER: I would not allow you to speak on the question.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am giving notice to discuss the matter in Privilege Committee.

Sj. AMAR KRISHNA GHOSE: Is there any such committee?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: We shall form one soon. গত sessionএ আমাদিগকে non-official day মোটেই দেওয়া হয়নি। এবং যখন বলা হল তখন জানান হল বড় দেরীতে বলা হয়েছে, এখন আর সময় নেই কাল পরশু এই session শেষ হয়ে যাচেছ। এবার কিন্তু প্রথম opportunity—earliest opportunityতে বলে রাখছি যেন—

Mr. SPEAKER: You will find on paper that three days have been allotted for non-official business.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Previously only one day was fixed. আগে সপ্তাহে একদিন fixed ছিল। সেইরকম একটা দিন জানিয়ে দিলে আমি বাধিত হব।

Mr. SPEAKER: There are three days for non-official business during this session.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: We want more. What are those three days we have not yet been informed.

Mr. SPEAKER: Fridays are allotted for non-official business.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Another matter of privilege, Sir. আমি একটা Amendments consisting of 14 parts দিয়াছিলাম, কিন্তু আজকের List of Businessএর মধ্যে তাকে অনেক কেটেছেঁটে ফেলা হয়েছে। অনেকগুলির language বদলে, ছেঁটেকেটে একটা নতুন formএ করা হয়েছে দেখছি।

Mr. SPEAKER: It generally happens that motions, when they are sent to the Secretary, are in some cases not absolutely in order, and they are rectified to make them conform to order. That has been the practice. But if any honourable member has got any objection to any particular word or particular thing he may bring it to my notice.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: কিন্তু কখন আসব? এখনইত আমাকে move করতে হবে!

Mr. SPEAKER: He can in the meantime bring it to the notice of the Secretary. I cannot decide that question here and now. I would ask you, Mr. Banerjee, to point it out to Secretary.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: But there is no time, Sir, for I have to move it immediately.

Mr. SPEAKER: There are three motions preceding yours, of Mr. Haripada Chatterjee, Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji and Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari. If in the meantime you suggest that a particular word or thing must be there, I shall allow it provided that is in order.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I am suggesting that——

Mr. SPEAKER: No, No. I cannot allow it in the open House. (Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: এখানে বলা ছাড়া আমাদের উপায় কি?) It would be much more convenient if you point it out to me in my Chamber than bring it here.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, এর আগেরদিন আপনি আমাকে Chamberএ যেতে বলেছিলেন। কিন্তু আমাদের rights in the Houseএ রয়েছে এখানেই বলবার—সুতরাং Chamberএ গিয়ে private discussionএর কোন প্রয়োজন নেই। আমাদের যে rights আছে তাতে এখানেই আমরা discuss করব। সুতরাং আমি মনে করি আমার গত Novemberএর যে amendment সেটার অর্ধেকটা কেটে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, Mr. Banerjee, the general practice in our office is that when motions are sent in by members and some of them are in order while others require amendment in language, the department generally admits the motions after making such suitable amendments as are necessary.

If, however, a particular member insists on a particular word or a particular thing to be there, it will have to be considered whether according to the rules that particular word or thing could be allowed or not. For the sake of convenience I am simply suggesting to you that you please suggest as to what word you want to retain in your amendment so that I may be able to give my decision. Otherwise you will only be taking the time of the House unnecessarily. That is the reason why I ask you to make your suggestion in my Chamber. If honourable members, however, want that motions, as they are, should be admitted or refused, it is for the House to decide. But during the last several years the practice has always been and nobody has objected to it that office makes amendments and thus assists the members in making suitable amendments admissible under the rules. Therefore I suggest that if there be any particular word or particular thing which you, Mr. Banerjee, wish to incorporate in your resolution it would be convenient to mention it to Secretary and I shall see if that can be allowed or not.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: আফিস যখন সাহায্য করেন, সেটা আমরা খুবই appreciate করি। তাদের দ্বারা আমরা যে খুব helped হই তাতে বিন্দুমাত্র সন্দেহ নেই। কিন্তু আমার কয়েকটা amendment কেটেছেঁটে একেবারে শায়েস্তা করে দিয়েছেন এই Black Bill সম্বন্ধে, সেটা বুঝতে পারছি না।

Mr. SPEAKER: I have suggested to you——

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I thank you for the suggestion. I shall accept it.

SJ. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Sir, I have also a point of privilege. Certain Bills are circulated to us and we are asked to give amendments. Last session I raised the point that we are not given sufficient time and we find it is the same this session also. I am particularly concerned with a Bill for which amendments are to be submitted by tomorrow—I mean the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill. I would request you to extend the time for submission of amendments by a few days. Other Bills I am not particularly very interested in and I do not know what other members feel about them. What I said last time was that if a rule provides for certain things, that rule should be observed. Last time, I believe, we were given a sort of understanding or assurance that we would be given sufficient time. I would like you to consider that point.

Mr. SPEAKER: Which is the Bill that you are referring to?

SJ. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: As a matter of fact, with regard to all the Bills that have been circularised to us, we have not been given sufficient time for submitting amendments, as provided for in the rules. If you consider, Sir, that a short Bill should require less time for sending in amendments, then the rules might be amended in that way and we might have a sort of a staggering time for giving notice of amendments. But so long as the rules are there, they should be observed. Now, as I said, I am particularly concerned with the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill. Although the Bill is not too long, I wanted to consult the interests that are likely to be affected and that would take time. That is why I would request you to give us some more time.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, when you very kindly asked the honourable member who raised this point of privilege about a certain Bill, I had an impression that you would probably consider extending the time in respect of that particular Bill only. When this principle has been questioned about the procedure of this House allowing very little time to the members to study the Bills, Sir, I would request you that you will follow the same principle in respect of all the Bills, and, Sir, if you feel that you would be justified in extending the time in respect of

one Bill, you would please extend the time in respect of all the Bills because personally I have not read any of the Bills. Sir, I should also like time to read and study all the Bills so that amendments, if they are called for, may be submitted by me.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: With regard to the Bill to which Mr. Bimal Comar Ghose has referred, this Bill is really a reproduction of the Ordinance which has already been passed and is in force and we had to put in these three Bills, particularly Bills Nos. (3) and (4), because they follow the Ordinances which are to be laid as the first item on the 14th February. If my friends here had read the Ordinances, they would have found that the provisions of the Bills follow the Ordinances word for word and if there was any question of consultation, I thought that they would have interest enough in the subject to take consultation even when the Ordinance was in force because every member of the Assembly knows or ought to know that no Ordinance can continue to have any operation or effect after six weeks from the beginning of the Assembly. Therefore, these three Bills that have been put forward are Bills practically reproducing the Ordinances. That is why they have been put in the beginning of the programme.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find that there has been considerable improvement from the state of affairs which existed during the previous session. We have received more time for the Bills this time and if there be any grievance with regard to any particular Bill, of course, that has to be considered with regard to that Bill. Now, with regard to the general rule suggested by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh that there should be an extension in respect of all the Bills, I do not think that it would be a proper thing to do. The rules have been there and they have been framed with a view to give sufficient time, but we know that for all practical purposes some delay is bound to occur in consideration of the Bills by the Government and other interests and we have to allow a certain amount of latitude unless and until there be a real cause of grievance about time. Now, with regard to the Raw Jute Bill I will see the position and do the needful.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: If I may just say a word. The rule provides for 21 days' notice and 10 days for giving amendments before a Bill is brought before the House. If you really feel that the limit of 21 days is too much, it is much better that we amend this rule because it looks rather awkward to have a rule like this and at the same time not to observe it at all.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am informed by the office that there has been a large number of Bills which have been given notice of within time and if there be any real difficulty or hardship, I will certainly consider it and extend the time so far as possible. Many Bills are only small Bills and they will not require much time for consideration, but I have already told you that if circumstances are there for which consideration has to be given, I will do that. Every case has to be considered on its merits and if there is any real hardship regarding proper consideration of the Bill, I will certainly allow more time.

Amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech.

[*Motion of address expressing thanks moved on the 8th February, 1951.*]

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret that no effective measures are contemplated for—

(a) stopping harassment of innocent cultivators in connection with procurement of foodgrains and assuring them a fair price;

(*b*) preventing general lawlessness in many parts of the country in spite of mounting cost of police budget;

(*c*) tackling the problem of refugee rehabilitation;

(*d*) eradicating corruption in administration; and

(*e*) protecting the minorities."

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret the omission of—

(*1*) any mention of the recent shooting in Jadabgarh refugee colony at Dhakuria, resulting in the death of Binapani Mitra and injury to 60 persons including 2 children and 13 other women;

(*2*) any mention of cases of eviction by the Government of squatter refugees without finding alternative accommodation for them;

(*3*) any mention of the feeling of resentment that has been created in the mind of the refugees due to the intention of the Government of introducing the West Bengal Unauthorised Persons (Eviction) Bill, 1951, during the present session of the Assembly;

(*4*) any mention of any definite policy of rehabilitation of the refugees now lodged in various Government camps;

(*5*) any mention of the suffering that has been caused to the people as a result of recent 25 per cent. cut in cereal ration;

(*6*) any mention of incidents that have been taking place almost daily in various parts of the State as a result of the procurement policy of the Government;

(*7*) any mention of any policy about the abolition of the zemindary system and making the tillers the proprietors of the soil;

(*8*) any mention of the suffering to the people as a result of short supply and faulty distribution of cloth;

(*9*) any mention of any housing scheme in urban area specially for industrial workers;

(*10*) any mention of any policy as to nationalisation of basic industries and Government control of others;

(*11*) any mention of any scheme of checking blackmarketing and corruption; and

(*12*) any mention of any proposal for the amendment of the Calcutta *Thika* Tenancy Act of 1949, in view of the various judgments of the different judges of the Calcutta High Court."

SJ. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret the omission of—

(*a*) indication of any step being taken or contemplated by the Government for the early abolition of the present system of control;

(*b*) mention of any change of policy for improving, for the benefit of the peasants, the present system of procurement of paddy and rice in the State;

(*c*) indication of any action being taken by the Government for increasing the procurement price of paddy and rice;

(*d*) indication of any Government action towards the abolition of the zemindary system; and

(*e*) indication of any action being taken by the Government for total prohibition of intoxicants in the State."

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret—

(*1*) that instead of indicating a definite scheme and a programme of rehabilitation of the refugees, there is a threat of evicting those who have set up some sort of dwelling by their own efforts unaided by the Government;

(*2*) that the serious situation due to ration-cut has not been appreciated nor immediate measures suggested;

(*3*) that the failure of 'Grow More Food Campaign' and the misuse of the procurement policy have not been tackled;

(*4*) that there is no attempt to check rise in prices and blackmarketing and to punish the blackmarketeers;

(*5*) that there is no attempt to compensate the wage earners by increasing the rate of dearness allowance commensurate with rise in prices;

(*6*) that there is no mention of abolition of zemindary system without compensation and redistribution of land to peasants and refugees for meeting food deficiency in the country;

(*7*) that there is no attempt to minimise unemployment by starting more industries;

Sir, I want to mention here something more, viz., 'for want of raw materials more factories are being closed; by that unemployment is soaring up.'

Mr. SPEAKER: That you can allude to in your speech.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE:

(*8*) that there is no attempt to replace the *bustees* by habitable quarters for workers and middle-class people in Calcutta, Howrah and suburbs;

(*9*) that though the date of enrolment as voters has been extended, no steps have been taken to publicise the extension of time through newspapers and other agencies and to give proper facilities for enlistment of refugees and illiterate people;

(*10*) that though in the enquiries certain disclosures were made regarding the Calcutta University and the Calcutta Corporation, no steps have been taken to have fresh elections for the Calcutta Corporation and to hand over these institutions to popular representatives;

(*11*) that the Bengal Municipal Act has not been amended to give adult franchise in Howrah and other municipalities and symbol voting and appointment of polling officers by authorities independent of the chairman and commissioners have not been introduced in spite of insistent demand by citizens;

(*12*) that though the co-operatives have been mentioned, no encouragement to co-operatives is given and on the other hand their registration is being opposed by Government and no scheme has been placed; and

(*13*) that the employers are encouraged and workers suppressed due to the Government's labour policy in not enforcing the awards and allowing the employers to lock-out the workers."

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, may I move motion No. 5 on behalf of Mr. Sen?

Mr. SPEAKER: If you wish to move it, you can do so as your own motion.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. The honourable member who has already moved a motion to the amendment of the Governor's Address, can he be permitted to move another motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: No; I have already said "you can do so as your own motion".

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: Sir, may I move that motion on behalf of Mr. Sen?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can move that as your own motion.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: Sir, I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But regret that it does not contain any reference to the abolition of zemindary system and about the labour policy of the Government."

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret that the speech makes no reference to any comprehensive scheme for production of foodstuffs in the State, that it omits any mention about the procurement policy of the State Government and its repercussion on the people; that it is silent about the curtailment of civil liberties; that it fails to refer to the grim unemployment among all sections of people particularly among members of the Minority Community; that it does not refer to any financial provisions hitherto made for members of the Minority Community affected by the communal unrest last year."

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN. I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret to say—

(*1*) that the so-called vigorous procurement drive launched for food-grains in areas which are said to be surplus where Muslim population predominate has led to the extensive issue of directives by the procurement staff for the wholesale seizure of stocks which are exaggerated without taking care to ascertain the quantity of the same by customary and realistic method;

(*2*) that the above method of procurement may result in famine, scarcity, distress, unrest and unemployment, and increased rate of crime in the locality and its immediate neighbourhood;

(*3*) that nothing has been said or done in spite of repeated representation and petition to remove the grievances and allay the apprehension of the people in regard to the apprehended distress and trouble;

(*4*) that the policy with regard to procurement is a menace to the 'Grow More Food Campaign' and will retard the growth of intensive cultivation for increasing the productiveness;

(*5*) that nothing has been said or done to remove the grievances of Muslims in the matter of their appointments in all branches of public service and also in the matter of trade and educational facilities;

(*6*) that nothing has been said or done to remove the educational and economic backwardness of the Muslims and bring them on the same level as other communities of West Bengal or India as laid down in the Constitution;

(*7*) that nothing has been said or done to remove the feeling among the Muslims that they are discriminated against, whether in public or private life;

(*8*) that nothing has been said or done to take the Muslims in adequate number in the security or other services, or in political or other committees as laid down in the Delhi Pact; and

(*9*) that nothing has been said or done to infuse in the minds of Muslims that they have equal rights or responsibilities."

Mr. SPEAKER: Janab Mudassir Hossain, in your motion in sub-clause (*1*), first time, I think the word "so-called" should not be there. That contains an insinuation which is not allowed in a motion.

Now, Dr. Banerjee will initiate the discussion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, রাজ্যপাল মহোদয় তাঁর বক্তৃতার প্রারম্ভে আন্তর্জাতিক পরিস্থিতির উল্লেখ করেছেন। দুনিয়ার রাষ্ট্রগোষ্ঠী বর্তমানে মতবাদের ভিত্তিতে দুই দলে বিভক্ত। একদিকে হচ্ছে Anglo-American Capitalism অন্য দিকে Totalitarian Communism. আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী বলেছেন ভারত এই দুই দলের কোনটাতেই না গিয়ে নিরপেক্ষ থাকবে। প্রধান মন্ত্রীর নিরপেক্ষ থাকার নির্দেশ খুবই সমীচীন হয়েছে। নিরপেক্ষ থাকলেও আমাদের নিস্তার নাই। চারদিকে যখন সংগ্রাম চলছে তখন আমাদের শুধু নিরপেক্ষ থাকলে চলবে না এগিয়ে যেতে হবে আদর্শের দিকে। সেই আদর্শ হচ্ছে শ্রেণীহীন শোষনহীন সমাজতন্ত্র। সেই আদর্শের দিকে যদি আমরা দ্রুত এগুতে পারি তবে জনগণ সন্তুষ্ট হবে, তারা উৎপাদনে মন দেবে, ফলে দেশের সমৃদ্ধি বাড়বে এবং বর্তমানে যে অভাব অনটন আছে তার অবসান ঘটবে। আমরা সুখে-স্বাচ্ছন্দ্যে থাকতে পারব। কিন্তু তিন বৎসর হয়ে গেল আমরা স্বাধীনতা পেয়েছি, দুঃখ-দুর্দশা এতটুকু কমেনি বরং বেড়েই চলেছে। আজকাল অনেকের মুখে এই কথা শোনা যায়, পরাধীনতার আমলে আমরা বোধ হয় ছিলাম ভাল।

কিন্তু দুঃখ সবচেয়ে বেশী ভোগ কোরতে হয়েছে ও হচ্ছে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে আগত উদ্বাস্তুদের। দুনিয়ার ইতিহাসে অনেক দুঃখ-দুর্দশার কাহিনী দেখা যায়। পৃথিবীর সারা ইতিহাস তন্ন তন্ন কোরে দেখলেও পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে আগত উদ্বাস্তুরা যে দুঃখ ভোগ কোরেছে তার তুলনা পাওয়া যায় না। রাজ্যপাল মহোদয় তাঁর ভাষণে বলেছেন পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ থেকে মোট ৩৫ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তু পশ্চিমবঙ্গে এসেছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট এই সংখ্যা কোথা থেকে পেলেন জানি না। কোন একটা censusএর অভাবে এইরূপ নিশ্চিত সংখ্যা পাওয়া খুবই কঠিন।

মনে রাখতে হবে পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্তান এবং পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মধ্যবর্তী ৭০০ মাইল ব্যাপী সীমারেখা অতিক্রম কোরে কত দিন কত লোক যে কত দিক দিয়ে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে এসেছে তার হিসেব কেউ রাখেনি। সুতরাং আমাদের বিশ্বাস এই সংখ্যা খুবই কম হয়েছে। সত্যিকার সংখ্যা এর চেয়ে অনেক বেশী। পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে আগত উদ্বাস্তুরা বলে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে হিন্দু আর নেই। গভর্ণর মহোদয় তাঁর ভাষণে বলেছেন পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে আগত উদ্বাস্তুদের মধ্যে ১২ লক্ষ আবার পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে ফিরে গেছে। এই ১২ লক্ষ সংখ্যা গভর্ণর কোথা থেকে পেলেন জানি না। উদ্বাস্তুদের মধ্যে কতক লোক তাদের জমি-জমা, ঘর-বাড়ী বন্দোবস্ত করতে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে যায়. এদের যাওয়া-আসা রেল পথে চলে। তাদের যাতায়াতের হিসাব থেকে গভর্ণর যদি এই সংখ্যা নিয়ে থাকেন তাহলে ভুল করেছেন। গভর্ণর বলেছেন ইতিপূর্ব্বেই ১২ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তুর পুনর্ব্বাসনের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। এই পুনর্ব্বাসনের নমুনা কিরূপ তা আমরা সকলেই জানি। কোন পরিবারের কাউকে হয়তো ছোটখাট একটা চাকুরী দেওয়া হয়েছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট অমনি মনে করলেন একটা পরিবারের পুনর্ব্বাসন হলো। কিম্বা সামান্য কিছু অর্থ ব্যবসা করার জন্য ধার দেওয়া হয়েছে

এক পরিবারের অনেক ব্যক্তিকে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট অমনি ঘোষণা করে বললেন পরিবারটার পুনর্ব্বাসনের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়ে গেছে। কিম্বা কোন এক পরিবারকে পতিত জমি হতে সামান্য কিছু জমি দেওয়া হলো গভর্ণমেণ্ট মনে করলেন সেই পরিবারের পুনর্ব্বাসন হয়ে গেল। এইরূপ অসংখ্য দৃষ্টান্ত দিতে পারা যায়। চরযদুবাটীতে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে একদা প্রায় ৫০০ কৃষক পরিবার এসে পল্লীস্থাপন করেছিল নিজেদেরই চেষ্টায় কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের সেখান থেকে অন্যত্র চালান করেছেন। ওরা সেখানে বেশ ছিল। গভর্ণমেণ্টের কোন সাহায্য নিচ্ছিল না। নিজেদের পায়ের ওপর দাঁড়িয়ে নিজেরা উপার্জন করে সংসার চালাচ্ছিল। গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের অন্য জায়গায় পাঠিয়ে দিলেন। পরিবার প্রতি ১৫ বিঘা জমি দেওয়া হলে তারা কোনরকমে খেয়ে বাঁচতে পারতো। গভর্ণমেণ্ট বল্লেন বসত বাটীর জন্য ৫ কাঠা এবং চাষের জন্য ১ বিঘা দেওয়া যেতে পারে, বেশী নয়। পুনর্বসতির এই রকম দৃষ্টান্ত আমাদের সম্মুখে অনেক আছে।

উদ্বাস্তুদের সংখ্যা যতই হোক না হোক এই কথা ঠিক যে বহু পূর্ব্ববঙ্গবাসী বাড়ী-ঘর ছেড়ে এসে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে সম্পূর্ণ নিরাশ্রয় হয়ে পড়ে। যারা প্রথমে এসেছিল, তাদের অনেকেই ছিল মধ্যবিত্ত সম্প্রদায়ের। এ ধরণের মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর লোকদের জীবিকার জন্য কলকাতার আসে পাশে থাকা অত্যাবশ্যক। কলকাতার চারিদিকে যেসব জমি তখন খালি ছিল এখনও আছে, তাদের অনেকগুলিই ছিল জঙ্গলে ভরা। গভর্ণমেণ্ট ইচ্ছা করলেই সেই সব জমি তাড়াতাড়ি পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে আগত উদ্বাস্তুদের মধ্যে বিলি করে দিতে পারতেন, কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট সে কাজ করলেন না। বড় বড় সহরের বড় বড় পরিকল্পনা কত আওড়ালেন কিন্তু সেইসব পরিকল্পনা এখনও পরিকল্পনায় রয়েছে, কাজে পরিণত হয় নাই। এদিকে উদ্বাস্তুরা পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে এসে কতক ষ্টেশনে কতক নানা জায়গায় পড়ে রইলো, তাদের মাথা গুজবার জায়গা পর্য্যন্ত জুটলো না। মানুষ যদি আশ্রয় না পায় তবে যে কোন উপায়েই হোক সে আশ্রয়ের চেষ্টা করে। তাই গভর্ণমেণ্ট যখন আপন কর্ত্তব্য করলেন না তখন পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হতে আগত উদ্বাস্তুরা কলিকাতার চারিদিকে যেসব জমি খালি ছিল, তা নিজেরাই দখল করে নিল। এ অবস্থায় গভর্ণমেণ্টের সুস্পষ্ট কর্ত্তব্য ছিল, এসব উপনিবেশ মেনে নেওয়া এবং এসবের অধিবাসীদের সর্ব্বপ্রকার সুখ-স্বাচ্ছন্দ্যের ব্যবস্থা করে দেওয়া, তাদের গৃহ নির্ম্মাণের জন্য টিন দেওয়া, প্রয়োজনমতো cement দেওয়া কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট তা করলেন না। বরং সচেষ্ট হলেন কি করে এইসব উদ্বাস্তুকে উঠিয়ে দেওয়া যায়। এটা করতে গিয়ে যে অত্যাচার তারা করছেন তা সকলেরই সুবিদিত। সম্প্রতি অনুষ্ঠিত অত্যাচারসমূহের মধ্যে Jadabpur colonyর অত্যাচারই সবচেয়ে গুরুতর। যাদবগড় কলোনীটি ঢাকুরিয়ার পূর্ব্ব প্রান্তে অবস্থিত পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের উদ্বাস্তুদের আসার আগে এই জমি খালি ও জঙ্গলে পূর্ণ ছিল। সেসব জঙ্গল সাফ করে চার পাঁচ শত উদ্বাস্তু পরিবার ছোট ছোট ঘর তৈরী করে উপনিবেশ গড়ে তুললো। তারপর হঠাৎ গভর্ণমেণ্ট '৫০ সালের মার্চ মাসের একদিন তাদের গৃহশূন্য করবার জন্য উঠে পড়ে লাগল এবং তিন-চারশত পুলিশ নিয়ে তথায় উপস্থিত হল। উদ্বাস্তুদের উপর নানাপ্রকার অত্যাচার চলল—টিয়ার গ্যাস, লাঠি ও গুলি চলল। ফলে ৫০।৬০ জন উদ্বাস্তু আহত হয়।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order please. Dr. Banerji, I wish to point out to you that this matter is *sub-judice* and according to our rule (13) no body should refer to any matter of fact on which a judicial decision is pending. Therefore please control your discussion with this point in view.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : On a point of privilege, Sir, আমি জানি একথা উঠবে যে এটা *sub-judice*. আমি অনুসন্ধান করে জানতে পেরেছি গভর্ণমেণ্ট যাদের গ্রেপ্তার করেছেন তাদের বিরুদ্ধে মামলা চলছে। কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে লাঠি, গুলি এবং টিয়ার গ্যাস চালিয়েছে----

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: On a point of information, Sir. The matter of shooting is now before the court.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : আমি বলছিলাম Government যাদের গ্রেপ্তার করেছেন তাদের বিরুদ্ধে মামলা চালিয়েছেন। কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট পক্ষের একজন লোকও গ্রেপ্তার হয়েছে কিনা এবং হয়ে থাকলে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে মামলা চলছে কিনা----

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I want to contradict again. The constable that was guilty of shooting is now before the court.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : আমি বলছি যে কেহ হোক একজনতো লাঠি ও গুলি নিয়েছে ?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. The question of *sub-judice* is very important, and I want to point it out to you that whenever a case is before the court, naturally nothing should be uttered or referred to with regard to that. Anyway, if you want to have a fair trial, that is a very salutary principle from the point of view of proper administration of justice. If the constable is being prosecuted on the charge of exceeding his right to shoot, naturally the shooting and the circumstances under which the shooting took place become the subject-matter of trial. And naturally you will agree with me that so far as this House is concerned, it is the duty of the House not to do or to say anything which may prejudice the fair trial of the person before the court.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : কিন্তু যে আক্রমণ হয়েছে তার ফলে ৩০।৬০ জন আহত হন, ৮ জনকে হাসপাতালে পাঠান হল, বীণাপাণি মিত্র বলে তাদের মধ্যে একজন মারা গেল এটা *sub-judice* কি করে হচ্ছে? এসবের জন্য তো কোন মামলা নেই। (MINISTERIAL BENCH : নিশ্চয়, নিশ্চয়।)

Mr. SPEAKER : What I want to point out to you is this that you must keep it in mind that when the accused is before the court, you are not prejudicing the fair trial of the accused.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : Thanks, একথা আমার মনে আছে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of clarification, Sir. If I mention a name that so and so has done it, then that is *sub-judice*. But if I do not mention that it has been done by so and so—that is common knowledge—but simply say that an incident had happened, somebody was shot and had died in the hospital, then that is not a matter which is *sub-judice*.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, the position which was existent some time before has been further extended. The law of contempt has been extended so far that even if it is in contemplation that a proceeding can be started, you cannot refer to it. Therefore, any matter which has got the slightest bearing upon the trial of a case should not be alluded to by any member of this House. That is a salutary principle.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: We bow down to your ruling, Sir. But when the Hon'ble the Leader of the House chose to get up and supply a piece of information to the House, viz., that the constable who was guilty——

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Alleged to be.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: I am quoting the Hon'ble the Leader of the House. He said that the constable who was guilty——

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Alleged to be.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: The Hon'ble Speaker is here: he has heard it. (Interruptions.) I am addressing the Hon'ble Speaker of the House. Sir, I want your protection. The Hon'ble Chief Minister said that the constable who was guilty of shooting is before the Court.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: If he is guilty, then there need have been no case against him.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, when the Leader of the House who happens to be the Chief Minister, is satisfied that the constable was guilty, there should have been no case at all; and if the case is *sub-judice*, it should no longer remain *sub-judice*.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : আমি এসম্বন্ধে আর কিছু বলতে চাইনা। এইসব জুলুম Government যথেষ্ট না মনে করে এখন একটা বিল, উদ্বাস্তদের উৎখাত করার জন্য, আনতে উদ্যত হয়েছেন। এই বিলের নাম অনধিকারী উচ্ছেদ বিল--Unauthorised Persons Eviction Bill. এই বিল এখনও আমাদের হস্তগত হয়নি সুতরাং এই বিলে কি আছে না আছে সুস্পষ্টভাবে বলা কঠিন। (MINISTERIAL BENCH: তবে সমালোচনা করছেন কেন?)

যতদূর বুঝতে পারছি গভর্ণমেণ্ট উদ্বাস্তদের তোলবার জন্য এ বিল উত্থাপিত করবেন। এই যদি উদ্দেশ্য হয় Government যেন এই চেষ্টা না করেন। গভর্ণমেণ্টের দুটি কথা সুস্পষ্টভাবে মনে রাখা দরকার। একটি এই যে পূর্ববঙ্গ হতে যে লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক পশ্চিমবঙ্গে এসেছে তারা নিজেদের ইচ্ছায় আসেনি। কংগ্রেস কর্তৃক বঙ্গবিভাগের যে সিদ্ধান্ত গৃহীত হয়েছিল সেই সিদ্ধান্তের ফলে পূর্ববঙ্গের হতভাগ্যদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে আসতে হয়েছে। যখন পার্টিশনের কথা উঠে তখন কংগ্রেস পক্ষ থেকে এই প্রতিশ্রুতি দেওয়া হয়েছিল যে দেশবিভাগের ফলে যদি পূর্ববঙ্গের লোকদের বাড়ী-ঘর ছেড়ে আসতে হয়, তাহলে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের দেখবেন। Governmentকে সেই প্রতিশ্রুতি মনে রাখতে বলি, সেই দায়িত্ব মনে রাখতে বলি।

আর একটা কথা আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে জানিয়ে দিতে চাই--পূর্ববঙ্গের লোকেরা ভীরু কাপুরুষ নয়। তারা বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর বিরুদ্ধে দেশকে স্বাধীন করবার জন্য নানাভাবে সংগ্রাম চালিয়েছে। দেশ স্বাধীন হবার পর নিজেদের বেঁচে থাকার জন্য দরকার হলে তারা দেশী গভর্ণমেণ্টের বিরুদ্ধেও লড়াই করতে বিন্দুমাত্র দ্বিধা বোধ করবে না। এ ধরণের সংগ্রামী-বীরদের সম্বন্ধে Governmentএর নিকট সনির্বন্ধ অনুরোধ এই যে যেখানে তারা উপনিবেশ বানিয়ে আছে, সেখান থেকে তাদের উচ্ছেদের চেষ্টা যেন না করা হয়। উদ্বাস্তদের যে যেখানে আছে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কর্তব্য তাদের সেখানেই থাকতে দেওয়া। যদি এরা কোন জমিদারের জমি অন্যায়ভাবে কেড়ে নিয়ে থাকে তাহলে গভর্ণমেণ্ট প্রয়োজন মনে করলে তাদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতে পারেন। যদি উদ্বাস্তদের তাড়িয়ে দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করা হয়, তবে তার ফল হবে অত্যন্ত ভয়াবহ।

রাজ্যপালের ভাষণে বলা হয়েছে যে উদ্বাস্তদের পুনর্বাসনে ১৪ কোটি টাকা এপর্য্যন্ত খরচ করা হয়েছে। পূর্ববাঙ্গলার উদ্বাস্তরা যত টাকার সম্পত্তি নিজেদের দেশে ছেড়ে এসেছে তার তুলনায় এই ১৪ কোটি টাকা সমুদ্রে জল-বিন্দুর মত। কিন্তু উদ্বাস্তদের পুনর্বাসনের দিক হতে বিচার করলে, চৌদ্দ কোটি টাকা সামান্য নহে। ঠিক পথে ব্যয় হলে এই টাকা দ্বারা উদ্বাস্ত পুনর্বাসন সমস্যার অনেকখানি সমাধান হতে পারত। গভর্ণর বাহাদুর তাঁর ভাষণে বলেছেন যে এখনও ১১ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তর পুনর্বাসন বাকী। গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে রকম শম্বুক গতিতে আস্তে আস্তে উদ্বাস্ত পুনর্বাসন করছেন, তাতে ১১ লক্ষ লোকের পুনর্বাসন করতে কত দিন লাগবে বলা কঠিন। কিন্তু এখনো যে সমস্ত উদ্বাস্ত বিভিন্ন ক্যাম্পে রয়েছে, তাদের স্বাস্থ্য দিন দিন ভেঙ্গে পড়ছে; তাদের নানারকম দুঃখ-কষ্ট ভোগ করতে হচ্ছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের অবিলম্বে সুষ্ঠু পুনর্বাসনের ব্যবস্থা করুন। কিভাবে তাদের পুনর্বাসন সহজে হতে পারে পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে আগত উদ্বাস্তরা তা ইতিপূর্বেই দেখিয়েছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি সেই পথ অনুসরণ করেন, তাহলে অনেকটা সহজেই তাদের উদ্বাস্ত অবস্থার অবসান হতে পারে। এই ত গেল উদ্বাস্তদের কথা।

এখন আমি খাদ্য-পরিস্থিতির সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলছি। সম্প্রতি গভর্ণমেণ্ট খাদ্য-রেশন শতকরা পঁচিশ ভাগ কমিয়ে দিয়েছেন। আগে যে খাদ্যশস্য মিলতো তাও অধিকাংশ লোকের পক্ষে যথেষ্ট ছিল না। আমি অনেকের খবর জানি তাদের সপ্তাহে পাঁচ দিন মাত্র চলতো। আর বাকী দু-দিনের খাদ্য তারা কিভাবে সংগ্রহ করতো, তা আমরাও যেমন জানি, গভর্ণমেণ্টও তেমনি জানেন। তার উপর এখন যদি আবার শতকরা পঁচিশ ভাগ কমে, তাহলে সাধারণ লোকের অবস্থা খুবই সঙ্গীন হয়ে পড়বে। অবশ্য বড়লোকেরা ইচ্ছা করলে বড় বড় হোটেলে গিয়ে খেতে পারেন। তাঁরা চোরাবাজার থেকে বেশী দর দিয়ে খাদ্যশস্য সংগ্রহ করবেন। কিন্তু অশেষ কষ্ট হবে তাদের, যাদের আয় কম, মধ্যবিত্ত শ্রেণীর লোকেদের, শ্রমজীবীদের। আর যাদের আয় বেশী তাঁরা চোরা-বাজার থেকে কিনে নেবে। যাদের টাকায় কুলোবে না চোরাবাজার থেকে কেনার, তারা অনাহারে আস্তে আস্তে মৃত্যুর পথে এগিয়ে যাবে। সুতরাং খাদ্যশস্যের পরিমান কমানোয় লাভ হবে চোরাকারবারীদের, আর মরবে গরীবেরা। আরও বিশেষ কথা এই যে এরূপ কম খাওয়ার ফলে শ্রমিকদের স্বাস্থ্যের খুব ক্ষতি হচ্ছে। আজ-কাল প্রায়ই শোনা যায় শ্রমিকরা আগের মত খাটতে পারে না, উৎপাদন করতে পারে না। কিন্তু কেন পারে না? কম খেতে খেতে শরীর যাদের দুর্বল হয়ে পড়েছে, তারা বেশী পরিশ্রম করবে কিরূপে? এই রেশন outএর ফলে তাদের দুর্বল শরীর আরও দুর্বল হয়ে পড়বে। ফলে উৎপাদন আরো কমে যাবে। এই কথা আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে পরিষ্কার করে বলে দিচ্ছি।

তারপর ধান্য সংগ্রহ সম্বন্ধে কিছু না বলে উপায় নাই। কারণ প্রতিদিন রাজ্যের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে ধান্য সংগ্রহ ব্যাপারে নানারকম দুর্ঘটনা ঘটছে। কেন ঘটছে সে সম্বন্ধে আমি দু-চারটী কথা বলছি।

প্রথমতঃ গভর্ণমেণ্ট অনেক ঘাটতি এলাকাকে এখন বাড়তি এলাকা বলে ঘোষণা করেছেন। যেমন হাওড়া জেলার আমতা, বাগনান, উলুবেড়িয়া, জগৎবল্লভপুর প্রভৃতি থানা ঘাটতি এলাকা হলেও বাড়তি এলাকা বলে ঘোষিত হয়েছে। উপরন্তু বন্যার ফলে এইসব এলাকার প্রভূত ক্ষতি হয়েছে। লোকের দুর্দ্দশার অন্ত নাই। অথচ গভর্ণমেণ্ট এইসব অঞ্চলকে উদ্বৃত্ত এলাকা বলে ঘোষণা করেছেন। ফলে সেই অঞ্চলের লোকদের দুর্দশা আরও বেড়ে গেছে। সেইরকম বনগাঁ মহকুমার গয়ঘাট থানা এবং বনগাঁ থানার পল্লা, গোপালনগর, বাইরামপুর, মানিপোতা, সুন্দরপুর, বনগাঁ ও মতিগঞ্জ ইউনিয়নকে বাড়তি এলাকা বলে ঘোষণা করা হয়েছে। এগুলি আগে লীগমন্ত্রিত্বের সময় বাড়তি এলাকা ছিল। কিন্তু এইসব অঞ্চল এখন সীমান্তবর্ত্তী এলাকা হওয়ায় এখানে লক্ষ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তু পাকিস্থান থেকে এসেছে। ফলে এই উদ্বৃত্ত এলাকাগুলি এখন ঘাটতি এলাকায় পরিণত হয়েছে। এ খবর গভর্ণমেণ্টেরও জানা আছে। তাসত্ত্বেও গভর্ণমেণ্টের ঘাটতি এলাকাগুলিকে উদ্বৃত্ত এলাকা বলে ঘোষণা করা মোটেই ঠিক হয়নি।

আরও নানাকারণে বাড়তি এলাকাসমূহ ঘাটতি এলাকায় পরিণত হয়েছে। বাড়তি এলাকায় যাদের জমি পনর হতে কুড়ি বিঘা তাদের কাছ থেকে ধান্য সংগ্রহ হচ্ছে ডিসেম্বর, জানুয়ারী ও ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসে; আর যাদের বেশী ধান হয়েছে, তাদের কাছ থেকে সংগ্রহ করা হয় অক্টোবর, নভেম্বর ও ডিসেম্বর মাসে। ফলে হচ্ছে কি? যারা ছোট ছোট গৃহস্থ তাদের কাছ থেকে প্রায় সব ধানই সংগ্রহ হয়ে থাকে। আর যাদের হাতে বেশী ধান আছে, তারা Procurement Officerদের সঙ্গে ব্যবস্থা করে ঘুষ দিয়ে শত শত মণ ধান বাইরে পাচার করে দেয়। চোরাকারবারীরাও সেই উপায়ে Procurement Officerদের ঘুষ দিয়ে শত শত মণ ধান cordon এলাকার বাইরে নিয়ে যায়। এসব কারণে এখন বাড়তি এলাকাগুলি ঘাটতি এলাকায় পরিণত হচ্ছে, কাজেই উদ্বৃত্ত এলাকার লোককে হয় না খেয়ে মরতে হয়, নয় তাদের ২০৷২৫৲ টাকা মণ দরে ধান কিনতে হয়। এখন মাথা পিছু ৭ মণ করে ধান রেখে সংগ্রহ করার নিয়ম। সাত মণের পরিবর্ত্তে ১২ মণ করে ধান মাথা পিছু রাখা উচিত। প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে যত লোক তাদের একটা হিসেব ধরে মাথা পিছু ১২ মণ করে ধান সেখানে রাখা উচিত। তা না করা হলে বাড়তি এলাকা ঘাটতি এলাকায় পরিণত হতে বাধ্য।

কুড়ি বিঘার বেশী যাদের জমি নাই, তাদের কাছ থেকেও কোন ধান্য সংগ্রহ করা ঠিক নয়। কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট পনর বিঘার কম জমি যাদের তাদের কাছ থেকেও ধান্য সংগ্রহ করেন। ঘাটতি এলাকায় যাদের বাড়ী তাদের আগে cordoned এলাকার জমির ধান নেবার জন্য permit দেবার ব্যবস্থা ছিল। কিন্তু এবার গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেই permit দেবার ব্যবস্থা বন্ধ করে দিয়েছেন এবং বলছেন cordoned areaয় যে ধান আছে তা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বিক্রী করে দিতে হবে এবং পরে প্রয়োজনমত ধান দেওয়া হবে। এভাবে ধান সংগ্রহের ফলে বিভিন্ন স্থানে procurement অফিসারদের সঙ্গে জনগণের সংঘর্ষ হচ্ছে। সেদিন জয়নগর এলাকায় এইরকম একটা দুর্ঘটনা ঘটে গিয়েছে। আগেই বলা হয়েছে ছোট ছোট গৃহস্থ যাদের জমির পরিমান সাধারণতঃ ১৫-২০ বিঘা তাদের কাছ থেকে ধান সংগৃহীত হয় ঠিক ধান কাটার পর। এসময় তাদের কোন বোনাস দেওয়া হয় না। কিন্তু ধনী গৃহস্থদের কাছ হতে ধান সংগ্রহ করা হয় সাধারণতঃ অক্টোবর, নভেম্বর ও ডিসেম্বর এই তিন মাসে। এ সময়ে মণপিছু ১৲ করে বোনাস দেওয়া হয়। ধনী ও গরীবে এই তারতম্যে জনসাধারণের মনে বিশেষ বিক্ষোভের সৃষ্টি হচ্ছে। তারা মনে করছে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের স্বার্থ মোটেই দেখেন না।

ষ্টেটের নানা জায়গা থেকে ধানের মূল্য বৃদ্ধির দাবী করা হচ্ছে। তারা বলছে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের কাছ থেকে সাড়ে সাত টাকা মণ দরে ধান কিনে নিয়ে যায়—মোটা-সরু, ভাল-মন্দ সব ধানই ঐ একই দরে নেওয়া হয়। কিন্তু কলকাতা প্রভৃতি রেশনিং এরিয়াতে ঐ মোটা ধানের কাঁকড় মেশানো মোটা চাল সাড়ে ষোল টাকা মণ দরে আর ভাল সরু চাল ২৬৷৷৹ টাকা মণ দরে গভর্ণমেণ্ট বিক্রী করেন। সুতরাং জনসাধারণ মনে করে ধান-চাউলের এই ব্যবসায়ে গভর্ণমেণ্ট অনেক টাকা লাভ করছেন। তাই তাদের বিশ্বাস চালের দর না বাড়িয়েও সরকার ধানের দর কিছুটা বাড়িয়ে দিতে পারেন। এরূপ করা হলে কৃষকের খরচ পোষাবে এবং তারা ইচ্ছে করেই গভর্ণমেণ্টের নিকট ধান বিক্রী করবে।

আমরা শ্রেণীহীন শোষণহীন গণতন্ত্র স্থাপনে বিশ্বাসী। আমরা চাই সকলে সমান খাক্, সমান পরুক, সমান গৃহে বাস করুক, চিকিৎসা ও শিক্ষার সমান সুযোগ পাক। এজন্য full control দরকার। যেমন

ইংল্যাণ্ডে আছে সেখানে সকলে সমান রেশন পায়। লণ্ডনের বড় হোটেলেও তিন পদ খাবার পাওয়া যায়—দাম ৫ শিলিং ৬ পেন্স। গ্রামের ছোট হোটেলেও ঐ একই রকমের খাওয়া এবং ঐ একই দাম—কোনই পার্থক্য নেই। আমাদের এখানেও এইরকম full controlএর ব্যবস্থা রাখা বিধেয় যাতে সবারই সুবিধা হয়। এ ধরণের control আমরা সর্বান্তঃকরণে সমর্থন করি। কিন্তু পশ্চিমবঙ্গে যে আংশিক কণ্ট্রোল চলছে, আমরা তার ঘোর বিরোধী। এতে শুধু চোরাকারবারীদের সুবিধা হচ্ছে। কণ্ট্রোলের ফলে চোরাকারবারীদের স্বাধীন ভারতে স্বর্গ স্থাপিত হয়েছে। কণ্ট্রোলের উদ্দেশ্য হওয়া উচিত জিনিষপত্রের দাম ঠিক রাখা। কিন্তু আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি নিত্য-প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষপত্রের দাম দিনের পর দিন কেবল বেড়েই চলেছে। জিনিষপত্রের দাম বাড়ার জন্য চোরাকারবারীরা অনেকখানি দায়ী। সমস্ত লোকের মনে এই ধারণা জন্মেছে যে এই দেশে চোরাকারবারীদের রাজত্ব চলেছে। ঘুষখোরে সব দেশ ছেয়ে গিয়েছে। সহরের চেয়েও গ্রামের অবস্থা ভয়ঙ্কর। যখন কোন একটা গ্রামে ধান সংগ্রহ হয় তখন সেখানে অনেক কিছু অত্যাচার গ্রামবাসীদের উপর চলে। এইজন্য এই ধরণের কন্ট্রোল আমরা চাই না। খাদ্যের সাথেই আসে জমিদারী-প্রথা বিলোপসাধনের কথা। জমিদারী-প্রথার বিলোপসাধন আমাদের কংগ্রেসের বহুবিঘোষিত নীতি। ১৯৩১ সাল থেকে এই নীতি গৃহীত হয়েছে। Classless Democracy এটা কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ। Classless Democracy অর্থাৎ শ্রেণীহীন শোষণহীন প্রজাতন্ত্রের প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য জমিদারী-প্রথার বিলোপসাধন অত্যাবশ্যক। উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির কথা প্রায় সব নেতারাই বলেন। এ সম্বন্ধে তাদের অনেক বিবৃতি খবরের কাগজেও দেখি। এই তিন বৎসর যাবত কেন্দ্রীয় এবং বিভিন্ন রাজ্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের মন্ত্রীরা উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির নানারূপ চেষ্টা করছেন বলে শুনি কিন্তু উৎপাদন কতটা বেড়েছে বিদেশ থেকে খাদ্য আমদানীর পরিমান থেকেই তা সহজে বোঝা যায়। গত বারে বিদেশ থেকে খাদ্য আমদানী করতে হয়েছিল ১৩০ কোটী টাকার। এবার শুনছি ২০০ কোটী টাকার খাদ্য-শস্য আমদানী না করলে কুলোবে না। খাদ্যশস্যের এত অধিক ঘাট্‌তির জন্য বন্যার দোহাই দেওয়া হয়েছে। কিন্তু বন্যা চিরকালই ছিল ও থাকবে। কোন দিকে বন্যা হবে আবার কোন দিকে হবে না। এই অবস্থার সহজে প্রতিকার হবে না। জমিদারী-প্রথার বিলোপসাধন হলে এবং যারা সত্যিকারের চাষী তাদের জমির মালিকানা সত্ব দিলে, চাষীদের মনে বৈপ্লবিক উত্তেজনার সৃষ্টি হয়, ফলে তারা ভাল করে জমি চাষ করবে এবং উৎপাদন বাড়বে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি ভাবেন জানিনা। কিন্তু দেশবাসীর দৃঢ় ধারণা এই যে জমিদারী-প্রথা লোপ না পেলে দেশের সমৃদ্ধি বাড়বে না, বাড়তে পারে না।

খাদ্যের পরেই উঠে কাপড়ের কথা। কাপড় বণ্টন ব্যাপারে অব্যবস্থার কথা পরিষদের প্রত্যেকেই জানেন। কলিকাতা সহরে গভর্ণমেণ্টের approved যে সমস্ত দোকান আছে সেই সব দোকানের সামনে শত শত লোককে লাইন দিয়ে দাঁড়াতে দেখা যায়। ঘণ্টার পর ঘণ্টা দাঁড়িয়ে থেকে সৌভাগ্যবান যারা তারা controlএর দরে এক-আধখানা কাপড় পায় যারা দুর্ভাগা তারা মোটেই পায় না। চোরাবাজারে কাপড়ের অভাব নেই। যত অভাব controlএর দরে Government approved দোকানে। পল্লী অঞ্চলেও সেই অবস্থা। প্রতি ইউনিয়নে প্রতি তিন হতে ছয় মাসে তিন বস্তা কাপড় দেওয়া হয়। তার মধ্যে দেড় বস্তায় থাকে shirting প্রভৃতি, দেড় বস্তায় পরবার কাপড়। এই দেড় বস্তায় ৯০০ খানা বিভিন্ন মাপের কাপড় ও শাড়ী থাকে। প্রতি ইউনিয়নে গড়ে ১২ হাজার লোক কিংবা ২৪শ পরিবারের বাস। সুতরাং সমভাগে বণ্টিত হলে ছয় মাসে প্রতি তিন পরিবারে এক খানা কাপড় মিলতে পারে। এই কাপড় কণ্ট্রোল দরে দেওয়া হয়। সুতরাং কণ্ট্রোল দরে কাপড় পল্লী অঞ্চলে খুব কম লোকই পায়। গভর্ণমেণ্ট কর্তৃক মনোনীত ব্যবসায়ীরা ইউনিয়ন Advisory Boardএর উপদেশ অনুসারে এই কাপড় লোকদের দেয়। এই বোর্ডের অধিকাংশ লোকই ধনীশ্রেণীভুক্ত। সুতরাং rural অঞ্চলে যাঁরা ধনী তাঁরাই কাপড় পায় গরীবেরা পায় না। মফঃস্বলেও চোরাবাজারের দরে মিলের কাপড় বিভিন্ন দোকানে পাওয়া যায়। আমি আগেও বলেছি এবং এখনও বলছি আজকাল blackmarketeer বা চোরাকারবারীদেরই দিন। স্বাধীন ভারতে চোরাকারবারীরাই স্বাধীন, তাদেরই রাজত্ব। সব জিনিষের দাম তারা স্বচ্ছন্দে বাড়িয়ে দিয়ে অতি লাভে বিক্রয় করছে আর জনগণের দুঃখ-দুর্দশা সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বেড়ে চলেছে। চীনেও কুয়োমিনটাং যুগে চোরাকারবারীদের রাজত্ব ছিল। মাও-সে-তুং কঠোর শাস্তি দিয়ে তাদের শায়েস্তা করেছেন। ফলে সেখানে চোরাকারবারের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে জিনিষের দামও কমেছে।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বেকার-সমস্যা ক্রমশঃই অধিক দারুণ আকার ধারণ করেছে। পুঁজিপতিরা কারখানার শ্রমিকদের মাঝে মাঝেই ছাঁটাই করছে। যুদ্ধের সময় পুঁজিপতিরা প্রচুর লাভ করেছে। এখন আগের চাইতে কম লাভ হয় বলে তারা বলছে আমাদের লাভ হয় না। গভর্ণমেণ্ট ছাঁটাই সম্বন্ধে হস্তক্ষেপ করলে মিলমালিকেরা মিল

বন্ধ করবে ভয় দেখায়। ফলে গভর্ণমেণ্টকে মালিকদের আবদার মানতে হয়। গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিজেই মিল চালাতে উদ্যত হলে মালিকেরা সায়েস্তা হতো এবং ছাঁটাই করতে সাহস পেত না।

তারপরে housingএর সমস্যা। এই সমস্যাটা এখন হয়েছে যে খুব বেশী Rent এমনকি সেলামী দিয়েও বাড়ী পাওয়া দুষ্কর। Governmentও এই বিষয়ে কোন step নিচেছন না। অন্য রাষ্ট্রে দেখা যায় কত দ্রুত, কত অধিক বাড়ী তৈরী হচেছ। আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্টের গৃহ নির্ম্মাণের দিকে লক্ষ্যই নাই। সমস্ত ব্যাপারে কেমন যেন একটা তালগোল পাকিয়ে গেছে। দেশের লোককে কত কিছু আশ্বাস দেওয়া হয় কিন্তু কাজে কিছুই হয় না। কারণ কি জিজ্ঞাসা করা হলে গভর্ণমেণ্টের একমাত্র উত্তর টাকা নাই।

ঠিকা-প্রজাদের উচেছদ বন্ধ করবার উদ্দেশ্যেই ঠিকা-প্রজা আইন পাশ করা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু আইনে নানারূপ গলদ থাকায় সেই উদ্দেশ্য ব্যর্থ হচেছ। High Courtএর বিভিন্ন জজ রায় দিয়েছেন যে কলকাতায় *thika* tenancy বলে কোন system নাই। ফলে *thika* tenantএর definition অগ্রাহ্য হয়ে গেছে এবং সমগ্র আইনটি অকেজো হতে বসেছে। এজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের উচিত ছিল *Thika* Tenancy Amendment Bill এই পরিষদে উত্থাপিত করা। কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেদিকে পা বাড়ান নাই। নিজেদের রচিত আইন নাকচ হয়ে যাচেছ কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট কোন সংশোধিত বিল আনছেন না এটা বড়ই লজ্জার কথা।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয়, ১৯৫০ সালে স্বাধীনতা দিবসে আমরা সংকল্প গ্রহণ করেছিলাম, এবং এই কথা বলেছিলাম যে পৃথিবীর অন্যান্য দেশের জনসাধারণের মতন আমাদের দেশের জনসাধারণের নিজেদের শ্রমের ফল ভোগ করার এবং জীবনধারণের জন্য সকল প্রকার উপকরণ পাবার অবিচেছদ্য অধিকার আছে। এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে একথাও বলেছিলাম যদি কোন সরকার সেই অধিকার থেকে জনসাধারণকে বঞ্চিত করে তাহা হইলে জনসাধারণেরও সেই সরকারের পরিবর্তন বা উচেছদ করার পরিপূর্ণ অধিকার আছে। আমরা পরিষদে আসাকালীন যে লিখিত ইস্তাহার দিয়েছিলাম তাতেও আমরা ঘোষণা করেছিলাম যে আমরা চাষী-প্রজা-মজুর রাজের প্রতিষ্ঠাকল্পে সকল শক্তি নিয়োজিত করবো। স্বাধীনোত্তর যুগে আমরা যে গঠনতন্ত্র তৈরী করেছি তাতে আমরা এই অধিকারগুলি মৌলিক অধিকাররূপে আইনে বিধিবদ্ধ করেছি। আমরা সেখানে বলেছি লোকের নিজের শ্রমের ফল ভোগ করবার অবিচেছদ্য অধিকার আছে, এবং জাতি-ধর্ম্ম-নির্বিশেষে সেই অধিকার আছে। কিন্তু আমরা আসলে এর উল্টো আচরণ করছি। পুলিশের বহর যতই বাড়ছে আইন ও শৃঙ্খলা ততই দেশ হতে উঠে যাচেছ। নদীয়ার পল্লীতে পল্লীতে ঘুরে এই অভিজ্ঞতাই লাভ করেছি যে, ধনসম্পত্তি কারও নিরাপদ নয়। দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ পুলিস রক্ষক হয়ে ভক্ষক। উচচ কর্ম্মচারীদের কাছে নালিশ করে প্রতিকার পাওয়া যায় না। এর উপরে আছেন প্রকিওরমেণ্ট। নদীয়ায় procurementএর নামে দরিদ্র চাষীর শ্রমলব্ধ ফসল জোর করে কেড়ে নেওয়া হচেছ। আমি ভুরি ভুরি উদাহরণ দিতে পারি। অভিযোগ পেয়ে, সরজমিনে উপস্থিত হয়ে, সাক্ষী প্রমাণ বিবৃতি নিয়ে যেগুলি সত্য বলে বুঝেছি এবং যা জেলা-শাসককে ও মন্ত্রীদের জানিয়েছি তার কয়েকটির উল্লেখ করি। দেখা যাবে চাষী কিভাবে নির্যাতিত হচেছ। পারকুলা গ্রামে প্রকিওরমেণ্ট অফিসারের সঙ্গে ইহাই সাব্যস্ত হয় যে ৫০ মন ধান দিলে পারকুলায় আর প্রকিওরমেণ্ট হবে না। নিতান্ত দরিদ্র এক ব্যক্তি যার ১ ছটাক জমিও নাই এবং অপরের জমি ভাগে চাষ ও মুনিস খাটে সে মাত্র ৬ মন ধান পেয়েছিল। পড়তা বাবদ সে এক মন ধান দেয় অবশিষ্ট থাকে ৫ মন। কিছুদিন পরে অপর একজন প্রকিওরমেণ্ট অফিসার এসে হুকুম করলেন যে অবশিষ্ট ৫ মন ধান তাকে ৭।৮ মাইল দূরে হাঁসপুকুরিয়ায় পেঁ।ছে দিয়ে আসতে হবে। বাধ্য হয়ে লোকটী তাই করল। দর পেল ৫৸৵০ মন। কোন দিন এরা ৭৷৷০ দর পায় না। বাকি বাদ, চিটে বাদ, কত ওজর। তারপর মুনিশ খেটে ১৮৲ টাকা মন দরে ধান কিনে খেতে সে বাধ্য হয়েছে। ছিন্ন-মলিন বস্ত্র পরে লোকটী কাঁদ কাঁদ হয়ে গ্রামশুদ্ধ লোকের সামনে জবানবন্দি দিল। আড়বেতাই গ্রামে দু' জনের উপর প্রত্যেকে ১৫ মন করে ধান দেবার আদেশ হয় জোর তল্লাসী বাড়ীর অন্দরে এমনকি হেঁসেলখানায় পর্যান্ত খোঁজাখুঁজি করে ঐ ধান পাওয়া গেল না। সমস্ত ধান নিঃশেষ করে যথাক্রমে ৫ মন ও ৭ মন ধান পাওয়া গেল। সাত-আট মাইল দূরে তাই তাদের দিয়ে পেঁ।ছিয়ে নেওয়া হল। কোন টাকা পেল না। এখন মাঝে মাঝে প্রকিওরমেণ্ট পুলিশ এসে তাগাদা করছে বলছে যে বাকী ধান দাও নতুবা যে ধান দিয়েছ তার টাকা পাবে না। তোমাদের বাস এখান থেকে তুলে দেব। এসব কথা কাহিনী নয়, সব সত্যি। নিজে আমি এগুলি তদন্ত করেছি। এখানে আমি নামগুলি ইচছা করেই প্রকাশ করছি না। আমার জেলার কাগজ "লোকরাজে" নামগুলি আমি প্রকাশ করেছি। জেলার শাসক ও

মন্ত্রীদের জানিয়েছি। বীরভূমে ধান চাষী সম্মেলনে ১৫ হাজার লোকের সামনে বলেছি। এসব কথা যদি মিথ্যা হয়, তাহলে সরকার আমায় prosecute করুন। আমি দায়িত্ব নিয়েই এসব কথা বলছি।

অপর একটা ঘটনার কথা বলি। দুটী বিধবা নাবালক নিয়ে ঘর করে। এদের সামান্য কিছু জমি ভাগে দিয়ে যে ধান পায় তাই এদের সম্বল। এদের বাড়ী গিয়ে দেখি বিধবাদ্বয় কোন রকমে দুটী ধান যোগাড় করে খুঁটাচেছ আর নাবালকগুলি অর্দ্ধ উলঙ্গ অবস্থায় তার আশে পাশে ওৎপেতে আছে। এদের ভাঙ্গা গোলা ও দারিদ্র্য স্বচক্ষে দেখে মর্ম্মান্তিক আঘাত পেলাম। বীচন সহ এদের মোট ধান ছিল ২৫॥০ মন। বন্দুক দেখিয়ে মেয়েদের ও নাবালকদের ভয় দেখান হয়। কোনপ্রকার নোটীস না দিয়ে ঘরের তালা ভেঙ্গে বীচনগুলি পর্য্যন্ত নেওয়া হয়। গোলা ভেঙ্গে সমস্ত ধান নেওয়া হয়। ২৫॥০ মণ ধানের এক মুঠাও রেখে যাওয়া হয় না। যারা ধান বহু দূরে হাঁসপুকুরিয়াতে পেঁছিয়ে দিয়েছে তারা যখন মাত্র ৫৸৵০ দর পেয়েছে তখন এদের ধান যখন জোর করে গাড়ী করে নিয়ে যাওয়া হয়েছে তখন এরা সে দরও পাবে না। এরা ধানের দাম চায় না। এরা ধান ফেরত চায়। ১৮৲ টাকা মন দরে ধান কিনে খাবার এদের ক্ষমতা নেই।

একজন চাষী মাঠে লাঙ্গল দিয়ে যায়। ইতিপূর্ব্বে পড়তা মাফিক তার ২ মন ধান তাকে দিয়ে বইয়ে নিয়ে ৫৸৵০ দর দেওয়া হয়েছিল। মাঠের থেকে ফিরে এসে দেখে তার বাড়ীর ভেতর ঢুকে অবশিষ্ট ৫ মন ধান সবই সিজ করা হয়েছে। বীচন ও খাওয়ার ধান বাবদ এক মুঠাও অবশিষ্ট থাকল না। এ ধানও সুদূর গ্রামে তাকে দিয়ে পেঁছে নিয়ে মাত্র ৫৸৵০ দর দেওয়া হয়েছে। লাগে তার মাসিক ১০ মন ধান। ১৮৲ টাকা মন দরে সেই ধান তাকে কিনে খেতে হচেছ।

আজকাল পুলিসের চেয়েও এই Procurement Officerদের লোকে বেশী ভয় করে থাকে। অনেক সময় এই অফিসাররা যখন গ্রামে যায় তখন গাঁয়ের পুরুষরা পালিয়ে যায়। তখন এরা যা ইচ্ছা তাই করে। চড়কপোতা গ্রামে একজনের সমস্ত ধান নিয়ে যাওয়ায় সে লোকটা আধপাগলা হয়ে গিয়েছে। কি খাব কি খাব, বিষ খেয়ে মরবো, হুজুরের কাছে, হাকিমের কাছে যাব। আর একজন কি খাব কি খাব বলে, পরের দিন heart fail করে মারা গেল। এ সবই সত্য কথা। কড়ুইগাছি গ্রামে একজন মেয়ে লোকের ঘরে চড়াও হয়ে বাড়ীতে তখন পুরুষ ছিল না, সেই সময় দরজা ভেঙ্গে ঘরে ঢুকবার চেষ্টা হয়, বাধা দিতে গেলে তার হাতের শাঁখা ভেঙ্গে যায়। হিন্দু ভদ্রঘরের মেয়ে ইনি। সেই ভাঙ্গা শাঁখার টুকরো আমার কাছে আছে।

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি দু-তিন মিনিট আগে যা বলছিলাম তাতে আমি কয়েকটা থানার দৃষ্টান্ত দিয়েছি। যেমন তেহাটা, নাকাশীপাড়া, ছাপড়া ইত্যাদি। দৃষ্টান্ত আর আমি বাড়াতে চাই না, খালি এইটুকু বলতে চাই যে বর্ত্তমানে যে সমস্ত প্রকিয়রমেণ্ট অফিসার আছে তাদের দেখে কৃষকরা পুলিশের থেকেও বেশী ভয় পায়। ক্রেতাকে দেখে বিক্রেতার এইরকম ভয় পাওয়া পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে দুর্লভ। যদি কৃষকদের উচিত মূল্য দেওয়া হত ধানের, তাহলে বিক্রেতা মাথায় করে বয়ে নিয়ে সরকারী গুদামে ধান দিয়ে আসত নিজের গরজে এবং ক্ষেতখামারে আরও বেশী ফসল ফলাত। কিন্তু তাকে ন্যায্য মূল্য দেওয়া হয় না এবং তার মুখের গ্রাস কেড়ে নেওয়া হয়, তাকে তার শ্রমলব্ধ ফল ভোগ করতে দেওয়া হয় না। সেই কারণে আজকে প্রকিয়রমেণ্ট কর্ম্মচারীদের দেখলেই পুলিশ অপেক্ষা গ্রামের লোক বেশী ভীত হয়। আমি এখানে এক মন ধানের কি পড়তা দর তার একটা হিসাব দেখাচিছ। এটা বেসরকারী হিসাব নয় সরকারী হিসাব।

আমাদের Indian Central Jute Committee's যে অর্থনীতি বিভাগ আছে, ভারতীয় গভর্ণমেণ্টের পরিচালিত সরকারী প্রতিষ্ঠান, তাদের হিসাব। তাঁরা বিভিন্ন কেন্দ্রে পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খরূপে হিসাব লিখে বহু চাষীর ধান উৎপাদনের খরচের হিসাব থেকে একটা গড় হিসাব প্রকাশ করেন। পাট এবং ধানের parity price রাখবার জন্য এটা করেন। সেখান থেকে আমি পড়ে দেখাচিছ। Average cost of production—আসাম কেন্দ্র বাদে, এই বাংলায় যে কেন্দ্রগুলি আছে তার গড় খরচ দেখি। মনোহরপুর, হুগলী জেলায়, বেলাকোবা, জলপাইগুড়ি জেলায় সেখানের গড় খরচ এইরূপ। ১৯৪৮ সালে এক মন ধানের পড়তা খরচ ১৮৲ টাকা। মনোহরপুরে এবং বেলাকোবায় ১২ টাকা ১০ আনা। ১৯৪৯ সালে হচেছ মনোহরপুরে ঐ এক মন ধানের খরচ ১০ টাকা ১৫ আনা, আর বেলাকোবায় ১০ টাকা ৪ আনা। আমাদের নদীয়া জেলায় জমিকে

র্থনীতির কথায় marginal land বলা যেতে পারে। নদীয়ায় এক মন ধান তৈরীর খরচ অনেক বেশী পড়ে, সমগ্র পশ্চিম বাংলার জন্য গড় হিসাব বের করতে যেয়ে বহু রকম অঙ্ক কষে দেখেছি কোন রকমেই এক ন ধানের দর ১০৲ টাকার কমে হয় না।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: এই যে একটু পূর্ব্বে আপনি বললেন ১৮৲ টাকা এক মন ধানের দাম।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : আশ্চর্য্য হবার কিছু নেই, মনোহরপুর ও বেলাকোবার হিসাব রকারী হিসাব। Human labour, cattle labour, manure, rent সমস্ত কিছু খরচ ধরে এক ন ধান তৈরীর গড় খরচ ১৯৪৮ সালে মনোহরপুরে পড়েছে ১৮৲ টাকা এবং বেলাকোবায় পড়েছে ১২৲ টাকা ৷০ আনা। আউস ধান ৬৷৷০ টাকায় এবং আমন ধান ৭৷৷০ টাকায় নেবার কথা কিন্তু নদীয়ায় অনেক স্থলে কনেছেন তারা মাত্র ৫ টাকা ১৫ আনায়। চিটেবাদ, বালিবাদ, ফাঁকী দেবার অনেক অজুহাত আছে। যখন াট্‌তি অঞ্চল থেকে ধান সংগ্রহ করা হয় তখন বলা হয় প্রয়োজন হলে আবার সেই ঘাট্‌তি অঞ্চলেই ধান দেওয়া হবে। কিন্তু আমি জানি এমন বহু এলাকা আছে, যেখানে প্রয়োজন হলেও দেওয়া হয় না। তিন বৎসর ধরে আমি procurementএ সাহায্য করেছিলাম, দেখছি তাতে মহাপাপ করেছি। যখন ধান নেন তখন বলা য়, ঐ ধান অন্য জায়গায় যাবে না, সেখানেই থাকবে এবং প্রয়োজন হলে সেখানকার গ্রামের লোকরাই পাবে। চাছাড়া প্রয়োজনমত অতিরিক্ত ধান বা চাল গ্রামের লোকদের দেওয়া হবে। কিন্তু ধান নেবার পরে সেকথা তমন মনে থাকে না। যারা হয় ধান ভেঙ্গে খায় অথবা চাল বিক্রয় করে খায় তারা এই ধান থেকে বঞ্চিত য়েছে। যারা শ্রমিক তারা ইউনিয়নের বাইরে গিয়ে ধান আনতে পারে না, কারণ তাতে তাদের রোজ কামাই য়। তারাও এই ধান থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়েছে। প্রয়োজনমত গ্রামের লোক চাল বা ধান পান না। দেখেছি াহরে যখন ১৬৸৶০ বা ১৭৷৷০ বা ১৮৲ টাকা control দরে চাল পান তখন গ্রামের চাষী, যারা ধান উৎপন্ন করে, তাদের ২৫৲ টাকা হতে ৬৫৲ টাকা পর্য্যন্ত মূল্যে চাল কিনতে হয়।

মহাত্মা গান্ধী, আমাদের জাতির জনক, তিনি বলেছিলেন স্বাধীনতার যুগে, আমাদের দেশের সহরগুলি গ্রামের পরিচর্য্যার জন্য থাকবে। কিন্তু আমরা কি দেখছি। আজ সহরগুলির পরিচর্য্যায় আমাদের এই "হবুচন্দ্র রাজার বুচন্দ্র মন্ত্রীদের" পাল্লায় পড়ে গ্রামগুলিকে নির্ম্মমভাবে দোহন ও শোষণ করা হচেছ।

কাজের মধ্যে ত দেখি নানারূপ statistics কষা আর রেডিওতে বক্তৃতা করা। এদের statistics ংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে রাজ্যের কটা গাধা আছে তার গণনার কথা মনে পড়ে। সময়াভাব নইলে গল্পটা শুনাতাম। াষীকে মেরে কেউ অধিক খাদ্য ফলাতে পারে না। তার ধান কেড়ে নেব অথচ ন্যায্য দাম দেব না। তাকে ৲ টাকা দিলেই inflation হবে এই অজুহাত দেখাব, আবার সেই মুখেই বলব কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ চাই, সংকার আচরণ। আমেরিকা প্রভৃতি দেশে এত প্রচুর খাদ্য ফলে কেন? কেননা সেসব দেশের সরকার চাষীদের র্বপ্রকারে সাহায্য করেন। অষ্ট্রেলিয়া, আমেরিকা, নিউজিলণ্ড প্রভৃতি দেশে চাষীদের ফসলের উপর প্রয়োজন নেই subsidy দেওয়া হয়। চাষী যে ফসল তৈরী করে তার দামের সঙ্গে চাষী যেসব জিনিষ কেনে তার ামের সমতা রক্ষা করা হয়। এই pariy price বজায় না থাকলেই চাষীর উৎপন্ন ফসলের দাম কমে গেলেই সরকার চাষীর সাহায্যে এগিয়ে আসেন। Rock bottom price তাঁরা ঠিক করেন এবং তার নীচে াম নেমে গেলেই সরকার নিজেই খরিদ্দার হন এবং চড়া দরে মাল কেনেন—চাষীকে subsidy দেন। তাই সব দেশে ফসল উৎপাদনে চাষীর উৎসাহ আছে। ভারত সরকার Sir Krishnamachariকে সভাপতি করে য Prices Sub-Committee গঠন করেন তাঁরাও এদেশে এই নীতি অবলম্বনের সুপারিশ করেছেন। াঁরা সেকথা শুনার দরকার মনে করেন না। চাষী যেসব জিনিষ কেনে যেমন কাপড়, নুন, তেল ইত্যাদি ার দাম এখন খুব চড়ে গিয়েছে তার দাম কমাতে মন্ত্রীদের কিছুমাত্র লক্ষ্য নেই কেবল ধানের পড়তা দর দেবার বলায় অমনি inflationএর ভয় দেখান হয়। এদিকে ঝুন্‌ঝুন্‌ওয়ালার দল যখন কাপড়ের দাম বৎসরে তনবার করে বাড়াচেছন তখন তাঁদের inflationএর কথা মনে থাকে না। আমাদের বিড়ালরূপী মন্ত্রীরা হরের শক্ত মাটী পুঁজিবাদীদের তেল দেন আর গ্রামের নরম মাটী চাষীদের সদ্ব্যবহার করেন। মন্ত্রীদের যাঁরা কদা হাঁটুর উপর খদ্দর পরে পায়ে হাঁটা পথে গ্রামের মধ্যে ঘুরে বেড়াতেন, কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজের কথা বলতেন এখন মন্ত্রী হবার পর তাদের ভোল বদলে গিয়েছে। এখন লম্বা বহরের ধোপদুরস্ত খদ্দর প্লিটে দিয়ে কোঁচান তাই

তাঁরা পরেন। টাক মাথায় জবাকুসুম তেল মাখেন। বড় মোটর গাড়ী চড়ে বেড়ান। Writers' Buildingsএর ফাইলের তলায় আত্মগোপন করেছেন, গাঁয়ে যেয়ে দরিদ্র জনসাধারণের দুর্দ্দশা দেখার অবসর কোথায় তাঁদের।

বিদেশ থেকে উচ্চ দরে খাদ্যশস্য কিনে আনা হবে এতে অষ্ট্রেলিয়া, চীন, ব্রহ্ম, শ্যাম প্রভৃতি বিদেশের চাষী subsidy পাবে। কেবল subsidy পাবে না নিজের দেশের চাষী। ধন্য এদের কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার আদর্শ। চাষী মেরে ওরা অধিক খাদ্য ফলাবেন। অধিক খাদ্য ফলানর লম্বা লম্বা কথা ধাঁওতা ছাড়া আর কিছুই নহে।

দেশের অভ্যন্তরে যে cordon প্রথা তা রেখে অকারণে লোকের দুঃখ বাড়ান হচেছ এবং জনসাধারণকে প্রয়োজনীয় খাদ্য না দিয়ে cordonএ ঘিরে রেখে অসাধু হতে বাধ্য করা হচেছ। Cordon বেষ্টিত এলাকার এপারে ওপারে খাদ্যশস্যের দামের তফাৎ আকাশ পাতাল। আজ পাকিস্তানে খাদ্যশস্য smuggled হয়ে যাবার ভয় নেই কেননা সেখানে খাদ্যশস্যের দাম আমাদের এখানের অপেক্ষা অনেক কম। অতএব সীমান্তে cordon রেখে এবং কলিকাতার চারিদিকে cordon রেখে রাষ্ট্রের আভ্যন্তরীণ অন্যান্য cordon অচিরে উঠিয়ে দেওয়া উচিত। এতে দামের সাম্য হয়। দেশের অভ্যন্তরে অতিরিক্ত খাদ্য সংগ্রহে কেউ আপত্তি করছে না। সেই অতিরিক্ত খাদ্য সহরে আসুক। বিদেশ থেকে সংগৃহীত খাদ্য সহরে আসুক। কিন্তু পল্লীকে মেরে সহরকে খাওয়াতে হবে কেন?

ইংরাজ চলে গিয়েছেন কিন্তু রেখে গেছেন Writers' Buildings file. কালো সাহেবেরা ইংরাজের জায়গায় বসেছেন। যাঁরা একদা ৫০০৲ বেতন পেতেন তাঁরা এখন ২,০০০৲, ৩,০০০৲ টাকা বেতন পাচেচন। মন্ত্রীরা সব পুরাতন কায়দায় চলছেন moving in the old groves. ইংরাজ থাকতে যেটুক বিচার ছিল আজ তাও নেই। নদীয়ার পল্লী অঞ্চল হতে এই পরিষদে আমি প্রতিনিধি আছি ১৩ বৎসরের উপর। গত ৩০ বৎসর যাবত আমি জনসাধারণের সেবার কাজে নদীয়ার পল্লী অঞ্চলে ঘুরে বেড়াবার অভিজ্ঞতা রাখি। নিজের অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে বলছি। সমস্ত দায়িত্ব নিয়ে বলছি। নদীয়ার পল্লী অঞ্চলে আজ কোন আইন ও শৃঙ্খলা নেই। কি বৃটিশ আমল, কি লীগ আমল এমন পরিপূর্ণ অরাজকতা কখন দেখিনি। এমন দিন নাই যে দিন চুরি, ডাকাতি, রাহাজানি হচেছ না। কোন উপায় নাই প্রতিকারের। দারোগার কাছে নালিশ করতে গেলে ফল হয় না। দেখা যায় তিনি অত্যাচারীর প্রশ্রয়দাতা। অনেক ক্ষেত্রে ডায়েরী পর্য্যন্ত গ্রহণ করেন না। ডায়েরী করতে গেলে তাড়া খেয়ে বা মার খেয়ে আসতে হয়। পল্লীর চাষী দুর্বৃত্তের হাত থেকে ফসল বাঁচাতে পারছে না। অত্যাচারীকে তারা সায়েস্তা করতে পারছে না, অত্যাচারীই তাদের সায়েস্তা করে রেখেছে। যদি দুর্বৃত্তের হাত থেকে গরুর মুখ থেকে কিছু ফসল বাঁচাল ত অমনি Procurement Departmentএর লোক এসে তা কেড়ে নিয়ে গেল। ধন, সম্পত্তি কারুর নিরাপদ নয়। অনেক স্থলে চাষী চাষের বলদ ঘরের মধ্যে রেখে নিজে বাত্রে পিড়েয় শুয়ে থাকে তবুও বলদ চুরি বন্ধ করতে পারে না। অনেক সময় দুর্বৃত্তেরা দিনের বেলায় লাঙ্গল থেকে বলদ খুলে নিয়ে যায়। বহু ঘটনার কথা জানি। গরীব চাষীর দুঃখের অন্ত নাই। কি চমৎকার স্বরাজই হয়েছে। চাষীর স্বরাজ হয়নি। স্বরাজ হয়েছে আমাদের মন্ত্রী মহাশয়দের আর দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ কর্ম্মচারীদের।

মাননীয় সভাপাল মহাশয়, আপনার নিশ্চয় শ্রীশশাঙ্কশেখর সান্যালের কথা মনে আছে। তিনি একদা Congress Parliamentary Partyর Chief Whip এই পরিষদেই ছিলেন। শশাঙ্কশেখর সান্যাল মুর্শিদাবাদের রত্ন। তিনি আমায় বল্লেন যে নদীয়া ও মুর্শিদাবাদের সংলগ্ন নদীয়ার এক থানার এক দারোগা (নাম কোরব না) তাঁর মুর্শিদাবাদের বাড়ী, ঘোড়া, বলদ, তৈজসপত্র, খাদ্যশস্য ইত্যাদি লুটের মালে বোঝাই করল। মুর্শিদাবাদের গ্রামের ঐ দারোগার এক ভাই নদীয়ায় এসে গাড়ী বোঝাই করে লুটের মাল নিয়ে যায়। আমি বললাম সবই আমার জানা আছে স্বয়ং এসব কথা কর্তৃপক্ষকে নিবেদন করেছি কোন ফল হয়নি। এই দারোগা একজনের একটী cycle কেড়ে নেন। ঐ ব্যক্তি Subdivisional Officerএর কাছে নালিশ করেন। Subdivisional Officer দারোগাকে cycleটী ফিরিয়ে দেবার হুকুম করেন। দারোগা Subdivisional Officerএর কথা শুনে না। লোকটী বহু ঘুরেও cycleটী আদায় করতে পারে না। দারোগা বলে "তোমার অত গরজ থাকে আর একটী cycle কিনে নাও গিয়ে, এ cycle পাবে না।" দারোগার কিছু করার উপায় নাই কেননা কংগ্রেসের বিশিষ্ট নেতা যে বাড়ীতে থাকেন সেই বাড়ীর মালিকের এই দারোগাটী আত্মীয়। প্রায়ই মোটর সাইকেল হাঁকিয়ে ঐ বাড়ীতে আসেন। কংগ্রেসের নেতারই তিনি পরম প্রিয় পাত্র।

একজনের একজোড়া বলদ ও একটী গাই বাছুর ভিন্ন গ্রামের লোক তার অনুপস্থিতি কালে নিয়ে যায়। লোকটী বলদ ও গাই বাছুর কোথায় আছে খুঁজে খুঁজে বের করে তারপর কবি বিজয়লাল চট্টোপাধ্যায় মহাশয়ের কাছ থেকে চিঠি নিয়ে আমার কাছে আসে। আমি জেলা শাসককে ফোনে সব কথা নিবেদন করি। জেলা শাসক Subdivisional Officerএর কাছে লোকটীকে পাঠাতে বলেন। আমি লোকটীকে লিখিত নোট দিয়ে Subdivisional Officerএর কাছে পাঠাই। Subdivisional Officerকে ফোনেও বলে দেই। দুদিন পরে লোকটী ঘুরে এসে আমায় বলল আমায় থানায় যেতে বললেন। আমি থানায় গেলাম। সেখানে সন্ধ্যা পর্য্যন্ত দাঁড় করিয়ে রাখল। আমার কোন কথা শুনল না। তারপর তাড়িয়ে দিল। আবার বলে "খরচ লাগবে।" একজন সাধু দারোগা ত প্রকাশ্যে দম্ভ করে বেড়ান স্বয়ং পোলার্ড সাহেব এস্, পি, আমার কোন দিন কিছু করতে পারেনি তা হরিপদবাবু। এই ভদ্রলোক যে পরিমান টাকা ঘুসে কামিয়েছেন তাতে সারা জীবন আর চাকুরী না করলেও চলবে। আমি বিধান পরিষদে জেলার প্রতিনিধি। যত অযোগ্যতাই আমার থাক আমিও সরকারের অংশ। His Majesty's Opposition ও Governmentএর অংশ বলেই খ্যাত হয়। অথচ কিছুই করবার উপায় নাই। দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ অত্যাচারিত হয়ে আমার কাছে দুঃখ জানান আমি তার কোন প্রতিকারই করতে পারিনে।

এই হলো অবস্থা। এখানে (pointing to Government Benches) ওরা যদি মনে করে থাকেন এইরূপ অরাজকতা চলতে দিলে দেশের না হউক ওদের মঙ্গল হবে তাহলে অদূর ভবিষ্যতেই দেখতে পাবেন কি হয়।

আজ বেগুনের দাম সস্তা কেন কারণ ধানের চাষ চাষীরা কমিয়ে দিয়েছে। ধান চাষ করে রাখবার যো নেই। যদিও বা চোর বা দুর্বৃত্তদের হাত থেকে কোন গতিকে কিছু বাঁচলো কিন্তু Procurement Departmentএর হাত থেকে বাঁচাবার উপায় নেই; (খাদ্যমন্ত্রী শ্রীপ্রফুল্ল সেন: "বেগুণ ত সস্তা হল।" "বেগুন আপনারা খেয়ে হয়ত থাকতে পারেন কিন্তু চাষীদের ত আর বেগুন খেয়ে চলতে পারে না। সুতরাং এইসব জিনিষ সস্তা হলেও চাষীর তত কিছু এসে যায় না।" তারপর দিল্লী চুক্তির কথা। পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে যদি সংগ্রাম করতে হয় না হয় সর্ব্বাগ্রে প্রস্তুত হওয়া যাবে। কিন্তু নিজের নাক কেটে পরের যাত্রা ভঙ্গ আমাদের নীতি হতে পারে না। নিজের দেশের চাষী ঠেঙ্গান আর আপন ভাতের হাড়ীতে লাথি মারা একই কথা। দু'লক্ষ চাষীর ভিটে ছাড়া হলেই আমরা তাদের নিরাপত্তা দিতে পারিনি। আজ তারা প্রায় সকলেই ফিরে এসেছে। ঘর পায়নি, জমি পায়নি, আজ ৭।৮ মাসের উপর কি দুঃখে তারা কাল কাটাচ্ছে তা ভাষায় বলা যায় না। এরা ভারতীয় নাগরিক এদের নিরাপত্তা রক্ষা করা কি অন্যায়। তা ছাড়া মানবতার দাবীও ত আছে। পাকিস্তানে যখন কোন মুসলমান হিন্দুদের রক্ষা করেছেন তা কি ভাল হয় নাই। এখানে যখন কেউ মুসলমানদের রক্ষা করেন তাই বা ভাল বলব না কেন?

আমার জেলায় বাস্তুহারা ছয় থেকে সাত লক্ষ। যখন তাদের কথা, তাদের দুঃখ-দুর্দ্দশার কথা একটু কিছু বলি তখন অবাক হয়ে ভাবি কতটুকু বা বলতে পারছি। তাদের দুঃখের অন্ত নাই। আশ্চর্য্য হয়ে যাই দেখে যে আমাদের মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর এদের পুনর্ব্বসতি সম্বন্ধে কোন সুনির্দিষ্ট পরিকল্পনা নাই। আমাদের ওখানে একটা Government কলোনি হয়েছে আমি একদিন Agriculture Departmentএর বড় কর্ম্মচারীর সঙ্গে সেখানে যাই। কর্ম্মচারীটী supervise করতে গিয়েছিলেন। দেখলাম সেখানে ৫০০ ঘর উদ্বাস্তুকে বসান হয়েছে—তার মধ্যে ৩৫০ ঘর চাষী আর ১৫০ ঘর মধ্যবিত্ত লোক। চাষীদের একটা করে বাড়ীর জায়গা আর একটু করে জমি দেওয়া হয়েছে। আমাকে পদস্থ কর্ম্মচারীটী বললেন কে এমন জমি বন্দোবস্ত করেছে? গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেখানে যে জমিতে কলোনী বসিয়েছেন পাঁচশো ঘর লোকের, সে জমির মাত্র ৪ ইঞ্চি তফাতেই বালি, সেখানে তারা কি ফসল উৎপাদন করবে? সুতরাং কি করে তারা সেখানে থাকতে পারবে? এই বাবদ যে সাড়ে পাঁচ লক্ষ টাকা ব্যয় হলো, সেটা কি সেরেফ্ অপব্যয় নয়? শুনেছি সে জায়গাটা Government Departmentএর জন্য নেওয়া হয়েছিল। Forest Department সেখানে বন রচনা করলে ভালই হত। Rainfall বাড়ত। জেলার চাষীদের কল্যাণ হত। কিন্তু জেলার বিশিষ্ট কংগ্রেস নেতার সুপারিশ ক্রমে Forest Department থেকে জমিটা কেড়ে নিয়ে বাস্তুহারাদের সেখানে বসানো হয়েছে। জলশূন্য অনুর্ব্বর জায়গায় মানুষের কতদিন থাকা চলবে? এখনই তারা বলতে সুরু করেছে--কি করে আমরা বাঁচবো দু'দিন পরেই তো Governmentএর gratuitous relief বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে। তখন আমরা খাবো কি? এসেম্ব্লিতে আসবার আগে আমি ধুবুলিয়া campএ যাই। জিতেন কুশারী সেখানে commandant, তার সঙ্গে একত্র

জেলে ছিলাম, তাকে আমি বিশেষভাবে জানি, দেখলাম সেখানে তার অবস্থা—চাল নাই তরোয়াল নাই নিধিরাম সর্দারের মতন। অথচ তাকে কতকগুলি দায়িত্ব দেয়া হয়েছে। একটা পুকুর কাটা হচেচ, জিজ্ঞাসা করলাম ব্যয় কত হল,--এই তিন হাত খুড়তে? আমাকে সে বল্লে--যে ৬০।৭০ হাজার টাকার উপর। অপর মুখে শুনলাম--১ লক্ষ টাকার কম খরচ পড়েনি। মাত্র তিন হাত খুড়তেই এক লক্ষ টাকা লেগেছে, আরো কয়েক লাখ ব্যয় করে খুড়লেও সেখানে জল হবে কিনা সন্দেহ। এইতো এদের ব্যবস্থার নমুনা, কোন পরিকল্পনা না থাকলে এইই হয়। একে টাকা নাই তার উপর যদি উপযুক্ত পরিকল্পনাও না থাকে তাতে ফল যা হবার তাই হচেচ। লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকার অপব্যয় মাত্র হলো বাস্তুহারাদের নামে অথচ তাদের কোন উপকার হলো না। তারপর মহাজাতি কলোনী বলে একটা কলোনী হয়েছিল, তার জন্য বহু টিন গিয়েছিল এখন সেখানে দুই ঘরের বেশী লোক নাই। সেসব টিন কোথায় গেল? প্রায় তিন কোটি টাকা আমাদের জেলার খরচ হয়েছে loan, test relief আর gratuitous relief ইত্যাদিতে, এগুলি যদি ভালো করে পরীক্ষা করা যায় অনেক রহস্য বেরিয়ে পড়বে। এই টাকা শুধু বাস্তুহারারাই পেয়েছে, না অন্য কোথাও গিয়েছে। এসব জনসাধারণের অর্থ, এর প্রতিটি পয়সার হিসেব দেওয়া উচিত। এসব case ওদের সব চাপা দেয়ার চেষ্টা। আজকে কি দেখছি আমরা? দেখছি দেশের মালিক আজ জনসাধারণ নয়, মালিক হচেচ দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ সরকারী কর্ম্মচারী ও ঘুষখোর পুলিশের দারোগা আর পাটের আমিন যাদের বর্ত্তমানে U. A. বলে। নিম্ন কর্ম্মচারীরা President, Union Boardএর সঙ্গে আগে gratuitous relief দেয়ার কর্ত্তা। তাদের যাকে যা খুসী হয়ত দেয়, না হয়তো না দেয়, বাস্তুহারা যদি কিছু বলতে চায়, তা বলতে পারে না, কাজে কাজেই সংক্ষেপে একটুকু বলছি যে এদের হাত থেকে আমাদের বাঁচানো দরকার। এরকম কত আছে, বলে শেষ করা যায় না। আমাদের জেলা-শাসককে দারোগার দুর্নীতির কথা বলেছিলাম। তিনি বল্লেন যে তিনি Deputy Inspector-Generalকে এ বিষয়ে বলেছিলেন। তিনি নাকি বল্লেন ১৩টি থানায় ১৩টী সাধু লোক পর্য্যন্ত দেবার তাঁর উপায় নাই। সবই ঐ রকমের। অথচ এরাই দেশ শাসন করছে। এরাই আমাদের হর্ত্তা কর্ত্তা বিধাতা। একজন তাদের মধ্যে গর্ব্ব করে বল্লে Pollard সাহেবই আমাকে শাসন করতে পারেনি। রাধানগরে এক দারোগা এসে বল্লে এই যে বাঁশ ও কাঁঠাল গাছ কাটছেন এগুলি সরকারী সম্পত্তি, আপনাদের থানায় যেতে হবে—তারা থানায় গেল। দিল two pice. অমনি সব মিটে গেল। U. A. দেখলেন তিনি ফাঁক যান। তিনি আবার এসে বল্লেন "সরকারী জিনিষ তছরূপ করেছো" কাজেই সেখানেও two pice. সংখ্যালঘুদের বাঁশ, আম, কাঁঠাল বাগান যা আমাদের জাতীয় সম্পত্তি তা কিন্তু সাবাড় হয়ে গেল। আমরা এইরূপ স্বাধীন সরকারের রাজ্যে তিন বছর যাবত বাস করছি--এটা কি মগের মুল্লুকে বাস করছি না কোন সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত Government আছে তা বুঝি না। কি মুসলমান কি বৃটীশ আমল--কোন আমলেই এরকম শাসনপদ্ধতি ভেঙ্গে যায়নি--এরকম অরাজকতা হয়নি। আমরা কাকে বলি। যখন কোন জেলা কর্ম্মচারীকে বলি তখন চেয়ারকে বলি না বেঞ্চিকে বলি তা বুঝি না। আর আমাদের এই যে মন্ত্রীরা রয়েছেন—গবুচন্দ্র মন্ত্রী--যখন তাদের কাছেও বলি তখনও ভাবি কার কাছে চেয়ারের কাছে, না টেবিলের কাছে বলছি। যদি এদের আদর্শবাদ এবং কাজ করার ক্ষমতা থাকতো তাহলে দেশে চাষী-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠিত হতো। তারা চাষীকে জমির মালিক করতেন। কিন্তু সেটা যে কোনদিন হবে তা মনে হয় না। কারণ এরা সেসব দিক দিয়েই নাই। এরাই হচ্ছে আমাদের popular Minister. এখানে সেখানে পুলিশ। আবার এরাই হ'ল popular Minister Writers' Buildingএ বসে দেশ শাসন করছে। Saloonএ চড়ে বেড়ায় কিন্তু একটা public meeting address করার সাহস এদের নাই। এরাই হচেচ আমাদের popular Ministers। মন্ত্রীদের পাশে পাশে revolver নিয়ে একজন দাঁড়িয়ে। এইতো আমাদের popular Ministry. আবার গার্ড-অব-অনার—উঃ কি সম্মান। Gladstone 3rd classএ যাচ্ছিলেন, তাঁকে 3rd classএ কেন যাচেছন জিজ্ঞাসা করায় বল্লেন "4th classও নেই।" ইংলণ্ডের প্রধান মন্ত্রী 3rd classএ গেলে তাঁর সম্মানের হানি হয় না। আমাদের কিন্তু saloon নইলে চলে না। আর দেশের চাষীর চোখে জল পড়ছে। তারা কার কাছে তাদের দুঃখের কথা বলবে। লোকে এসে বলে থানায় এজাহার নিলনা। আমি জেলার প্রতিনিধি--আমি তাকে কি উত্তর দেব ভেবে পাই না। এরকম ব্যাপারত শত শত--থানায় গেলেতো অপমানিত হতে হয়। অরাজকতা অবাধে চলবে প্রতিকারের কোন উপায় নাই। গ্রামের কয়জন ভাল worker--এদের নামে warrant--আমিও একটি caseএর আসামী। আমাদের বন্ধু শিশির সেন রাজনীতি করেন না শুধু গঠনমূলক কাজ নিয়ে, গ্রামের সেবা নিয়ে থাকেন। তিনি তেহট্টা সমবায় সমিতির জন্য উদয়-অস্ত বিনা পারিশ্রমিকে খাটেন। তাকে কে না জানে বাংলা দেশে। এমন দরদী কর্ম্মী বড় মেলে না। তাকেও মিথ্যা মোকদ্দমায় আসামী করা হল। আমার এক

বন্ধু সহকর্ম্মী যার সঙ্গে আমার বহু বছরের পরিচয় তাকে আসামী করা হয়েছে, warrant দেওয়া হয়েছে কেননা সে একটা caseএ সাক্ষী দিতে যেতে পারেনি। তাঁর স্ত্রী Typho-Pneumoniaতে ভুগছিল তাই যেতে পারেনি। অথচ সাক্ষী দিতে গিয়ে বহু বার আদালতে গিয়ে ফিরে এসেছে। হাকিম আসামী কারুর দর্শন পাওয়া যায় না। এবার অনিবার্য্য কারণে যেতে পারিনি দরখাস্ত দিয়ে জানিয়েছেও তথাপি তার উপর warrant issue করা হল। এর উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে আমাদের প্রত্যেককে হয়রাণি করা। কোন বিচার নেই—কিছু নেই। আমার বলার সময় শেষ হয়ে এলো। আমি শুধু একথা ভাবছি আবার একটা বিপ্লব আসন্ন। এরা ওখানে ট্রেজারী তক্তে বসে ভাবছেন যে সব ঠিক আছে। এদিকে যে পল্লীতে বিপ্লব বাসা বাঁধছে। হয় কংগ্রেসের ঘোষিত আদর্শ রক্ষিত হবে নতুবা এই বিপ্লব কেউ ঠেকাতে পারবে না। চাষীদের হত্যা করলে নিজেদেরও হত হতে হবে। পূর্ববঙ্গের বাস্তহারা যাঁরা এসেছেন তাঁদের ত্যাগেই একদা স্বাধীনতা আমরা পেয়েছি। তাঁদের যদি কোন ব্যবস্থা না হয় তাহলে সমস্তই ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে। জাতিধর্ম্মনির্ব্বিশেষে সকলের সুখ-সুবিধার ও স্বার্থ রক্ষা করাই যে গঠনতন্ত্রের উদ্দেশ্য তা ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে এবং ধর্ম্মনিরপেক্ষ রাষ্ট্রের ধ্বংস অনিবার্য্য যদি না সংখ্যালঘুদের নিরাপত্তাও রক্ষা করতে পারি। সময় নেই, এই বলেই শেষ করছি।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency the Governor has made one of those usual stereotyped speeches to which we have got quite used from the mouths of the Congress leaders in and outside the Legislatures. With regard to the promises made by the Governor in his speech on behalf of his Government, I have not much to say, because it is obvious that a Government or rather the Congress leaders who have not kept a single promise which they made during the last 30 or 40 years when they were fighting against the British Imperialism will not keep promises today just because they are in power. I did not expect that the speech would contain any sober or correct analysis of the causes of the situation in West Bengal today, because I know that the Government is incapable of making any such analysis. But what I was shocked at is that no attempt whatsoever has been made in the speech which has been placed before us at the opening of the Budget Session to depict or describe the reality of 3½ years of Congress rule in West Bengal—the reality of mass starvation, mass unemployment, rising prices of food, cloths and other necessaries of life, a shrinking of educational facilities for our children, the increasing difficulties faced even by small business men and industrialists because they are unable to buy raw materials at low prices. Above all there is no mention whatsoever in the speech about the continued attack on the civil liberties. There is nothing in the Address completely describing the situation in terms of the suffering of our people, how our men, women and children are living without adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical treatment, etc. The workers, peasants, middle-class people are living a life of utter destitution and shame; it is not human existence. For 3½ years our people have been fed on empty promises and true to those promises today again at the opening of the Budget Session we found His Excellency the Governor telling us the same things over and over again. Just now we have heard from the members of the new Opposition stories of the corruption that is being practised throughout West Bengal by the officials under the Congress Government.

I do not blame them. The previous speaker has related certain things wherein he has shown how officials are corrupt. But I should say that he should have pointed out that first and foremost the Ministers are corrupt and that it is difficult for their officials not to be corrupt. We all know that almost every official is making money at the expense of the people. But there are businessmen Ministers, zamindar Ministers and others as well who are in the Cabinet with them, who are making money through other means sitting in Writers' Buildings. I wonder how long we have to suffer from such a shameful state of affairs from such a Government.

Now coming to the Address itself there is at the very beginning a self-complacent statement about the refugees in West Bengal. Apart from the

misleading figures which had been given I should like to draw your attention to the fact that Government knows or knew that it had to deal with a vast human problem and that it had to deal with uprooted humanity by the lakhs, and I should have thought that the first task of the Government should have been to set up a proper machinery for scientifically finding out facts and figures as to how refugees are coming in, how many Muslims are going out of West Bengal, but unfortunately up to date Government has no adequate figures. The figures cited in His Excellency's report can be challenged by anybody and if we challenge them Government cannot turn round to us and say, "No, we have figures collected through proper methods; there are our statisticians". Our reports are that there are even now in West Bengal more than 40 lakhs of refugees, although Government has told us that there are only about 20 or 21 lakhs of refugees still remaining and the rest have gone back. It is true and it has been stated in His Excellency's speech that after the Delhi Pact many refugees have gone back to Pakistan as many of the Muslims who had gone away to Pakistan have come back to West Bengal. But it would be the height of folly to suggest that all this has happened due to the Delhi Pact. It is common knowledge that people do not easily want to leave their hearths and homes and live a miserable existence and die in foreign places. So as soon as there is some peace refugees go back to their homes. When there was a certain normalcy after the riots Muslims came back here and other people who came here—I mean the Hindus—went back to Pakistan. But the situation continues to be uncertain. It is deplorable that this Government does not realise that this is a very uncertain state of affairs. Had they consulted the minorities here in West Bengal they would have seen that the minorities are unhappy, they are demoralised and they are suffering from a sense of frustration. They do not feel that they have the rights of citizenship in West Bengal. Similarly the people who have gone back to Pakistan, that is to say, the Hindus, they are also leading the same kind of existence in Pakistan. They do not feel that they have any rights as citizens in Pakistan. So both the minority communities in both dominions fear every moment of their lives that perhaps tomorrow or the day after tomorrow on the issue of Kashmir or some other issue some quarrel will ensue between Pakistan and India and they will be made scapegoats and slaughtered by hundreds and thousands. That is the kind of thought in the minds of the minority communities both in West Bengal and Pakistan. But I find no mention of this either in His Excellency's speech or I do not find it ever mentioned by the Ministers of either dominion The minority communities all the time, wherever you have found them, even if they go back to Pakistan and come back to West Bengal, tell us, "we do not believe in the Delhi Pact and we do not know how long this so-called peace is going to last". It is obvious from the way in which both the Governments are behaving and have behaved that it is rather difficult for anybody to give them any assurance whatsoever. Therefore I say that the Government has only been tinkering with the problems of the refugees. And what is their lot here—I mean of the Hindus who have come over from Pakistan. The Government and the Ministers are patting themselves on their backs as something has been done for the refugees, that 14 crores of rupees has been spent during the last two or three or four years. But actually speaking we find to our shame that in West Bengal it has not been possible for us to shelter the vast majority or give them food. And it is probably one of the basic reasons why whenever there is a certain amount of peace they are likely to go back to the homes whence they had come. Moreover, we have seen that when these refugees started flocking to West Bengal, the West Bengal Government had no plan whatsoever. Up to date they have no plan. His Excellency has mentioned of one camp set up in 24-Parganas, but is that a plan for thousands and

lakhs of refugees who have flocked to West Bengal? We have seen that these people who have come from Pakistan have been scattered all over India. They have been sent to Orissa, Madras, Bihar and all sorts of places and often these people have flocked back to West Bengal because they find that no proper arrangement has been made for them, because they find that they are not wanted in those places. I also feel that a minority problem is thus being created in the other provinces where these East Bengal refugees are being sent but already that has been started because when they went to Madras, immediately the Madras Government spokesmen told the people of Madras that probably Madras people would have to suffer because refugees had come from Bengal and that they had to be provided for. That was the way by which they hoodwinked the people of Madras and set one set of people against the other, the refugees against the Madras people. Similar is the case in other provinces.

Now, Sir, I ask, has the West Bengal Government surveyed the lands that are lying waste? I think not. We know that once when Mr. Suhrawardy was the Chief Minister here he had surveyed the waste lands of Bengal for settling the refugees who had come from Bihar. He had his own plans and scheme but then it was given up later and those lands are still there and people have not been settled in those lands. If Government reclaimed those lands and spent a little money on them, a number of refugees can be settled in those lands but unfortunately the Government will not do so. I am told that there is, a rumour in West Bengal that the present Government did consider that scheme but then the question came up that these lands mostly belonged to the rich zamindars of West Bengal and naturally this Government which represents the big zamindars and the big profiteers cannot possibly take away the lands of those big zamindars. If they requisition these lands they would have to buy them at proper prices while those individual zamindars know that if they at all sell the lands they can sell them profitably at a huge price privately. Anyway, whatever be the reason we find that it has not been done and the refugees are being played with by being sent to different provinces and scattered throughout India. I assert here therefore, Sir, that the refugees—human beings—uprooted from their own soil must not be treated in this cavalier fashion by the West Bengal Government.

The Bill which has been referred to in His Excellency's speech is a dangerous proposition as far as we know, for it really means evicting the refugees and I know that a serious problem will be created, I know the peaceful atmosphere, whatever there is in West Bengal, will be disturbed if the Government does any such thing. I would therefore advise them not to proceed with such Bills which would evict immediately the refugees who have settled either through their own efforts or through the efforts of other organisations on particular lands. If these lands belong to small people, to poor people, to middle-class people, then I will advise the Government to buy off the lands and not to disturb the peaceful life of the refugees who are settled there. There is also the question—again a rumour—that the Government intend closing down the Government Refugee Colonies, at least some of them, by March or April. That would mean releasing the forces of anarchy and chaos in West Bengal.

In His Excellency's speech there is not a word, not a reference to the fact that the refugees have been denied franchise and yet we are told that 180 million people in the whole of India are going to participate in the next elections. Such an Election is a very important thing. It has never happened in the life of India that 180 million people went to the polls. The elections are far off, if they are held at all of course, but we find that the Government have denied franchise to the refugees. It is

unthinkable how such a thing can happen. Lakhs of refugees are here; as least they should have a voice in influencing the Legislature or the Government which is going to rule for the next five years, but unfortunately I think the Government is afraid to give them franchise after the way the Government have treated the refugees, and therefore they have been told not only by the West Bengal Government but by the Government of India as well "Sorry, nothing can be done for the refugees". I think the refugees would have to take recourse to other means to create a movement whereby they can force the India Government and the West Bengal Government to give them franchise, the right to vote, because they must choose the form of Government which is going to rule over them.

Two Commissions which have sat and whose deliberations are over have been mentioned in His Excellency's speech, one in West Bengal and the other in Pakistan. This is how lakhs of rupees probably have been wasted on these Riot Enquiry Commissions, as they have been called. I wonder, Sir, whether the Ministers are really so childish or there is something else in this waste of public money, because do they not know why riots take place, did they not know in 1947 when they made the deal with Mountbatten, when they sold the country to British Imperialism, when they divided the country on communal lines—did they not know that this would be the result, that this would be the permanent result in both Pakistan and in India? Surely they have that much sense to realise this. That is why the British Imperialist so kindly gave them independence and made them sit in Writers' Buildings and elsewhere in Delhi and other places. What is the need of these Commissions We know the reasons why riots take place and we know that as long as such communal divisions last, we know that as long as such Ministers sit in Delhi and in other places and as long as they follow this policy, a policy which they follow as representatives of the big landlords and capitalists, so long will riots break out from time to time. I also say, as soon as Ministers and profiteers see their position becoming shaky they think of riots. It is childish not to understand today even after the last riots that took place in Calcutta that if the police force had not helped the rioters it would have been impossible for Calcutta to have witnessed such riots. I can understand riots taking place in out-of-the-way places in Bengal in villages but I am not a child to accept today that the Government have not enough forces to maintain law and order, to see that rioters are dealt with properly in the cities if the Government want to. But I have seen the Government sitting back in their Writers' Buildings chairs—they are very comfortable chairs—I have seen the police officers and the rest of them participating and organising riots in Calcutta and elsewhere. Unless they do so, I say standing here, it is impossible in a single State of India, specially in a city, that any riot can take place today. It just does not happen. Three or four riots throughout India have taught us this. Riots might have taken place in other places when the Mountbatten Award had not come, that is, before 1947 or in 1947, but today after 3½ years if somebody comes here and tells us that riots can take place automatically, no people can believe such nonsense. Therefore, Sir, I say that there has been a lot of waste of public energy, of public money in this Riot Enquiry Commission. But I know the purpose of such Commission. The British Imperialism has taught us the necessity of such commissions and our Ministers are following in the same footsteps, that is, if they want to divert the attention of the people from the real causes, then an enquiry commission is the way out. It goes on for months, and then we have to wait for another few months for the report to come out. The people discuss these things and really forget why riots take place. As long as this Government lasts, so long will it use such instruments for creating the disturbances, for seeing that they divide the people and keep their power in the country whenever there is difficulty. Every ruling

power has done this throughout the world, the ruling power which is representative of moneyed interest. They have done so and our Ministers are not going to do anything new, they are following in the same footsteps.

The Government have accepted the cut in food rations and His Excellency has informed us on behalf of the Government that this is the all-India position; so nothing can be done and unfortunately we have had to take recourse to these measures whilst our procurement policy is going on. But His Excellency forgot to tell us that it was only two years back that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Ministers have been telling us that within one or two years India is going to be self-sufficient as regards food, we were told that it was not India's policy to go on buying food from other countries abroad, and we have also seen splashed in the papers Ministers going about and opening "Grow More Food Campaigns". These have been splashed in Government papers, through radios and through meetings and so on. But we are not told in his analysis by His Excellency the Governor as to why we are in the same position today after two years as we were two years back. This he does not tell us. Unfortunately for the Government people are not prepared to listen to the way in which the Ministers give their long-winded explanation about the food situation. We have starved long enough under imperialism and therefore the people now rightly claim fixation of a price at which they can buy their food. If, however, it is compulsory for Government to give us food and if Government cannot give us food, we will ask them to quit. After all, nobody is holding them back. They may go away and leave us and I think anybody else could carry on much better than what the Government has done so far. What is the patriotism which is holding back the Ministers? We are told that they are serving the country, and, therefore they cannot quit? Even though they may not be able to give us food, clothing or shelter, they must carry on. Sir, on behalf of the people I shall tell the Ministers "if you cannot give us these things, for God's sake please quit". We have had enough of such Ministers. We have had enough of this jobbery and corruption and inefficiency. Let the people live in peace, because if you quit, if the Ministers quit, I am sure there will be peace in West Bengal and in other places in India.

Sir, today a new theory has been discovered by the Congress Ministers everywhere in Government offices in West Bengal. The fact which has been mentioned by His Excellency the Governor is that they are fast undertaking irrigation works throughout West Bengal. Since the time the Assembly has been elected, we have been hearing such tales, but one thing that I would like to remind the Congress Ministers even though it may sound very new to the Congress Government now, that it is the feudal land relation that prevents improvement in our agriculture, that prevents more food being produced in India. Congress leaders had been telling us that when the Congress would come to power, land would belong to the people—to the tillers of the soil, and the zemindars and other *jotedars* and such other middle interests would be taken away. But today we are not told a word about such things. We are told that some irrigation arrangements are being done and we will get more food within a short time to come. Therefore, at the very beginning I said that though the Congress Government, the Congress Ministers, the Congress leaders have made innumerable promises about nationalisation of land, nationalisation of industries and so on and so forth, today they have forgotten every single promise that they made. Instead, new economic theories are being revived by them and their economists are probably giving them facts and figures and materials whereby they have come to this conclusion, but the people prefer to believe in the old conclusion which had been reached by the Congress leaders. As I have said before land must belong to the tillers.

of the soil; otherwise there is no question of our getting more food. As long as these sharks, these blackmarketeers, these zemindars and these *jotedars* and middle-men would remain in the villages, so long the people of West Bengal would not get food however much they may cry and however much Government may take pictures and publish them in the newspapers and broadcast through the radio telling the people and explaining to them that there is a campaign for "Grow More Food."

In the same way so far as procurement is concerned, we cannot support the kind of procurement going on. I am all for procurement; there must be procurement; there is no doubt about it, but not the anti-people procurement that is going on in the villages today. If there was really a people's Government, they would have done what the people's Government have done throughout the world; they would have appealed to the poor people, to the workers and *kisans* to form their own committees and these committees would have ransacked the villages, the homes of the zemindars and *jotedars* for the people's food and that food would have been distributed through people's committees in the villages and the rest sent out for sale in the towns and cities. That had been done in Russia. That is being done in China and in other places wherever democracy exists, but unfortunately as far as our Government is concerned, naturally because it is a Zemindar-*Jotedar* Government, it is relying absolutely for procurement on its officers. And naturally the officers have been doing in the villages what they had been doing for the last so many years under British imperialism and so we find the *kisans* do not get the proper price for their paddy while at the same time in the same village the *jotedars* and the zemindars are selling paddy at a higher price; poor people's paddy is also being seized. That is obvious to all; I need not dilate on this point.

That is why throughout the villages of West Bengal today everywhere we find protests against the procurement policy of Government. There is no enthusiasm anywhere for procurement. On the contrary, for procurement there should have been a tremendous enthusiasm of the whole people throughout West Bengal. But why is it that there is no such enthusiasm today and no such initiative on the part of the people. It is because of the reasons which are stated just now that Government depends not on the *kisans*, not on the poor people of the villages, not on the elected committees to procure rice and other things and fix the prices of manufactured articles in the villages, but because Government relies on its corrupt police and other officials and the *jotedar*-zemindar element and so on. Cordoning is of course necessary when there is food procurement, but the kind of cordoning that is in vogue today is hitting the people, the *kisans* and helping the *jotedars* and zemindars, because again I say that these police officers and the procurement officers can be bought any day by the *jotedars* and zemindars. So naturally, we know why the villagers are suffering so much and why there is no enthusiasm among them for this procurement policy of the Government.

We have been told that because there is rice shortage therefore we should have some alternative food, and that we should try to take one pound of vegetables a day per person. A very good suggestion! Brinjals have become cheap, and the people are asked to take a little more vegetable. When Government cannot give us food we understand that, and nobody expects much from this Government, but I think that the Government should not have mocked at us in this manner. I think the situation is too serious for a joke. I know that the Ministers today do not care to go about the villages, they will not go to the villages, but it is too much of a joke to ask the people to buy one lb. per head more vegetable every day from the market.

Again we are told that though the people do not get any fish today, they the citizens will be soon getting sufficient quantity of fish from the sea and other places through the operation of the two Danish trawlers purchased recently. So far as the people are concerned, they know that not even one day in a month or two days in a month the majority of the people can get any fish. They have not the money to buy any fish. Again I say that it is a mockery and a shame that Government should utter such words and make such a joke as far as the people are concerned. The whole purpose of that speech was to this effect: Tighten your belt and let the Ministers and their pot-bellied friends go on eating more and piling more profit. As far as the people are concerned, they are told to make sacrifices, they are told to be patriotic and to help the whole country, so that our country becomes great and strong in the world—monstrous hypocrisy.

Now, Sir, with regard to law and order, this affects me, because Sri Rajagopalachari, the Hon'ble Home Minister of the Government of India, has said referring to the communists that they are outlaws. So I speak here today on that subject as an outlaw; and His Excellency the Governor, when he talks about law and order, has come to a wonderful conclusion, an amazing conclusion. He said that the law courts have held that security laws are repugnant to the Constitution, and a large number of detenus have consequently been released.

So the conclusion of His Excellency is that—although he was an eminent lawyer once—"everyday we are faced with newer and newer situations which require constant vigilance and a fresh approach on our part to meet them". I understand a little bit of English and I wonder what it means if not a threat to the citizens of West Bengal. I thought it would have happened, when the courts have come to the conclusion that the Security Law is repugnant to the Constitution, that all the detenus would now have been released, that by now all the concentration camps, these jails, etc., should be closed down and civil liberties should have been assured to the people. On the contrary we again see a new Preventive Detention Act on the anvil. We again see that the West Bengal Government, whilst on the one hand it talks about free and fair General Elections, on the other it is continuing the use of Preventive Detention Acts. Their statement that they are liberalising the Act is, I should say, a shameful lie, because we know that these Advisory Boards which are being set up will be mere eye-wash as will be seen from the examples I cite, for my own detention. The one ground, I was told why I was detained, was that the All-Burma Peasants Conference had invited me to attend their conference in 1947. The second reason for my detention without trial was that at the time of the Suhrawardy Ministry in 1947 I was arrested at the gate of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly because I came there with a procession. The third reason was because I was elected Vice-President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and because it was thought that I was instrumental in asking them to go on strike. Another friend of mine who is still under detention is Sri Ganesh Ghosh of the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case. The reason for which he was detained without trial was on the charge that he was the leader of the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case. Another friend of mine who is still in prison without trial has been told that the reason for his detention was because he asked the people not to attend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's meeting when he was to address one in Calcutta. Now of course he has been released by the Calcutta High Court. One other comrade of ours has been detained without trial for the reason that he had organised a night school for the workers. I ask is it not a mockery to have the Advisory Board under the Preventive Detention Act? To our utter shame we must say this that ours is the only country in the whole world where there is such a law on the statute book under which

you can detain people without trial. I thought, Sir, after the High Court judgments with regard to this law, that our Government would honour these judgments but I find no mention of it in His Excellency's speech. On the contrary I find that he says, "Everyday we are faced with new and newer situations which require constant vigilance and a fresh approach on our part to meet them." In plain language it means that they must so frame their laws so that not a person can escape this time once they are brought into jail. Therefore, Sir, I would ask the Government to tell us very candidly whether, in view of the fact that they are talking about free and fair elections, they actually mean it, because if they did mean it, then I should have thought that the first thing that they would have done was to release all the detenus since some of us have been released by the Court. Further although after my release I am a free citizen still I am being followed by two plain clothes policemen day and night whenever I go out either by walking or by car and the policemen are on duty whenever I am inside my house in the Hindusthan Park. Even when I go about shopping they would follow me. On one occasion I went to see Dr. Roy in Writers' Buildings to complain about all these things. As usual the policemen or rather the spies were following me right into Writers' Buildings and when I entered Dr. Roy's room they stood outside his room and when I came out they followed me back. This is the way they are treating a free citizen of West Bengal. I do not mind all such things but it is a bit annoying. It may also be taken as an honour in that the Government is taking so much care for me—I do not know why. When you say that you are going to have free and fair elections on adult franchise by all means have them. But the only thing I claim is that we should be given the democratic right to address the people, to go about freely, without the police interfering. Do not arrest and detain our workers under the Preventive Detention Act. If there is a seditious speech by all means you may prosecute the speaker and imprison him for 10 years or so but do not detain us without trial. After Dr. Ghosh and others have come away from the Congress I should say that the Congress Government represents nobody, perhaps less than 1 per cent. of the people of West Bengal. Let them therefore resign. I would invite them to come and address the meetings we are having throughout Calcutta and throughout West Bengal. These Ministers say that they have been serving the country. I challenge them to come to the meetings we shall organise. Let them face the public and let the people be the final judge as to whether they really represent them, those people who have cut their rations, who have made their lives miserable, who have destroyed civil liberties in West Bengal and for the matter of that throughout India. It is easy, Sir, to talk over the radio without coming before the public face to face. It is quite easy for Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker from his sick bed to talk over the radio and deliver sermons. I would ask Dr. Roy and the other Ministers to come out in the open and address the people and I am sure that there is not a single man or woman in West Bengal who would listen to them silently without challenging them as to what they have done for them. The Bengali people who have made so much sacrifice for the liberation of our motherland and the same people who have during the last 3½ years, been hoodwinked have their hearts in the right places. Therefore I ask the Ministers what are you so afraid of? Sir, it is a shame to us that outside the Ministers' houses the police force are standing with their revolvers and rifles. I do not understand why popular Ministers cannot go about freely, and mix with the people and tell them that they are doing the right thing. But the Ministers know that they are themselves guilty and their conscience is that of guilty men. They know that they cannot face the people. That is why I should say that the Governor's speech brings for us evil forebodings. Apart from telling us that there will be more taxes, apart from telling us

to tighten our belt further, the Governor has said nothing on behalf of the Government of West Bengal.

Sir, before taking my seat I would ask our Ministers to resign their seats at this very moment and have a general election in West Bengal. But I know they would not do it but would rather stick to office by holding a lot of bye-elections after keeping us in jail and arresting our people in hundreds. Even yesterday when I went to a village in Howrah to see the ravages perpetrated on the people of that place by the police force about six months or one year back, I found that the relics were still there. We went with the staff of the *Swadhinata*, and the photographer who went with us we left behind to take photographs of the houses which had been destroyed by the police force of the West Bengal Government, and also of the local school house. The photographer was arrested by the police with the photographs of the houses which are still existing there in one of the villages in Howrah. Subsequently, of course, he was released. Sir, this is the kind of civil liberty which we have in West Bengal. I should stress upon one point again and again before the Ministers. We know, you have not given the workers a decent livelihood; we know that you have not given the people in general a decent livelihood. We know that the middle-classes are groaning under your economic pressure. Even small factories are closing down and small businessmen are going out of existence under your regime. What we want you to do is a very simple thing, that you please quit and give up your offices. Nobody wants you to serve our country except yourselves and some of your relations. Therefore I think, after you quit, immediately we can hold elections in West Bengal and see whom the people of West Bengal want. You say, you want democracy. But we know what sort of democracy you want. We know how even in the bye-election of Dr. Ahmed your democracy functioned. Therefore we are convinced that there cannot be any democratic life under your regime. Sir, I was in jail at that time, and I was surprised to find that some of the people who were supporting the other candidate were arrested, including Mr. Badrudduja. Yet they talk of democracy functioning in this province! I think, in no other civilised country can such things happen.

Sir, Sri Rajagopalachari says that we are outlaws: the communists are outlaws. Sir, if replacing the Government is outside the law, I would certainly be an outlaw and I shall remain an outlaw all my life under the undemocratic Government that exists today. It is not we who are disturbing the law and order of the land; it is not we who are destroying it: it is the Ministers who are doing so, for they do not give the people food and shelter, they do not give them cloth. Prices of everything have gone up, and today the cost of living index is 413 compared to what prevailed in 1939. It was never so high even during the war time, and yet they say that we are disturbing law and order. Sri Rajagopalachari had to say so in self-defence, because the people know his whole history and his present position seems to protest too much against us.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. You should not criticise a Central Minister because he is not here to reply to it.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I know that, Sir. I am not criticising him. Our Ministers here are following in the footsteps of the Central Ministers.

Now, coming back to our Ministers, since they follow the Central Government they also proclaim that we are outlaws. They appealed to the Supreme Court because they had seen that the High Court had held that they had violated the laws under the Constitution of India. Sir, it is their Constitution: it is not our Constitution. If we gain power tomorrow we will change this Constitution which provides for preventive detention and

detention without trial and so on. They say we are disturbing law and order in West Bengal, but we say that we are maintaining law and order in West Bengal. If an intelligent lawyer goes into the whole thing he will find that if it is the Government that starts violating its own Constitution, then there is no remedy for the people except to get back their freedom. Sir, it is more than one year and a half that the Government, in violation of the Constitution of India, have declared that the Communist Party of India in West Bengal is an illegal organisation, and it is under that that from 1948 onwards they have used violence against us, arrested us and kept us under detention. That is why I say again and again that it is the Government who in every sphere of life of West Bengal today are violating law and order. If that is so, then it is only to mislead the people that they tell them that we are violating law and order. Whether it is the Central Ministry or whether it is the West Bengal Government Ministers—it is the Ministers who are breaking the peace of the land. So I must tell them that that trick will not work long, because the people have found out how the Communists have behaved during the last 3½ years, and the people, I am sure, will not tolerate all this.

Therefore, in closing, I may say that my appeal will not affect the Ministers in the least, but standing here I should say this that on the votes of 13 per cent. of the people these Ministers were elected; but since then there has been a break, and some people who were on that side have crossed the floor and have come over to the Opposition. After that they should have had the common sense to understand that they do not represent anybody. So they should immediately resign and see that general elections are held so that other people can come and rule in West Bengal.

Lastly, there are still people including the refugees who will see to it, through their mobilisation, through their action, through their united organisation and movement, that no Ministers can appear before the people and speak and try to mislead them in the manner that they have been doing. Sir, we the members sitting on the opposite benches shall see to it that the Ministers are not able to appear before the people to mislead them. It shall be our sacred duty and democratic task to see to this. And when we shall fulfil that task, then the democratic sections of West Bengal will come to power and create a new civilisation in West Bengal and get rid of these uncivilised Ministers.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-15 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, the 13th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 13th February, 1951, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 60 members.

Point of privilege.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of privilege. I wish to bring to your notice a point which was raised yesterday by Sri Bimal Comar Ghose about the time given for suggesting amendments to Bills. I do not know what you have decided about the Bill referred to yesterday—the Jute Bill—but I find that for most of the Bills not more than 3, 4 or 5 days have been given. In fact, about the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill which we received on the 11th or 12th, we are asked to submit amendments on the 14th and the same with regard to the Corporation Supersession Bill—the time is over now, we were supposed to suggest amendments on the 12th. So, I would suggest that for these three Bills—the Raw Jute Bill, the Corporation Supersession Bill and the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill—you give your ruling so that we might get some more time, at least one or two days more.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will consider it and let you know later on as to my decision.

Debate on the Governor's address begins. Mr. Pramatha Nath Bandyopadhyay.

Amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's Speech.

[Motion of address expressing thanks moved on the 8th February, 1951.]

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি পরম শ্রদ্ধাস্পদ রাজ্যপাল মহাশয়কে তাঁর ভাষণের জন্য সর্ব্বতোভাবে সমর্থন করতে পারলে আনন্দিত হতাম। কিন্তু তিনি তাঁর ভাষণে যেসব ভাল বিষয়ের উল্লেখ করেছেন বর্ত্তমানে সেই সব বিষয়ে দেশের ভিতর কিভাবে কার্য্যকরী করা হচ্চে সেই সব বিষয়ে আমি যতখানি জানি তা আপনার কাছে নিবেদন করছি।

তিনি দিল্লী Pact সম্বন্ধে যা বলেছেন সে খুবই সুখের কথা। কিন্তু আমার পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বক্তারা যা বলে গিয়েছে সেই বিষয়ে আমি একমত। দিল্লী Pact লোকের মনে এখন পর্য্যন্ত সে বিশ্বাস আনতে পারেনি, যে বিশ্বাসের দ্বারা দিল্লী Pact কার্য্যে পরিণত হতে পারে। বিশেষভাবে যে রাষ্ট্র ধর্ম্মনিরপেক্ষ না হয় এবং সেই রাষ্ট্রের যদি উদ্দেশ্য হয় বিশেষ কোন ধর্ম্মের পুষ্টির পোষকতা করা ; এবং সেই ধর্ম্মের উন্নতির জন্য চেষ্টা করা ; তাহলে সেই রাষ্ট্রের অন্তর্গত অন্যধর্ম্মাবলম্বী যেসব প্রজাসাধারণ থাকেন তাদের পক্ষে বিপদ হয়। সেই রাষ্ট্রের ধর্ম্ম যাদের ধর্ম্ম নয় তাদের মনে কোন স্বস্তির ভাব থাকে না। কাজেই যারা পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্তানে ফিরে যাচেছ, তারা এখানে নেহাৎ অসুবিধায় পড়েই ফিরে যাচেছ। ফিরে না গিয়ে পারতো না বলেই ফিরে যাচেছ, কিন্তু মনে ভরসা নিয়ে ফিরে যাচেছ না।

আমার মনে হয় সেই সব লোক যারা ফিরে যাচেছ, যদি আবার কোন অসুবিধা হয় শীঘ্রই ফিরে আসবে অথবা তাদের ধর্ম্ম ত্যাগ করতে বাধ্য হবে। যারা উদ্বাস্তু হয়ে এসেছে এখানে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের জন্য চেষ্টা করছেন সন্দেহ নাই। চৌদ্দ কোটি টাকা খরচ করা হয়েছে, আরও খরচ করা হবে—এ খবর পাওয়া গেছে।

কিভাবে খরচ করা হবে সেটাই প্রশ্ন। আমার এক বন্ধু বলেছেন ৫ কোটি টাকা খরচ হয়েছে সেটা অপব্যয় হয়েছে বলে মনে করেন। আমার সন্দেহ হয় এই যে ১৯৪২ সালে প্লাবনের পর মেদিনীপুর জেলায় কাঁথি মহকুমায় দুর্ভিক্ষ দেখা দিয়েছিল--তার সমাধানের জন্য তদানীন্তন ইংরেজ বড়লাট Lord Wavell স্বয়ং কাঁথি গিয়েছিলেন। সেখানে গিয়ে লোকের দুর্দশা দেখে এতই আঘাত পেয়েছিলেন যে কলকাতায় ফিরে এসে কাঁথির লোকদের জন্য প্রায় এক কোটি টাকা ও নানা প্রকারের জিনিষপত্তর সাহায্য করবার জন্য প্রথমে প্রভূত জিনিষপত্তর পাঠাইয়াছিলেন। সে টাকা খরচ হয়েছিল কর্মচারীদের হাত দিয়ে। কর্ম্মচারীরা সেই টাকা এমনভাবে খরচ করতে লাগলো যে যারা প্রকৃত কষ্টে পড়েছিলো তারা সে টাকা পেল না। অন্যায়ভাবে এই টাকা ব্যয় হতে লাগলো। সেই খবর পেয়ে Lord Wavell সৈন্যদের দ্বারা যাতে টাকা ও জিনিষপত্তর বিতরিত হয় সেই ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন--সেই সব কর্ম্মচারীরা এখনও আছে; কাজেই সেই সব কর্ম্মচারীদের দ্বারা এই ১৪ কোটি টাকা অপব্যয় যে হয় নাই তার প্রমাণ কী? আমি জেল থেকে দু বৎসর পর বেরিয়ে সেখানে ফিরে গিয়ে দেখেছিলাম ৫০০ কৌটা জমান দুধ নষ্ট হয়ে গেছে এবং সেগুলি ফেলে দেওয়া হচেছ। আমি তখন বলেছিলাম এই জমান দুধগুলি গরীবদের দেবার মত লোক কি ছিল না, যে এইভাবে গরীবের সাহায্যের জন্য জিনিষপত্রগুলি বরবাদ হয়ে গেল। গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি বিশেষভাবে অনুসন্ধান না করেন তাহলে যে টাকাটা তাঁরা দেন সে টাকা ঠিকমত খরচ হবে বলে আমি মনে করিনা।

আর তিনি বলেছেন এদেশে যক্ষমা রোগ T. B. খুব বেশী হচেচ। যে দেশের লোক খেতে পায় না, জন্ম থেকে মৃত্যু পর্য্যন্ত যে দেশের লোক পুষ্টিকর খাদ্য পায় না, সে দেশের লোকের T. B. হবে না তো হবে কার? একেই আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে খাদ্যদ্রব্য বিশেষ কিছু নাই, তার উপর যা কিছু আসতো তাও বন্ধ হয়ে গেছে। যে চাল পাওয়া যায় তা যে ভালো এবং পর্য্যাপ্ত সে কথাও বলবার উপায় নাই। এখন তাই হাসপাতাল স্থাপনের চেষ্টা চলছে, কত হাসপাতাল করবেন? হাসপাতাল করে T. B. বন্ধ করা যায় না, সেজন্য প্রয়োজন হচেচ দেশের লোকের স্বাস্থ্যের উন্নতি। তার একটা প্রমাণ—কোথাও T. B. হাসপাতাল একটা খোলা মাত্রই সেখানে রোগী রাখবার যে ব্যবস্থা তার চেয়ে দশগুণ রোগী এসে ধর্না দেয় ভর্ত্তী হবার জন্য। সেদিন খবরের কাগজে দেখলাম —Medical Collegeএর কর্ত্তা বলেছেন যে অনেক রোগী এসে ভর্ত্তী হতে না পেরে ফিরে যাচেছ। সুতরাং যদি এ দেশে উপযুক্ত খাদ্যের ব্যবস্থা করে দেশবাসীর স্বাস্থ্যের উন্নতির ব্যবস্থা না করতে পারেন তাহলে কিছুই হবে না। আমাদের দেশে—balanced diet list প্রত্যেক স্কুলে টাঙিয়ে দেয়া হয়েছে কিন্তু সেই balanced diet কি করে যোগাড় করা যায় সে কথা কেউ বলে দিতে পারেন না। রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় আমাদের বলেছেন--দেশের খাদ্যাভাব দূর করতে হলে আমাদের কৃষির উৎপন্ন বৃদ্ধি করতে হবে, এটা খুব উপযুক্ত কথাই তিনি বলেছেন। কৃষির উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি না করতে পারলে দেশ ধ্বংস হয়ে যাবে—কিন্তু তিনটী জিনিস দরকার কৃষির উৎপন্ন বৃদ্ধি করতে হলে--(১) ভাল জমি, (২) কৃষকের আবশ্যকীয় লাঙ্গল ও গরু, (৩) জল, এই জল বৃষ্টির দ্বারা হউক বা সেচের দ্বারা হউক। প্রথমে জমির কথাই বলি। জমি সকল কৃষককে উপযুক্ত পরিমাণে দিতে আমরা পারি নাই। প্রায় অধিকাংশ জমি অকৃষকের; প্রকৃত কৃষক যারা তাদের অধিকাংশেরই জমি নাই। কৃষকেরা যাদের জমি চাষ করে তাদের প্রাপ্য নেওয়ার পর কৃষক বেশী শস্য পায় না বলে সে ভাল করে চাষ করে না। সুতরাং বর্গাদার ও জোতদারদের মধ্যে একজনের অপর জনকে ভাগ দিতে হয়। এই সম্বন্ধ যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত থাকবে ততদিন ক্ষেতে যতটা উৎপন্ন হওয়া উচিত ততটা হবে না। বর্গা আইন যা হয়েছে সেটা অনেক defective। তিন ভাগে ফসল ভাগ করবার একটা ভাগ যার গরু থাকবে ও সার দেবে সেই পাবে; সে ভাগটা জোতদার পাবে না চাষী পাবে সেটা ঠিক হয় নাই।

এ নিয়ে এখনও মামলা আরম্ভই হয়নি। কিন্তু মামলা আরম্ভ হবার লক্ষণ দেখা দিয়েছে। আরম্ভ হলে সেটা কোথায় গিয়ে শেষ হবে বুঝা কঠিন। দ্বিতীয় কথা হচেছ—কৃষকরা খেটে যা উৎপন্ন করে সেই উৎপন্ন খাদ্যদ্রব্যের যথাযথ মূল্য তারা পাচেছ না। আমি বলতে চাই না খাদ্যের মূল্য বৃদ্ধি হয়েছে—কমান হোক,—একথা আমি বলতে চাই না। চাষীরা যা উৎপন্ন করে সেই শস্য বিক্রী করে খায়—জীবনধারণ করে। তার অন্য আর কোন জিনিষই নেই, যা বিক্রী করে তার সংসার চালাতে পারে ও খাদ্যের সংস্থান করতে পারে। তারা এই উৎপন্ন দ্রব্য বিক্রী করে কাপড় কেনে, তেল, নুন, কেরোসিন, নিত্য প্রয়োজনীয় দ্রব্য কেনে, এরাই চিকিৎসা চালাতে হয় এবং ছেলেমেয়েদের লেখাপড়ার জন্য বই কিনতে হয়। এসমস্ত কেনবার জন্য যে অর্থের দরকার হয় সেটা ধান বিক্রী করে তারা সংগ্রহ করে। এ ধান বিক্রী করে তারা যা পায়, তা দিয়ে তাদের দরকারী জিনিষ কেনা হয় না--এরকমই ধানের দর বাড়ান হয়েছে। আবার এসঙ্গে মজুরীও আছে। যারা মজুর

যেখে কৃষি করে এমন সব জোতদার আছে--মজুরী বেড়ে গিয়েছে বলে তাদের চাষ করে কোন লাভ হয় না। তার ফলে যারা নিজেরা জমি চাষ করতো শেষকালে ছেড়ে দিয়েছে ভাগে চাষ করতে। এমন অনেক বড় বড় চাষী আছে আমি জানি মজুর দিয়ে চাষ করতে পারে না এজন্য যে, যেহেতু মজুরীর দর আগের চেয়ে অনেক বেড়েছে। যারা টাকা দিয়ে চাষ করে তারা পারছে না কারণ মজুরীর দর অনেক বেড়ে গিয়েছে। আবার যারা গায়ে খেটে, শরীরে খেটে চাষ করছে তাতে যা হয়, তারা দেখে তাদের এইসব খরচ কুলায় না। তিন চার বা পাঁচ মাসের খরচ হতে পারে মাত্র। কাজেই সমস্ত ধান তারা বিক্রী করে দেয়। জীবনের অত্যাবশ্যকীয় জিনিষ এই কাপড়, যা অন্যান্য প্রদেশ থেকে আসে, বোম্বাই থেকে আসে, বাংলা ছাড়া অন্য দেশ থেকে আনতে হয়। কাপড়ের দর অত্যন্ত বৃদ্ধি হয়েছে। বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের ক্ষমতা নাই তা কমাবার। খাদ্যের অভাবে বাংলা দেশে লোক আত্মহত্যা করেছে কিনা জানি না কিন্তু কাপড়ের অভাবে আত্মহত্যা করেছে এ খবর আমি জানি। আজ বাজারের যে অবস্থা এখানে অনেক সভ্য বড়লোক আছেন, মধ্যবিত্তও আছেন, আপনারা জানেন—মধ্যবিত্তের যে অবস্থা হয়েছে তাতে অনতিবিলম্বে অনেকের আত্মহত্যার খবর পাওয়া যাবে কাপড়ের অভাবে। আর দরিদ্রের পক্ষেতো এই কাপড় নেওয়া খুবই কষ্টকর। এই গভর্ণমেণ্ট—বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট—এর প্রতিকার করতে পারেন না জানি কিন্তু Central Government করবেন কিনা জানি না। বাজারে কাপড় নাই। তারপর সরিষার তেল--সরিষা বিহার থেকে আসে, ঐ সরিষায় তেল হয়। এই সরিষার তেলের খইল কৃষকদের গরুতে খায় আর সারের জন্য অত্যন্ত দরকার হয়। এই দুটি জিনিষের অত্যন্ত অভাব হয়েছে। এজন্য বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি করবেন? এদুটি জিনিষ যদি বাংলা Government কম দরে না দিতে পারে তাহলে ধানের দর কমাবার কথা বলা অন্যায় হবে। যে দরে ধানের দর বেঁধে দিয়েছে তা না দিলেই ভাল হয়। এ বিষয়ে আমার নিজের যে ধারণা, সে নিয়ে কৃষিমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে আমি আলোচনা করেছি। তাঁকে একথা বলেছিলাম—আপনি এক কাজ করুণ যে সময় প্রথমে ধান হয়—পৌষ থেকে চৈত্র মাস পর্য্যন্ত—এ চার পাঁচ মাস গরীব চাষীরা বাধ্য হয়ে ধান বিক্রী করে। এই সময়ে Government এর তরফ থেকে তাদের একটা বোনাস দেওয়া উচিত। তখন গরীব চাষীদের ঘরে এক ছটাকও ধান থাকে না। বোনাস যা দেওয়া হয় ইহার সুবিধা বড় লোকেরাই পায়। মোট কথা হচেছ ধানের দর--আমি গ্রামে থাকি, চাষীর সম্পর্কে বলতে পারি—ধানের দর বৃদ্ধি না করার দরুণ খুব অশান্তি দেখা দিয়েছে। অশান্তি আরও বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে Government ধানের দর বাড়াননি বলে। এজন্য কোন কোন জায়গায় হাঙ্গামা হয়েছে, Government কর্ম্মচারী পর্য্যন্ত খুন হয়েছে। এই বোনাস্ দিয়ে অনেক চাষীকে Government বাঁচাতে পারে এবং এইভাবে চাষীদের Government এর উপর বিশ্বাস আসবে এবং আমাদের দেশের Government যে Grow More Food Compaign করছেন সেটাও সফল হবে। সত্য কথা এই যে, আমরা চাষীদের কাছে যাই না, বসে বসে কেবল বক্তৃতা দেই—এটা খুব সহজ কিন্তু যদি চাষীদের দুরবস্থার প্রতিকার করতে পারা যায় তাহলেই ভাল হয়। আর একটা কথা বলছি। এই যে co-operative movement—এসম্বন্ধে বলতে পারি আজকে Government ও জনসাধারণের মধ্যে তেমন co-operation নেই। Government কর্ম্মচারীদের উপর লোকের তেমন আস্থা নাই। এজন্য Government এর কোন schemeই ভাল work করে না। পূর্ব্বেও এই co-operative movement আমাদের দেশে ছিল। ৫।৭ জন চাষী মিলে সমবায় প্রথামতে তারা চাষ আবাদ করতো। আজও কোথাও কোথাও এরূপ আছে। কিন্তু আমি একথা বলতে পারি এই যে co-operative প্রথায় Government চেষ্টা করছেন, তাতে চাষীদের যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে বাধা পাবেন কারণ তাদের তেমন আস্থা তো আর নেই। প্রথমতঃ এই যেসব কর্ম্মচারী যারা কাজ চালান হচেছ, পূর্ব্বে ইংরাজ আমলে যেরূপ কাজ হতো, তার চাইতেও বর্ত্তমানে খারাপ হচ্ছে। কারণ এইসব কর্ম্মচারীরা জানে মামা-কাকা আছেন, সাতখুন মাফ হয়ে যাবে, চাকরির কোন ক্ষতি হবে না। (At this stage the blue light was lit.) Sir, I want two minutes more.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have already spoken for nearly half an hour and there are enough speakers to participate in the discussions. That is the difficulty. However, you may finish your speech in two minutes.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY: আজ Government co-operative প্রথায় খুব বেশী চেষ্টা করছেন কিন্তু তাতে ফল খুব বেশী হবে না যদি না দেশের লোক সরকারের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করে। আর আমি বেশী কিছু বলতে চাই না।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: On a point of privilege, Sir. আজ এই মাত্র, একটু আগে The Waste Lands Requisition and Utilization Bill, 1951এর একটা copy পেয়েছি। অথচ বলা হয়েছে ১৩ই February বেলা তিনটার মধ্যে এর amendments দিতে হবে। আমি পেয়েছি তিনটার পর—এইমাত্র পেলাম। সুতরাং এ সম্বন্ধে আপনি একটু বিবেচনা করিবেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: All right. I shall consider that point.

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, ১৯৪৭ সালের অগাষ্ট মাসের পর কয়েকবার পরপর বাজেট অধিবেশন হয়েছে। কিন্তু ১৯৫০-৫১ সালের বাজেট অধিবেশনে খোলাখুলিভাবে আলোচনা করবার সুযোগ আমরা যেরূপ পেয়েছি এরূপ আর কখনও পাইনি। সরকারী নীতি এবং কার্য্য বিবরণী উপলক্ষে আজ খুব খোলাখুলিভাবে এবং মন খুলে আলোচনা চলছে। এমন কি আমাদের ব্যবস্থা পরিষদে হরিপদ বাবুর "হবু চন্দ্র রাজা, গবুচন্দ্র মন্ত্রী" প্রভৃতির কথাও এখানে আলোচনা হয়েছে। সেইজন্য বোধ হয় শ্রীশিবনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় বুঝতে পেরেছেন এক পক্ষে কেন হচ্চে—দুই পক্ষে কবির লড়াই হলে আমরা শুনে আনন্দিত হতাম। আজ বাস্তবিক এই কথা শুনে দুঃখ হয়। পরিষদে যেখানে সরকারী নীতি নিয়ে আলোচনা হবে—কি নীতিতে চলা উচিত, এবং আমরা কোন নীতিতে এক মতাবলম্বী হয়ে কাজ করতে পারি, সেখানে আমরা পরস্পর কবির মত কে কত আসর মাৎ করতে পারে সেই সব কথাই আলোচনা হচ্চে। আজ ডাঃ সুরেশ চন্দ্র বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় এই অধিবেশনে বলেছেন চরযদুবাটিতে বাস্তুহারাদের উচ্ছেদ করা হচ্চে। আমি আবগারী বিভাগের মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের সঙ্গে একবার এবং আরো একবার ঐ জায়গায় গিয়েছি। সেখানে অধিকাংশ লোকই তপশীল জাতির কৃষক-মজুর। পশ্চিম বাংলার মস্তবড় সম্পদ যে সমস্ত তপশীল এখানে এসেছেন, এইরূপ বুনো অকেজো জায়গায় চাষ করে দেশের সম্পদ বৃদ্ধি করছে। আজ এখানে সকলের জানা উচিত যে সেই চরযদুবাটীর কৃষকদের আমাদের মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় তাদের ভাল স্থান এবং ভাল জমির ব্যবস্থা করে দিয়েছেন। তারা যাতে স্থায়ীভাবে আদর্শ কৃষক হিসাবে বসবাস করতে পারে তারও বিহিত করেছেন। তিনি না জেনে পরিষদে এই সমস্ত কথা বলা সত্যিই দুঃখের বিষয়।

অপর আর একটি আলোচনার বিষয় হচ্চে—আজ সারা পশ্চিম বাংলাব্যাপী একটা কথা ছড়িয়ে পড়েছে যে "জান দিবে তবু ধান দিও না।" এর পরিণতি দেখা গিয়েছে ২৪-পরগণা জেলায়, জয়নগর থানায়।

মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয় বোধ হয় জানেন এই জয়নগর থানায় পরপর কয়েকটি সভা হয় এবং সেখানে কিছু দিনব্যাপী খুব উত্তেজনা দেখা যায়। এই জয়নগর থানায় যে অঞ্চলে খাদ্য সংগ্রহ বিভাগের যে পাঁচজন রাজ-কর্ম্মচারী কাজ করতেন তাদের তিন দিক থেকে জলপথে আক্রমণ করা হয়, এবং সেখানকার লোকেরা (তাদের মধ্যে কয়েকজন চোরাকারবারীও ছিল) নির্মমভাবে, পশুর ন্যায়, তাদের হত্যা করেছে। আজ কৃষক-মজুর পার্টি যখন শুনছেন যে, ধান্য সংগ্রহ কার্য্যে নিযুক্ত এই সমস্ত সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীদের নির্মমভাবে হত্যা করা হয়েছে, তখন এদের জন্য দুঃখ প্রকাশ করতেন তাহ'লে দরদী বলে ধন্য হতাম, কিন্তু সে কথা ডাঃ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় বলেননি।

আজকে সবচেয়ে বড় কথা হয়েছে যে ধান-চালের দর পল্লীঅঞ্চলে বেশী আর সহরে কম। আজকে সবচেয়ে বড় কথা হয়েছে যে ধানের দর বা দাম বাড়াও এবং ধান একটা স্থান থেকে আর একটা স্থানে নিয়ে যাবার জন্য free permitএর ব্যবস্থা করা হোক। Cordon বা বেষ্টনী তুলে দেওয়া উচিত। এ. অঞ্চল বাড়তি এলাকা নয়, ঘাটতি এলাকা ইত্যাদি এই সব কথা উঠেছে। তাই ছোট ছোট বিষয়গুলি নিয়ে সারা দেশ তেতে উঠেছে। আজ সকলের বিবেচনা করা উচিত যে এরাজ্যে ফসল কত উৎপন্ন হয়? ফসলের পরিমাণ কত? এবং দেশের প্রয়োজনে কত খাদ্যশস্য মজুত আছে?

আজ বাইরে থেকে খাদ্য আনায় এক মস্তবড় অসুবিধা আছে, সে কথা আজ আমি এখানে আলোচনা করতে চাই না। বর্ত্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে সকলের জানা উচিত খাদ্যশস্য রাজ্য হতে অধিক সংগ্রহ করতে না পারলে দেশের অমঙ্গল—দশের অকল্যাণ দেখা দিতে পারে। যাদের রেশন দ্রব্য দেওয়া হচ্ছে, সেই ৭৫ লক্ষ দেশবাসীকে মজুবা আমরা সন্তুষ্ট রাখতে পারব না। এমনকি সহরে রেশনিং ব্যবস্থা চালু রাখতে পারব না এবং পল্লীঅঞ্চলে যে রেশনিং ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে, সে কাজও চালু রাখতে পারব না। Cordon জিনিষটা কি, বেষ্টনীটা কি তাও সকলের জানা উচিত। এই রাজ্যে ২৪-পরগণায় ২৮টি, বীরভূম জেলায় ৪২টি, মুর্শিদাবাদে ২৩টি, কৃষ্ণনগরে

১২টি ও বর্দ্ধমানে ৩২টি, এইরূপ রাজ্যের বিভিন্ন স্থানে মোট ৩১০টি Cordon Party আছে। প্রত্যেক cordonএ একজন করে leader ও চার জন করে সহকর্মী থাকে। জয়নগর থানায় এই পাঁচ জনের এক দলকে নির্ম্মমভাবে হত্যা করার পর যে সমস্ত ভূতপূর্ব্ব সৈন্য অন্যত্র আছেন, তাঁদের সত্বর নিয়োগ করা হবে ঐ cordon এলাকাকে আরও সুরক্ষিত করবার জন্য। এবং এর জন্য cordon leader ২৩ জন ও patrol leader ৩১০ জন আরও বাড়বে। বর্ত্তমানে ১৮০টি পার্টি কাজ করছেন। জেলাসমূহে প্রায় ৪ হাজার বর্গ মাইল এলাকাকে ঘিরে রাখা হয়েছে। পরওয়ানা জারী করে ধান্য সংগ্রহ করতে কেন হয়? কারণ ধান্য সংগ্রহ কার্য্যে বহু বাধাবিপত্তি আছে—যার হাতে ধান মজুত আছে। এজন্য পরওয়ানা জারী করলেও ধান supply পাওয়া যায় না। এর জন্য অনেকে হাইকোর্টে পর্য্যন্ত আশ্রয় নিচ্ছেন। একজন হাজার বিঘা জমির মালিক, আমার কাছে তিনি দরখাস্ত করেছেন "আমার ধানটা cordon এলাকার বাইরে আনতে দেওয়া হোক।" অবশ্য দরখাস্তে বলা হয়েছে অন্ততঃ সাড়ে-সাতশ' মণ আমাকে দিন, আর বাকী আড়াইশ মণ আপনারা নিন। তাঁকে জিজ্ঞাসা করা হ'ল "আপনার লোক কয়জন," তাতে তিনি বললেন ১৪ জন। সেই ১৪ জনকে মাথা-পিছু ৭৷৷০ মণ এবং চাষের খরচ পত্রের দরুণ যদি দেওয়া হয়, তাহ'লে আপনারা বুঝতে পারেন কতটুকু ধান উদ্বৃত্ত থাকতে পারে। আইনতঃ একটা চাষীকে আমরা বাধ্য করছি ৭৷৷০ টাকা দরে ধান দিতে হবে। কিন্তু যে লোক মাথার ঘাম পায়ে ফেলে ধান উৎপাদন করছে সে যদি সরকারের চক্ষে একটু ধুলা দিতে পারে তাহ'লে বেশী টাকা রোজগার করতে পারে। এজন্য ধান-চাউল সংগ্রহ করা দুরূহ ব্যাপার। চাষীদের মধ্যে অনেকের জ্ঞান-বুদ্ধি বেড়েছে। তাঁরা সত্যসত্যই রাজ্যকে ভালবাসেন। তারই ফলে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে খাদ্যশস্য সংগ্রহের কাজ এখনও খারাপের দিকে যায়নি বরং দিন দিন অবস্থা ভালর দিকে যাচ্ছে। কিন্তু যদি এইরূপ নৃশংসভাবে হত্যার সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি পায় এবং যেরূপ মুর্শিদাবাদ, বীরভূম সীমান্ত অঞ্চলের অবস্থা হয়েছে সেইরূপ চলতে থাকে তাহলে procurement অত্যন্ত খারাপের দিকে যাবে।

আজ একটা কথা উঠেছে ধানের দাম বাড়াও। যদি ধানের দাম বাড়ান যায় তাহলে বীরভূমের ১১ লক্ষ লোকের অবস্থা আরও খারাপ হয়ে যাবে, কারণ অন্যান্য জিনিষপত্রের দামও সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বেড়ে যাবে।

কিছুদিন আগে বীরভূম জেলায় কৃষক-মজদুর পার্টির তরফ থেকে একটি সভা ডাকা হয়। সেই সভায় বীরভূম জেলার প্রতিনিধি শ্রদ্ধেয় ডাঃ ঘোষ এবং আরও বহু নেতা উপস্থিত ছিলেন। কংগ্রেস সভাপতি মহাশয় গিয়েছিলেন এবং আমিও গিয়াছিলাম। সেই সভায় বহুরকম প্রশ্ন উপস্থিত হয়েছিল। সেই সভায় ঘোষণা করা হয় যে পাঁচ একরের নীচে যাদের জমি আছে তাদের ঘর থেকে ধান সংগ্রহ করা হবে না। কিন্তু বড় বড় জমির মালিক যাদের জমি আছে, যাদের ঘরে প্রচুর ধান আছে, তারা গরীব চাষীর ঘরে ধান লুকিয়ে মজুত করে রেখে সরকারকে ফাঁকী দিতে চায়। সুতরাং সে ক্ষেত্রে এই সমস্ত ধান seize করা ছাড়া আর উপায় নেই। (Sj. Haripada Chatterjee: এত বুদ্ধি না থাকলে কি Parliamentary Secretary হওয়া যায়?) হরিপদ বাবু এখানে কাল বেশ একটা রসের অবতারণা করেছিলেন। তিনি আমার দাদাস্থানীয়, তাঁর পক্ষে এইসব কথা বলা উচিত হয়নি। আমারও উত্তর দেওয়া ঠিক হবে না; তবু এই কথাটা জানাতে চাই। নবদ্বীপের দিকে দিকে আজ প্রেমের বন্যা বইছে আর সেই বন্যায় বেয়ে চলেছে এক দিকে তারক বাবু আর এক দিকে হরিপদ বাবু। আমি তেহাটায় গিয়েছি, সেখানকার ৮০ মাইল সীমান্ত অঞ্চলের কি অবস্থা তা আমি জেনে এসেছি। আজ সেখানকার চাষীরা কি প্রকার উর্ব্বর জমিতে চাষ করছে, এবং কি পরিমাণ ফসল উৎপন্ন হয়েছে সে সমস্ত দেখে এসেছি। আজ সেখানে তারকবাবু যদি না থাকতেন তাহলে ৭ লক্ষ লোকের ভিতর তিন লক্ষ লোক নিজেরাই ফসল উৎপন্ন করে খেতে পারত না। সেখানে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ শস্য, ধান্য হয়েছে। হরিপদ বাবু একদিকে চেষ্টা করছেন আর অপরদিকে তারকবাবু চেষ্টা করছেন। ইতিপূর্ব্বে আমার এক বন্ধু এক সভায় বলেছিলেন যে, যে সমস্ত বাস্তহারা মুসলমান অন্যত্র চলে গিয়েছে তাদের জন্য বিশেষ কিছু করা হয়নি এবং করা হচ্ছে না। কিন্তু শুধু কথায় চিঁড়া ভিজে না। আমি জানি মুসলমান কৃষক বন্ধুগণ পশ্চিম বাংলায় ফিরে এসেছেন। তাঁরা যদি কৃষিকার্য্যে অচল হন, কৃষিকার্য্যে অক্ষম হন, তাহলে দেশে খাদ্যের পরিস্থিতি কঠিন হয়ে উঠবে। আজ তারা দেশে ফিরে এসেছেন, তাতে চাষবাসের সুবিধা হবে, খাদ্য সমস্যার সমাধান হবে—আমাদের দেশে, রাজ্যে শান্তি অটুট থাকবে।

শেষকালে আর একটি বড় কথা বলি তিব্বতী বাবার ঠেঙ্গানী খেয়ে নাকি অনেককে এই এসেম্বলী ছাড়তে হবে। কি এমন হ'ল, বা কি এমন দেখলেন যাতে তিব্বতী বাবার ঠেঙ্গানী খেতে হবে? জন্মের পাপের •

ফলে আমরা তিব্বতী বাবার ঠেঙ্গানী খাবো না—খাইতো হরিদাদারই ঠেঙ্গানী খাবো। কিন্তু আমরা যদি গরীবকে উপকৃত করতে পারি, তাদের পেট ভরে খেতে দেবার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারি; এবং যারা প্রকৃত জমির মালিক তাদের চাষের কাজে নিয়োগ করতে পারি, তাহলে নিশ্চয়ই আমাদের খাদ্য-সমস্যা ধীরে ধীরে সমাধান হবে। এবং কোন তিব্বতী—অতিব্বতীই তার ফলে আমাদের ক্ষতি করতে পারবে না। (Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: তাহলে আপনাকেও সেখানে যেতে হবে।) বীরভূম জেলায় দাদা বোধ হয় বহুবার পদার্পণ করেছেন। সেখানে একটা যুগান্তর উপস্থিত হয়েছে। এই বীরভূম জেলায় ৩৩ লক্ষ মণ চাউল সরকার কর্ত্তৃক ক্রয় করা হয়। সেখানে ময়ুরাক্ষী পরিকল্পনাও কার্য্যকরী হতে চলেছে; সেখানকার মানুষ তাই কৃষি-কার্য্য নিয়ে বক্তৃতা করতে ভালবাসে না—সেটা জয়দেব কবির দেশ, রবীন্দ্রনাথ ও চণ্ডীদাসের দেশ—সেটা হচ্ছে নীরবে কাজ করার দেশ। সেইভাবে যদি সকল জেলার লোক কাজ করেন তাহলে দেশের মঙ্গল তৎপর হবে। হরিপদবাবু বলেছেন সমবায় সমিতিকে কার্য্যকরী করার জন্য। সমবায় সর্ব্বাঙ্গসাধক সমিতির দ্বারা ধান্য সংগ্রহের কাজ সুরু হয়েছে। মিহির বাবুর প্রতিষ্ঠিত সর্ব্বাঙ্গসাধক সমিতি ইতিমধ্যে অনেক কাজ কোরেছে। আমি বিশ্বাস করি এইরূপ সমবায় বা সর্ব্বাঙ্গসাধক সমিতি যদি দেশে কার্য্যকরী হয় এবং সংগ্রহ উৎপাদনের কার্য্যটা যদি ভাল হয় তাহলে বর্ত্তমানে দেশে যে সমস্যা দেখা দিয়েছে তারও বহুল সমাধান হবে।

স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি পরিশেষে বলতে চাই আমাদের খাদ্য পরিস্থিতি যেরূপ সঙ্গীন হয়ে উঠেছে তাতে আমাদের সকলের পরস্পরে মিলে মিশে কাজ কবে সমস্যার সমাধান করতে হবে। আমি আশা করি এবং প্রার্থনা করি পরিষদের সকল সদস্যই খাদ্য সমস্যাব প্রতিকার করবেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: Sj. Sibnath Banerjee. As there are a large number of speakers, I will ask the speakers to curtail their speeches.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir: আমাকে একটু বেশী সময় দিতে হবে। (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: এবার ত আপনি একলা নন!) তাহলেই কি। আমার ১৪টা point ছিল একটা কেটে দিয়েছেন সেক্রেটারী মহাশয় তবুও ১৩টা আছে। তার জন্য সময় না দিলে চল্‌বে না।

গত অধিবেশনে প্রায় আমি একাই বিরোধী bench থেকে আপনাদের সকলের সামনে যা কিছু press কোরেছি; এবার খুব আনন্দের কথা এদিকে আরও অনেকে যোগ দিয়েছেন।

বিধান রায়ের বিধানে আর কুলোচ্ছে না—দেখা যাক আরও কি হয়। যাহ'ক আগের বক্তারা যা বলেছেন তাতে আমার বক্তব্য অনেক লাঘব হয়েছে। আমি চেয়েছিলাম লাট সাহেবের বক্তৃতা টিকাটিপ্পনি কিছু শুনবো মন্ত্রীমহাশয়দের কাছ থেকে, ওঁরা শুধু resolution এনেছেন তার সঙ্গে বক্তৃতা কিছুই হয় নাই; কিন্তু এখন ভাষণটার উপর বক্তৃতা করা হচ্ছে। তার পরে কাল ওদিকে (pointing to Government benches) কেউ ওঠেন নি—আজকে একজন আমি বলার জন্য কিনা জানি না, উঠে কিছু বল্লেন—কিন্তু রামরাজত্বে নল, নীল, গয় গবাক্ষ থাকতে (laughter) কেন যে সামান্য একজন উপমন্ত্রীকে ওরা দাঁড় করালেন বুঝতে পারছি না। তিনিও দেখলাম, এই air-conditioned রুমে কথা বলতে যেয়ে হরিপদদা, প্রমথদা প্রভৃতি বলে অত্যন্ত বিনয়ের সঙ্গে বক্তৃতা করলেন। (Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: আমরা অপভাষা ব্যবহার করতে পারি না।) ৮ই তারিখে যেদিন মহামান্য লাট সাহেব এখানে বক্তৃতা দিতে এলেন, সেই দিনই এখানে ১৪৪ ধারা জারী হলো। লাট সাহেবের বক্তৃতা শোনবার উপলক্ষে জনতাতো নাই তাঁকে দর্শন যে করবে সেটা থেকেও তারা বঞ্চিত হয়েছে। (A VOICE: জনতা না দুর্জনতা।) এখানে আপনারা তাদের যা খুসী বলতে পারেন—তবে জেনে রাখবেন যেভাবে আপনারা শাসন ব্যবস্থা চালু কোরেছেন তাতে জনতার তীব্র নিন্দা আপনারা শুনবেন। তারা বলবে ভাত কাপড় দাও তো দাও নইলে গদী ছেড়ে দাও। একথা আজ হাজার হাজার লক্ষ লক্ষ কণ্ঠে নিনাদিত হচ্ছে চারিদিকে। সেই আওয়াজে ভয় পান আপনারা তাই পেঁচার মতন কূপমণ্ডুকের মতন অন্ধকারে লুকিয়ে থাকেন। তাছাড়া আর কি বোজব নইলে ১৪৪ ধারার আর কি কারণ থাকতে পারে। কেননা একটা দল যাদের সম্বন্ধে বলা হয়ে থাকে যে তারা acid বোমা ছোড়ে সেই দল ঘোষণা কোরেছে যে এই নীতি আমরা পরিবর্ত্তন করেছি। (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: খুব ভাল তারা সব।) সুতরাং ঐ দিনে ১৪৪ ধারা কোন অর্থ হয় না; কেননা তারা পরিষদে এসে গভর্ণমেণ্টের বক্তৃতা শুনে কটূক্তি বা করবার তা করবেই—তারা বল্‌ছে পুরানো মন্ত্রিমণ্ডল তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে নতুন মন্ত্রিমণ্ডল আনুন যারা দেশের সমস্যা বুঝতে পারবে। সচিত্র ভারতে একটা কথা বলেছে—"বাইরে ১৪৪ দিয়ে কী হবে, পরিষদের ভিতরে দাও।"

বলেছেন যে কমিউনিষ্টরা outlaw. কিন্তু আসলে ব্যাপার হচ্ছে কী কমিউনিষ্টদের নাম করে অ্যান্টি কমিউনিষ্টদের যাতে ধরা যায় তারই সূচনা হচ্ছে। যারাই ওদের বিরোধিতা করছে তারাই ধরা পড়ছে কমিউনিষ্ট বলে। কাল কমরেড জ্যোতি বোস বলেছেন কীভাবে তাদের কাউকে কাউকে ধরা হয়েছে; যারা নাকি Trade Unionএর member তাদের communist আখ্যা দিয়ে ধরে রাখা হয়েছিল দুই মাস; কাজেই এটা একটা ভাঁওতা।

তারপরে এখন চাল কমিয়েছেন এর পর হয়তো ফেন খাওয়াবেন। কৈ আমাদের খাদ্যমন্ত্রী যিনি প্রফুল্ল সেন মহাশয়—তাঁকে তো দেখছি না (The Hon'ble PROFULLA CHANDRA SEN: এইতো আমি আছি।) আমরা দুইজনে সুরাবর্দ্দির মন্ত্রী সময় একসঙ্গে প্রেসিডেন্সী জেলে এই ফেন খাওয়ানো নিয়ে আলোচনা করেছি—উনি দাঁত কামড়াতেন (laughter)—কী কোরে ফেন খাওয়াচ্ছেন!! (Sj. KANAI LAL DASS: উনিতো ফেন খাওয়াচ্ছেন—আপনি হলে খাপি খাওয়াতেন।) (At this stage Mr. Speaker left the Chamber and Mr. Deputy Speaker took the Chair) ইতিমধ্যে পটপরিবর্ত্তন হয়ে গেল! (Laughter.)

ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয়, গত বারে লাট বাহাদুর ইংরেজীতে বক্তৃতা করেছিলেন, আমি যদিও সাধারণতঃ বাংলায় বলি, কিন্তু গত বারে আমি তাঁর বক্তৃতার সমালোচনা ইংরেজীতে করেছিলাম—এই আশায় যে বাংলার তর্জমা পড়ার চেয়ে, মূল ইংরেজীতেই ছাপা হলে বোধ হয় তিনি সেটা দেখবেন। এবারে তাঁর বক্তৃতা থেকে আমার মনে হচ্ছেনা যে তিনি কিছু তার দেখেছেন। কাজেই আমি বাংলাতেই বলছি। লাট সাহেবের এই বাংলা বক্তৃতা বোঝা উচিত—কেন তিনি বুঝতে পারবেন না। বাংলার গভর্ণর বাংলায় যদি বক্তৃতা নাও দিতে পারেন—না হয় রাষ্ট্র ভাষায়ও দিতে পারেন। তাঁর ইংরেজীতে বক্তৃতা দেওয়ার আমি প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে রাখছি। (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: নইলে comrade Boseকে chance দেবেন কী কোরে?)

লাট সাহেবের ইংরেজীতে ছাপা বক্তৃতায় সমালোচনা করতে গিয়ে একজন সমালোচক বলেছেন—"কভারটা বেশ ভালই ছাপা, হরফগুলি বেশ মোটা মোটা করে ছাপা"—সব ফাঁকা কথা কী না কাজেই খুব ফাঁক ফাঁক করে ছাপানো। পড়ে দেখলাম যা কিছু আছে সবই হতাশার বাণী; কোন আশার কথা এর মধ্যে নাই। একটা ভুল হলো প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় গভীর জলের মাছ ধরাচেছন এবং বাংলা দেশে এক হাজার মণ গভীর জলের মাছ এনে দিয়েছেন—একথা মন্দ নয়—এই একটা মাত্র আশার কথা দেখছি—আর যা কিছু সব নেতিবাচক। চাউল ৯ ছটাকে দাঁড়িয়েছে। কাপড়ের দর মাসের মধ্যে তিনবার বাড়ছে। ঘরের সম্বন্ধে কিছু উল্লেখই নাই। সবাই ঘর ছাড়া। তারপর বাস্তহারা এসে যা অবস্থা হয়েছে আমরা সকলেই জানি। তারপরে আসে শিক্ষা ও স্বাস্থ্য। শিক্ষার কথা বলেন নাই তার দরকারই নাই। স্বাস্থ্যের কথা বলেছেন যে অত্যান্ত খারাপ। Civil libertyর কথা বলেন নাই, কারণ তা নাইই। Minority protectionএর কথা বলেন নাই—কাজেই যে সম্বন্ধে কিছু করা দরকার সেই সব কিছু নাই—আছে কেবল অনাহার, নগ্নতা, অশিক্ষা, অস্বাস্থ্য (The Hon'ble BHAUPTI MAJUMDAR: আছে অজীর্ণ, নিন্দা, গালাগাল, নেই কর্ম্ম।)

সবচেয়ে—বিশেষণ খুঁজে পাচিছ না, ঘৃণ্য বল্‌লে কড়া হয়ে যাবে যেখানে বলা হয়েছে এগার বার লক্ষ লোক খুশী হয়ে পূর্ব্ব পাকিস্থানে ফিরে গিয়েছে এর চেয়ে বড় মিথ্যা আর বলা যায় না। তাদের হিসাব যদি মানেন তবে ৩৫ লক্ষ লোকের মধ্যে ১২ লক্ষ ফিরে গেছে। কিন্তু কেন গেছে এখানে থাকবার উপায় নাই, খাওয়ার ব্যবস্থা নেই, এবং নিজেদের চেষ্টায় যদি ঘর করে তা ভেঙ্গে দিয়ে তাদের তাড়ান হয়—এবং তার ফলে বলা হয় তারা ফিরে গেছে। বাণপুর ও বনগায়ে যদি তাদের সঙ্গে কেউ কথা বলেন, কী মনভাব নিয়ে তারা ফিরে গিয়েছে জান্‌তে পারবেন।

শুধু মন্ত্রীরা নয় সকলেই আপনারা একটু মনযোগ দিয়ে শুনুন। তারা বল্‌ছে, এখানে আমাদের আশ্বাস দিয়ে আনা হয়েছিল কিন্তু সেসব আশ্বাসের কোন কথাই পালন হচেছ না—এবং দেখছি শুধু টাকার ছিনিমিনি খেলা হচেছ। যাদের case push করবার কেউ নেই তারা টাকা পায় না, এই অভিযোগ নিয়ে তারা ফিরে যাচেছ। তাই বলছি এত বড় একটা অন্যায় কল্পনা করা যায় না, অবশ্য বাস্তহারা সমস্যা খুবই কঠিন। বাস্তবিকই পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে কোন গভর্ণমেণ্টকে এত বড় সমস্যার সমাধান কোরতে হয়নি। কাজেই সমস্ত দোষটা ওদের দেব না। গতবার তারা বলেছিলেন যে ১১ লক্ষ লোককে rehabilitate করা হয়েছে, এবার বল্‌ছে ১২ লক্ষকে—যদি এই হিসাবটা কোন সময় পেশ করেন তাহলে বোঝা যাবে ঠিক কতটা হয়েছে। ১৪ কোটী টাকা

খরচ হয়েছে। Per head একশ টাকা কোরে দিলেই ১৪ কোটী টাকা হয়। কত লোক লোন পেয়েছে কে জানে। যে কথা আগে বলেছি এভাবে কোন কাজই হবে না। যাদের জমি দিলে কর্ষণ করতে পারবে তারা জমি পায়নি; তাদের পুনর্বসতি করা হয়েছে বললে ভুল বলা হয়। সোজা কথায় বলা উচিত বাস্তুহারা সমস্যা খুবই কঠিন সমস্যা। এতবড় সমস্যা পৃথিবীর আর কোন Governmentএর সম্মুখীন হতে হয়েছে কিনা আমার জানা নাই। (MINISTRIAL BENCH: Hear, hear.) দেশপালের speechএ বলা হয়েছে বার লক্ষ লোককে পুনর্বাসন করা হয়েছে—rehabilitate করা হয়েছে। যে টাকা ব্যয় হয়েছে বলে বলা হয়েছে তাতে per head ১ শত টাকা পড়ে কিনা সন্দেহ আছে। এবং কিভাবে কাকে কত টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে তাও বুঝা যায় না। অনেক বাস্তুহারা এখনও কোন কাজ পায়নি, জমি পায়নি তাদের পুনর্বসতি করা হয়েছে বলাটা—একটা মস্ত বড় ভুল—bluff. এরকম না করে যদি সক্ষম লোকদের একসঙ্গে ৪০০ কিম্বা ৫০০ টাকা দেওয়া হত তাহলে পান-বিড়ি বা চায়ের দোকান এ ধরণের বড় জোর কিছুটা হতে পারতো। এইরকম যে destitute loan—তাহারা একটা পরিবারের সংস্থান কি করে হতে পারে? একে রসিকতা ছাড়া আর কি বলা যেতে পারে?

গত এক বছরে অন্তত: ৫০।৬০ হাজার লোক বেকার হয়েছে। Garden Reach Workshop, Allenberry, cotton mill, jute mill, engineering ইত্যাদিতে যেখানেই দেখি সেখানেই লোক ছাঁটাই হচ্ছে। এর কারণ হচ্ছে raw materialsএর অভাব। বলা হচ্ছে যে তারা ২৫ হাজার লোককে চাকরি দিয়েছেন, তা হয়ত সত্য। অনেককেই কাজ দেওয়া হয়েছিল চটকলে। কিন্তু সেখানে আজ যদি হিসাব নেন অনেকেই সেখানে নেই। তাদের অনেকেই এ ধরণের কাজ জানে না, শিক্ষাও দেওয়া হয়নি, কাজেই মালিক তাদের চায় না। তাই অনেককেই চলে আসতে হয়েছে। এখন statistics নিলে দেখা যাবে অনেকেই সেখানে নেই। মাদ্রাজে রেলওয়েতে ২ হাজার লোককে কাজ দেওয়া হয়েছে। তাদের কেহ কেহ ফিরে এসেছে —তারা অনেকেই বলছে ২/২॥ মাইলের বেশী তাদের মোট বয়ে নিয়ে যেতে হয়। আমি বল্লাম মন্দ কি? Dignity of labour. এতো অভ্যাস নেই—আমাদের হাড় ভেঙ্গে যাবে। কাজেই এরকমভাবে যাদের কাজ দেওয়া হল তাদের অনেককেই training দেওয়া হয়নি, শিক্ষা দেওয়া হয়নি, proper atmosphere create করা হয়নি। Rehabilitation কত সামান্য হয়েছে তার প্রকৃত চিত্র মোটেই আমাদের সামনে নেই। খাদ্য সমস্যার সমাধান—refugeeরা যারা পূর্ব বঙ্গ হতে এসেছে তাদের দ্বারা land army, কৃষি ফৌজ সৃষ্টি করা যেতে পারে। তাদের দ্বারা যে খালি জমি, পতিত জমি অর্থাৎ অনাবাদী জমি পড়ে আছে, তা চাষ করাও যেতে পারে। এভাবে দেশেরও কাজ হতে পারে, নিজেদেরও সংস্থান হবে। অন্য দেশে যা হয়েছে আমাদের দেশেও তার সম্ভাবনা ছিল। কংগ্রেস—যাট বছরের কংগ্রেস—এই 10 per cent. কিম্বা 12 per cent. deficit make up করার জন্য কি করেছে? তিন বছরের মধ্যে জমিদারপ্রথা বিলোপের বিল পর্য্যন্ত আনেননি।

Beharএ, U. P.তে এরকম বিল পাশ হয়েছে, Madrasএও হবে—এমন আভাস পাওয়া যাচ্ছে। কিন্তু এখানে জমিদারী abolish করা এদের ইচ্ছা নয়। যে আইন জনতার চাপে পড়ে করতে বাধ্য হয়েছে সেটাও implement করা হয়নি। এই বর্গাদার আইন—আমি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে অনেক জায়গার খবর জানি—অনেক জায়গায় implement করা হয়নি। Maldaতে করা হয়নি। আইন করার মানে যাতে সকলের সুখ সুবিধা হয়। কৃষকদেরও সুবিধা দেওয়া উচিত। এই বর্গাদার আইনে ⅓rd কৃষক এবং ⅓rd বর্গাদার, বাকী ⅓rd যে সার বীজ ইত্যাদি দেবে এরকম provision আছে কিন্তু অনেক জায়গায় তা হয়েছে, আবার অনেক জায়গায় হয়নি। আমি জানি হাওড়াতে হয়নি, হুগলীতে হয়নি, নদীয়ায় হয়নি। এবং যেসব জায়গায় বোর্ড আছে সেসব জায়গায় কোন কাজ হয়নি। নাম বলব না—জলপাইগুড়ির কোন এক দারোগা—এরকম আইন পাশ হয়নি বলে একজন গ্রামে গ্রামে বলে বেড়াচ্ছিল যে ⅓rd ধান দেবার প্রয়োজন নাই তাকে গ্রেপ্তার করেছে। এরকম কত দৃষ্টান্ত আছে তার ঠিক নাই। তাছাড়া এসম্বন্ধে যে কিছু বলতে যায় তারাই গ্রেপ্তার হয়। বর্গাদার আইন পাশ হয়েছে তা implement করতে যেয়ে অজিত ঘোষ, বিভাস বোস গ্রেপ্তার হয়।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: গ্রেপ্তার? কোন জেলার?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: হুগলী জেলায়। আপনি না জানতে পারেন, আপনার পরিষদের মধ্যে কেহ কেহ জানিতে পারেন। ঘনশ্যাম মিশ্র জলপাইগুড়িতে গ্রেপ্তার হয়েছে—তিনি অপরাধের মধ্যে প্রচার করেছিলেন যে এই আইন পাশ হয়েছে। এই আইন পাশের খবর ভালভাবে circulateও হয়নি। জমি যদি কৃষকদের দেওয়া হতো তাহলে আমাকে দাঁড়াতে হতনা, ডাঃ ঘোষও এদিকে আসতেন না। আমি ভবিষ্যদ্বাণী করছি আপনাদের অনেকেই এদিকে আরো আসবেন। জমি কৃষকদের দেওয়ার কথাটা এত সহজ নয়। যে আইন করেছেন তাই implement করবার ক্ষমতা নাই। কাজেই বড় বড় কথা বলে লাভ নাই। সুরেন দাশকে গ্রেপ্তার করা হয়েছে। এমন ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে যাতে bailও না পায়। তারপর procurement সম্বন্ধে—যাদের পাঁচ হাজার মন ধান আছে তাদের কাছে Procurement Officerরা যাবেন না। যাবেন, যাদের কম ধান আছে। যাবেন ২৫/৩০/৫০ বা ১০০ মন ধান আছে বা যাদের তার চেয়েও কম আছে। এবং তাদের বাড়ী গিয়ে জোর জবরদস্তি করে ধান সব নিয়ে আসবে। এটা হাসবার কথা নয় এটা যদি দেখতে চান, দেখাতে পারি কিন্তু আপনারা যে দেখতে চান না। খাদ্যের পরিমাণের কথা বলি। খাদ্যের বরাদ্দ ১২ ছটাক থেকে নয় ছটাকে নিয়ে এসেছেন এর পরে হয়ত অনশনেই নিয়ে আসবেন। গৃহস্থদের চাল কম টাকায় কিনে তা বেশী টাকায় বিক্রী করেন—চোরাকারবার করে তারা রাষ্ট্র শাসন করছেন। ব্যবস্থা ভাল হলে লোকেও আপনাদের আশীর্বাদ করতো কিন্তু আপনাদের দৃষ্টি নীচের দিকে। আপনাদের অফিসারদের দৃষ্টিও সেদিকে। আমি দেখেছি কোন বিধবা মেয়েকে ২/১ সের চাল আনায় ধরা হয়েছে আর বড় বড় লোকেরা যাঁরা চোরাকারবারের রাজা তাদের ধরা হয় না। এখন capitalistদেরই রাজত্ব চলেছে। যাঁরা প্রকৃত দুঃস্থ যাদের কোন উপায় নেই সেদিকে আপনারা দৃষ্টি দিচ্ছেন না। চতুর্দিকে আজ খাদ্যাভাব। দুর্ভিক্ষের লক্ষণ দেখা দিয়েছে।

জলপাইগুড়ি জেলায় তিস্তার বন্যায় ভীষণ ক্ষতি হয়েছে, অনেক জমি নষ্ট হয়ে গিয়েছে, বালুতে ভরে গিয়েছে। এই সবের পরে চালের দাম যে সেখানে বেশী হয়ে যাবে তা অনুমান করতে খুব বেশী statisticsএর দরকার হবে না।, খাদ্যমন্ত্রী লোককে খাদ্য দিতে পারেন না বটে, কিন্তু circularএর উপর circular জারী করে এবং রেডিও মারফৎ বক্তৃতার পর বক্তৃতা দিয়ে statisticsএর নীরস বোঝা আমাদের খাইয়ে যাচ্ছেন। তাতে বহু লোকের অজীর্ণ হয়ে গেছে। তিনি যদি বুঝতে পারতেন—জলপাইগুড়ির মত জায়গায় আসাম থেকে খাদ্য আসতে পারে না—বিহার উড়িষ্যা থেকেও আসতে পারে না, এমন কি তিব্বতী বাবার কাছ থেকেও খাদ্য আসতে পারে না। এখনই সেই খাদ্য আমদানীর ব্যবস্থা সেখানে করতে হবে। নতুবা সে ব্যবস্থা না করলে লোকের দুর্দশার আর অন্ত থাকবে না। সেখানে already চালের দাম ৪০৲ টাকা মণ হয়ে গেছে এবং এইভাবে যদি আর কিছু দিন চলে তাহলে law and order বলে কিছু সেখানে থাকবে না। নিশাপতি বাবু বলেছেন তিব্বতী বাবার ঠ্যাঙ্গানী খাব কেন? জনগণকে খাবার চাল দিতে পারবেন না, আর তিব্বতী বাবার ঠ্যাঙ্গানী খাবেন না? ঠ্যাঙ্গানী খেয়েছে ফ্রান্স, রুশ দেশ খেয়েছে, চায়না খেয়েছে এবং ভারতবর্ষে আপনারা যেভাবে চলছেন, সেইভাবে যদি আরও কিছুদিন চলতে থাকেন, তাহলে তিব্বতী বাবার বিষম ঠ্যাঙ্গানী আপনাদের খেতেই হবে, কেউ আপনাদের ঠেকাতে পারবে না। (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: তাহলে যে সবাই ধান্য চাষী হয়ে যাবে।) আপনি তাহলে কৃষক movement support করছেন?

আমি আর দুটী পয়েণ্টের উপর বলবো। প্রথম Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act এতে অনেক জঞ্জাল ছিল। এটা আপনারা হাতে নিয়েছেন খুব ভাল কথা। কিন্তু হাতে যা নিচেছন হাত থেকে তা ছাড়বার আর কোন কথা নাই। (At this stage the blue light was lit.)

আর পাঁচ মিনিট নেব। এসেম্ব্লীর যে ভোটার লিষ্ট হয়েছে সেই ভোটার লিষ্ট অনুসারে কেন ইলেকসন্ হবে না? যদি বোম্বেতে adult franchise অনুসারে ইলেকসন্ হতে পারে, কলকাতায় তা কেন হতে পারবে না? কলকাতাবাসী কি এতই মূর্খ, এতই পশ্চাদ্‌পদ রয়েছে যে এটা এখানে হতে পারবে না? এটা কি তাঁরা করতে চান্ না ভয় পান বলে? জানিনা আরও কত ক্ষমতা তাঁরা হাতে নেবেন। হাতে তাঁরা power পেয়েছেন, আর ইলেকসনের কাছে যাবেন কেন? এটা শুধু কলকাতার ব্যাপারে নয়, আরও অনেক ব্যাপারে তাঁরা গড়িমসি করছেন।

তারপর আরও একটা কলঙ্কময় ইতিহাস আছে—কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ব্যাপারে। Sir B. L. Mitterএর রিপোর্ট আজও কেন বেরুচ্ছে না। পি, এন্, ব্যানার্জী, যিনি তখন ভাইস-চ্যান্সেলার ছিলেন, তাঁর নামে যেসব

খবর বেরিয়েছিল, যার জন্য তিনি ওখান থেকে সরে গিয়েছিলেন, যতক্ষন না তিনি জনগণের সামনে সাফাই দিতে পারেন, যতক্ষন না তিনি প্রমাণ করতে পারেন যে ঐসব অভিযোগ মিথ্যা, অমূলক, ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত তাঁর ঐ ইউনিভার্সিটীর দোর গোড়ায় যাওয়া উচিত নয় বা সেখানে বসা উচিত নয়। আমরা শুনছি বি, এন্, মিত্রের রিপোর্ট যদি বেরোয় তাহলে একজন জজ—তিনি হাইকোর্টে বসেন, তাঁরও চাকরী থাকা কঠিন হয়ে পড়বে। আমরা সেই রিপোর্ট দেখতে চাই, শুনতে চাই, বুঝতে চাই এবং আরও ভাল করে enquiry করে জানতে চাই। কেন সে বিষয়ে আমাদের চোখে ধূলি দেওয়া হচ্ছে? এটা নিতান্ত অন্যায়।

তারপর সেখানে registered graduate যাঁরা আছেন, তাঁরা ১০৲ টাকা ফি না দিলে মেম্বার হতে পারে না। কেন তাঁদের এক টাকা ফি'র ব্যবস্থা না করে সহযোগিতার আহ্বান করছেন? সেখানে ৪০ হাজার হচ্ছে unregistered graduate। আমি আগেই বলেছি সরকার জনগণকে বেশী ভয় পান। আর এই registered graduateদের স্বভাবতঃই তারা আরো বেশী ভয় পান। কাজেই registered graduateদের সংখ্যা কম হলেই তাঁরা সহজে এসেম্ব্লীতে আসতে পারবেন।

এই সঙ্গে সঙ্গে Bengal Municipal Act সম্বন্ধেও একটু বলতে চাই। আজও Bengal Municipal Actর কেন amendment হচ্ছে না? হাওড়া মিউনিসিপ্যালিটীর খব শীঘ্রই ইলেকসন্ হবে। সেখানেও adult franchiseএর কোন বালাই নাই। এখানে যে ৮৲ টাকা কি ৪৲ টাকা ট্যাক্স দেবে, সেই ভোটার হবে। আর হাওড়ায় হয়েছে এক অদ্ভুত ব্যবস্থা। ভাড়া যতই দিক্ না কেন ভোটার হবার উপায় নাই। বাড়ীওয়ালারা শুধু ভোট দেবে। আর একটা জিনিষ আমি অনেকবার বলেছি। বৃটিশের সময়ে বলে কোন লাভ হয় নাই—আর এখনও যে লাভ হবে—সে আশায় বলছি না। তবে সেটা কিছুটা exposed হবে বলে বলছি। Vote by symbol আজও করা হয় নাই। কেন তা এখানে হতে পারে না? এমনভাবে সুশীলবাবু ডাঃ রায়কে বুঝিয়ে দিয়েছেন যে তা এখনও হতে পারে না।

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: আমি কিছু তাঁকে বুঝাই নাই।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: কে বুঝিয়েছেন, বলুন না? আপনি বোধ হয় mislead করেছেন। ব্যাপার হয়েছে এই, সেখানে অনায়াসে card symbol ছাপিয়ে দেওয়া যায়, তাহলেই সব ঠিক হয়ে যায়। Polling Officer যিনি হবেন, অমনি গোলমাল হবে। কারণ যিনি দাঁড়িয়েছেন তিনিই সেই Polling Officer নির্বাচন করছেন। এটা খুবই সহজ ব্যাপার। যিনি কমিশনার হবেন তিনি ঠিক করবেন Polling Officer কে হবেন। এবিষয়ে অনেক চিঠিপত্র লেখালেখি হচ্ছে যাতে এই ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তন হয়। তাঁরা বলছেন এখনও সেটা under consideration। গত ছ'মাস ধরেই ত শুনছি under consideration হচ্ছে। এখনও সেই under consideration শেষ হ'ল না। এ জিনিষটা অত্যন্ত অন্যায় হচ্ছে। তাঁরা বলছেন free and fair election হবে। তার নমুনা আমরা ডাঃ আমেদের এসেম্ব্লী ইলেকশনের সময় দেখতে পেয়েছি। (At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. You asked for 5 minutes and I have allowed you 5 minutes. Your time is up, Mr. Banerjee.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I did not realise how quick is five minutes. Please give me three minutes more, পাঁচ মিনিট সময় যে এত কম, তা বুঝতে পারিনি। আরও তিন মিনিট সময় দেন। তিনটা জিনিষ আমি চাই যেটা এসেম্ব্লী সম্বন্ধে বলা হচ্ছে মিউনিসিপ্যালিটীর ইলেক্‌সনেও চাই ভোট দিয়ে আসবার সময় প্রত্যেকে হাতের টিপ লাগিয়ে আসবে। দ্বিতীয় হচ্ছে সেই Polling Officer ঠিক করবেন গভর্ণমেণ্ট or Magistrate or somebody যিনি politically or practically পার্লামেণ্টের সঙ্গে connected নন্। তৃতীয় হচ্ছে ভোট হবে by symbol। এই তিনটা জিনিষ যদি করেন তাহলে ইলেকশন free and fair হবে বলে আশা করা যায়। যেটা সেদিন হুগলীর ইলেকসনের সময় হ'ল, এরকম কোথাও শোনা যায়নি যে ইলেক্‌সনের ঠিক আগেই প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী সমর্থকদের জেলে পোরা হয়েছিল। এরকমটি হলে free and fair election হবার সম্ভাবনা কম। যেটা হাওড়া মিউনিসিপ্যালিটীর ব্যাপারে দেখতে পাচ্ছি। (Again the red light was lit.)

আর এক মিনিট নেব। Minority Protection সম্বন্ধে অনেক কথা বলা হয়েছে। গোলমালের সময় যে ১৭ হাজার লোক জমিজমা, ঘরবাড়ী ও চাকরী ছেড়ে চলে গিয়েছিল, তাদের অনেকে আবার ফিরে এসেছে। তাদের কোন কাজ দেওয়া হয়নি। পাঁচ হাজারের বেশী ভর্তি করে নেওয়া হয়নি। শতকরা ১০/১৫ জন লোক এখনও তাদের পরিত্যক্ত ঘরবাড়ীতে যেতে পারেনি। আগে তারা যে ক্ষেতখামার ও জায়গা জমি চাষ করতেন তা তাদের হিন্দু বন্ধুদের দিয়ে গিয়েছিল। এখনও সেগুলি তাদের ফিরিয়ে দেওয়া হয়নি। Subdivisional Officer ও Magistrateকে বলে কোন লাভ হয়নি। এমন কি মন্ত্রীদের তথা ডাঃ রায়কে বলেও কোন সুযোগ পাওয়া যায়নি। এইরকম ব্যবহার যদি ভারতবর্ষে হয়, তাহলে এটাকে ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ রাষ্ট্র বলে গর্ব করা মিথ্যা। তা নইলে পাকিস্থানে লোকে যেতে ভয় পাচ্ছে কেন?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. Mr. Banerjee, your time is up.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: যে দেশকে আমরা ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ রাষ্ট্র বলছি সেই দেশ যদি এইটুকু অধিকার দিতে না পারে, তাহলে আমাদের লজ্জার আর স্থান নাই এবং মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলেরও লজ্জা রাখবার আর স্থান নাই। কালকে জ্যোতিবাবু বললেন, তোমরা resign কর। একথা আমিও বলি—যদি আপনাদের একটুও লজ্জা থাকে, তাহলে আপনারা গদী ছেড়ে দিন। আপনারা হয়ত পথেঘাটে শুনে থাকবেন—"ভাত কাপড়ের দাবী মেটাও, নইলে গদী ছেড়ে দাও।"

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Badrudduja.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: I don't speak today.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You don't like to speak?

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: Not today—tomorrow.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the House this session has assembled under the shadow of a threatened food shortage. I would not advisedly call the food shortage a famine, because I have been asked not to raise the scare of famine, because we are in the midst of very difficult times and we have to pool all our resources in order that we may tackle the situation and avert a famine. Sir, it will interest you to know that during the harvesting season in West Bengal or immediately after that the ruling prices of paddy and rice in Murshidabad were Rs. 16 and Rs. 20 to Rs. 22 respectively. Sir, His Excellency the Governor in his speech has made a passing reference that the food situation in the country is bad and that we are more or less passing through a crisis. His passing reference certainly brings into focus the attempts made by this Government to tackle the situation. Sir, the honourable members who spoke before me have criticised procurement. I can speak personally and for the party I have the honour to represent that we are all in favour of procurement. We must procure the available surplus, but, Sir, the procurement that is going on at the moment in the villages and in the countryside is a direct menace to the grow-more-food campaign. That is a direct menace to any incentive that a cultivator may have to till his land. Instances have been cited by the honourable members who have spent their lifetime in the villages. Sir, I must confess that I certainly cannot claim to have the honour of having spent my lifetime with the cultivators, but, Sir, I also come from a village and I also am a farmer and I know something about procurement drive that is going on at the moment. Sir, about the procurement staff I should say that they are corrupt. The villagers have toiled under conditions that are hardly human; they have toiled with an empty stomach, because the food that the Government have been able to supply to them has not been adequate and, Sir, they have not the wherewithal to buy the food that they require for their hard labour. Sir, they have produced food and today we find to our utter shame that food is being taken away, it is being looted, it is being robbed from them by the procurement staff. Sir, our Parliamentary Secretary of the Food Department glibly informed the House

about the prices that are being paid to the cultivators for their produce. Probably these figures are correct as far as the Parliamentary Secretary is concerned, because he knows nothing about the actual prices being paid to the cultivators except what he sees on the *istahars* and papers that are put before him. Sir, Sj. Chatterjee, an honourable member representing Nadia district, told this House exactly what is being paid to the cultivators. Deductions are being made from the advertised prices under different heads, and a cultivator would be lucky if, after fulfilling all the requirements prescribed by the Government Food Procurement Department, he gets near about Rs. 6. Sir, we have already criticised the Government. I now want to offer in all humility a suggestion to the Government for their consideration in this procurement drive. I suggest that it should be made mandatory on the procurement staff to consult the Union Board President and the members of the Union Board before they issue directions to the cultivators. I ask the Government to do this because I know that the cultivator families, besides their own food requirements, require paddy and rice for various other purposes. Then, Sir, there are others also who require rice for feeding the poor, as for example, Sir, I myself. Sir, I enjoy certain property under religious endowment from my father, and it is enjoined on me to feed the poor in the month of Ramzan up to a certain number, every year if they come to my house. I have made enquiries from the procurement staff if the Government contemplate making any allowance for a necessity such as mine, but I have not had any answer from them yet except that I am told that I will be allowed a certain quantity per head for members of my family and a certain quantity as a special case. There are other cases also of particular hardships in particular families. Therefore I have suggested and I repeat that the Union Board members who are in constant touch with every member of that locality should be consulted before the levy order or directive issued for procurement. That will also ensure that this procurement staff will not enter the houses of the cultivators as brigands and robbers and seize their stuff. Sir, the word "seize" is a detestable word. After all the cultivator with the sweat of his brow has produced paddy and rice and it should not be seized. He should be reasoned with and persuaded to deliver his surplus for feeding the people. Sir, our food shortage in the country is of the order of 6 million tons, and with the best of luck we shall probably be able to import 3·6 or 3·7 million tons. We shall still have a shortage left for the year. After all, when we have no food available, we shall have to find out the wherewithal to buy it. Then, Sir, if there is no shipping available, then the commitments that our Government have been able to make in respect of imports of food may not be fulfilled for this simple reason that owing to deterioration of the world situation shipping may not be available to bring this food. Therefore procurement must continue to stay, but not this kind of procurement that is now going on. That is what I want to impress upon the Government.

Sir, members have mentioned about corruption among the procurement staff. It amazed me, I don't know whether it would amaze you or anybody in the House or the Cabinet Members to hear that patrol officers are paid between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500 by way of bribe for loosening the cordon. Sir, His Excellency the Governor has mentioned in his speech that out of 35 lakhs of refugees who had come to West Bengal it is estimated that about 12 lakhs have gone back to their homes in East Bengal. Many have challenged this figure. Let us hope that the figure is correct, but one thing is certain that many have gone back. What are the reasons for their going back? Whether they felt that the hardships here are too much for them, or the hardships there were not comparable with the hardships here—I am not in a position to say. But, Sir, I can say this from my personal knowledge that many have gone back to East Bengal, and that would have been better

for us with our commitments and with our problems, had the leaders not actively dissuaded them from doing so. Sir, I know that in the district of Nadia where there is the greatest concentration than in any district in West Bengal of Hindu refugees, they were on the move. I know this, Sir, that the district leaders and District Officers combined in their effort to hold public meetings and dissuade them from going back to East Bengal. I find that the honourable member who represents Nadia is here and I hope when he would rise to speak next, he will bear me out. Sir, the honourable member in his speech remarked that the refugees from East Bengal were brought here and were invited to come. I wonder who invited them and for what purpose? Am I to take it that the Government brought them here to create or to add to the difficulties that are already burdening them? Or who are the people who brought them if at all they were brought here? There must be some persons or some agencies who have brought them here. I should like to know who they are and for what purpose they propagated the idea of their coming here. Sir, His Excellency the Governor has said in his speech that 12 lakh persons have been rehabilitated. He has also given us figures in rupees as to how much has been spent on them. If you analyse the figures you will find that on an average Rs. 100 has been spent on a family of refugees. What it actually means I leave it to your own conclusion. We know, Sir, that we have not been able to rehabilitate the refugees. Our inability to rehabilitate them has been found out. When that has failed, I think, we should concentrate our efforts to send the refugees back. Because in East Bengal there is quiet, there is a peace of some kind otherwise the refugees would not have started on their trek back. Therefore let us try to relieve ourselves of some of the responsibilities that we have taken upon ourselves.

Sir, His Excellency has also mentioned about the incidence of disease. He has specially mentioned about tuberculosis and small-pox but he has made no mention of any effort on the part of his Government for the production of medicines in this country. Sir, we know that the world situation is deteriorating, we know that when the last war started there was no medicine available in the market. If immediately another war starts there will be no medicine available in the market. We have to be dependent on imports for our medical supplies. We have an eminent doctor, who is one of the world's best doctors, as the head of the administration of the province. We expected of him that he would apply his mind and see that the production of medicine increased in this country. But, Sir, nothing of the kind. There is no mention about it in His Excellency's speech. I raised this point in the last Budget Session but I find that nothing has been achieved. At least there is no mention here. I hope the Hon'ble Chief Minister will enlighten the House and the country as to the achievements made in this direction.

Sir, I find that His Excellency the Governor has said that the "law and order situation in the State on the whole has been quite satisfactory since your last session". Sir, I really do not know if no news percolates to the gubernatorial residence at Calcutta when we know that the law and order situation in the country has worsened. Possibly the law and order situation that was challenged or disturbed by the communist menace has lessened but the ordinary crime situation has worsened in the country. There have been more dacoities and the *Police Gazettes* will bear them out. There have also been more thefts. More people have been waylaid and yet His Excellency the Governor comes out with a different story to the effect that the law and order situation in the country has improved, in order to hoodwink the people.

The repositories of justice and the High Courts have held certain provisions of Security laws repugnant to the Constitution. We have been

advised, in language couched for political reasons I believe, that "a fresh approach on our part is necessary to meet the new and newer situations". I wonder what can this approach be. Is it to be an attempt to amend the Constitution so that whatever is repugnant now to the Constitution shall not remain so? We have respect for our law courts and the findings of the law courts, and those law courts have held certain things repugnant to the Constitution. Now to circumvent this if you are trying to amend the Constitution—I do not know if His Excellency the Governor meant this—by a fresh approach, I wonder, Sir, if anything can be more derogatory to the total intelligence and dignity of the country.

Sir, the speech does not mention specifically about protection of minorities and the attention of the House has been drawn to that by honourable members. Sir, Mr. Sibnath Banerjee, the honourable member who last spoke, told you how many workers have been taken as *badlis* and he tried to dispel the impression created by Government that all those who came back have been rehabilitated or taken back in service. But, Sir, my point is that they should not only be reinstated where they were but, Sir, they should be given their proper share, their adequate and fair share in the economic life of the country. Whatever is distributed by way of patronage by Government should also go to the minorities in equal share. Sir, in Asansol, out of 69 ration shops distributed to the different communities only one went to a Muslim. This was made a point of grievance and was brought to the notice of the authorities. Nothing has been done about it. This only shows, Sir, that the Muslims are being discriminated against. Previously some bus routes, and some shops including ration shops, in Calcutta, were held by the Muslims but they have been gradually eliminated under this pretext or that. I want, Sir, that the Muslims who are nationals of this country, who are citizens of a secular State with equal rights and responsibilities, should feel that they are being treated fairly and that they are being given a fair share in the economic life of their own country.

Sir, the Unauthorised Persons Eviction Bill has raised some apprehensions in certain quarters. I think, Sir, that it is in implementation of the solemn agreement this Government and the Government of Pakistan entered into. Sir, if this Bill seeks to give possession of the houses and lands left vacant by the Muslims when they were displaced during the riots I certainly feel that all sections of the House will be in support of the Bill but up to so much only. Sir, the Bill has not been circulated. That is why there are misgivings and apprehensions in the minds of the honourable members. But when the Bill is circulated, it will be cleared. Sir, I want to make this point clear that if this Bill seeks to oust those refugees who have not taken possession of Muslim houses and lands, we shall not oppose those provisions of the Bill. After all, refugees have come and they ought to go back. But if they do not, then whatever arrangements they have been able to make of their own initiative should not be disturbed by Government. But Muslim houses and lands must be restored to Muslims; and if this Bill seeks to arm the authorities to do so, I shall welcome the Bill and support it up to that extent. This Bill is overdue. During the last session the Hon'ble the Leader of the House told us that he had received information from the Central Government that there were certain differences and in order to smoothen them they had asked the Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal to defer the bringing in of the Bill. Sir, I do not know the position. That is why I say again that if this Bill is designed to implement the Delhi Pact. I am sure the honourable members who have spoken against the Bill would also accord full measure of support that it deserves.

Lastly, I must join with Mr. Banerjee in demanding of the Government for the publication of the Calcutta University Enquiry Commission Report.

Much public money has been spent and spent for good purposes. The purpose has been achieved, and its results should be made public: otherwise we would not exactly know what was wrong with the Calcutta University; why the Enquiry Commission was necessitated; and what were the recommendations.

Sir, I shall not go into it further. I conclude with this appeal that the Government will see their way to publish that report.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am not here to abuse the Ministers or their party. I am not here to hurl hard words which break no bone or tooth, in the words of the Leader of this House who is an expert in the analysis of bones and he is assisted by another expert in tooth. I shall try to bring home the realistic picture of the State of West Bengal and its people in general and Muslims in particular. I regret that I have to mention of Muslims in particular in this secular State dominated by the Hon'ble Dr. Roy and his party. Without much preface I declare at once without any fear of being contradicted that the condition to which this State has been brought by the insensate, foolish and bad policy of my friends over there in the matter of administration is unparalleled in the history of any sensible and civilised country. It has been said by Mr. Cole, a prominent member of the British Parliament and a leader of the British Labour Party at a meeting held in London in September, 1946, before an audience composed mainly of Indians—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others that "independence is a means to an end. India is faced with terrible poverty, illiteracy and disease which destroy the physical and moral condition of the people. Indians will be judged by other nations at the moment of their triumph as to how they have succeeded in raising the standard of their living, how far they have been able to remove illiteracy and how far they have been able to make the people disciplined, organised and healthy." You have gained independence, but unless you can achieve this end your independence becomes a mockery and an illusion, which has eluded your grasp. The attainment of independence has degraded to actings in a theatrical performance. It has not become a living picture of independence but a sham mockery. It is a lifeless and soulless abstract something which carries no meaning or action.

Now, Sir, the United States' Agriculture Department in its annual report published in Washington on 11th February, 1951, a summary of which appeared in the *Statesman* of February 12, 1951, stated: "India's food problem is chronic and is rooted in the static pattern of primitive production practices." Mark these words. While the outlook appears slightly better in the Far East and Southern Asia, India is faced with a deteriorating situation. Her production will be dangerously low, and the total indigenous food-supply is likely to be the smallest in years. In Russia the situation has improved. In the Middle East last year there was a good harvest and a good crop will be harvested in 1951. Continental Europe has increased her food production. America has 12 per cent. more food. Latin America has reached a record level in 1950 and will reach even higher level in 1951. Pakistan wheat supply is a little less than a year ago but East Pakistan hovers on the brink of self-sufficiency. I have read in papers that Pakistan has increased her food production by 30 to 40 per cent. of that in pre-partition days. Therefore every country and even our immediate neighbours have by industry and organisation increased their food production. They have reduced their jute acreage and done some other things in order to make them self-sufficient in food. This indicates that our Agriculture and Food Ministers know nothing of this business. They are past-masters in the art of uttering slogans and raising national

flags, chanting Vedic hymns, celebrating *pujahs, jag, jagma, hom* so that the Devas may grant them plenty. They have totally forgotten the teaching of the *Rishis*, namely,

"উদ্যোগিনং পুরুষসিংহমুপৈতি লক্ষ্মী
দৈবেন দেয়মিতি কাপুরুষাঃ বদন্তি।"

Now, let me tell you, Sir, that this ruling party is unsympathetic and unhelpful and I shall not be far from truth if I say that they are generally hostile to the Muslim population. They conveniently forget that the Muslims of West Bengal will have to live and they will have to contribute to the economic and political development of the country and that in the economy of West Bengal they are to be counted as an important factor. This 25 or 30 per cent. of the population is mostly engaged in the production of food. If this State is a welfare State as it claims to be, there must be provision for their all-round development. But, Sir, during the riots when quarrels broke out between the Muslims of the border districts and the incoming Hindus from Pakistan, the police and the Government, as a matter of principle and practice, sided with the Hindus and these sturdy Muslim peasants of the border were driven away bag and baggage. The result was, according to the radio talk of the Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, that 54 lakhs of acres of land practically remained fallow and no production was obtained and the country has been deprived of that production which could have been raised in these lands. Why did not the Government think of the consequences of this expulsion? Why did they not take steps to keep them here? This expulsion was due to their shortsightedness and want of policy and hostility to the Muslims.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is necessary to look after the jute industry in order to earn dollars, but you must eat first and then you must grow industries. The Hon'ble Mr. Casey, who was the Governor of British Bengal for some time and who is an expert in agriculture, said that when a country is agricultural we must try first to foster agriculture and make ourselves self-sufficient in food and then and then only when we have attained self-sufficiency in food, we will look to the industry and foster industry. Instead of abiding by the advice of Mr. Casey and other experts in agriculture, what did my friends the Agriculture Minister and the Development Minister and other Ministers with high-sounding ideas do? They did nothing. Well, you go on earning dollars, go on earning dollars, go on creating a favourable trade balance and all these things and, at the same time, the food problem remains unheeded and nothing has been done to increase the food-supply.

Sir, you have heard just now what the United States' Agriculture Department reported yesterday. They reported that the fate of India is sealed because of the static pattern and the primitive practice of agriculture. What was their duty? If they were intent upon removing poverty, if they were intent upon raising the standard of life of the population, what was their duty? Their duty was to take to scientific methods of cultivation to increase the productiveness of lands.

Sir, we who have been in the co-operative movement for the last 40 years, we know what co-operation in agriculture can achieve. Sir, in Finland, in Holland and in all other countries where the people were in distress, they took to agricultural co-operation and the result was tremendously encouraging. The yield increased by 100 per cent.—increase according to the five years' plan—and the food question was solved. Sir, in the same way, after the war, in Germany a survey was made as to how much population was there and at that time it was ascertained that there were nearly

7 crores of people and it was estimated that the land which was at the disposal of the German nation was not sufficient for feeding this 7 crore population and the Germans had no countries where they could send their surplus population for the purpose of colonisation. Then all the scientists, agricultural scientists and others——

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: This is time for prayer.

(The House was then adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was saying just now that three causes have contributed to the shortage of food supply in this our poor State. The first I have mentioned is the expulsion of the Mussalmans from the border district by the powers that be, and secondly, a vast quantity of land was diverted from the production of paddy to jute production and this has contributed also to the shortage of food supply, and thirdly and lastly the want of foresight of these Ministers who do not understand their business, who do not understand how to increase and intensify cultivation and production as have been done in other advanced countries. They are following the same primitive method of agriculture as their forefathers for thousands of years have been doing, and all these three years these gentlemen, Mr. Speaker, have passed in celebrating independence, in *jang*, *jagna* and certain other things, without taking care to create an organisation for the purpose of producing more and more wealth for the country and thus doing away with the deficit and shortage to some extent. Sir, I have been crying hoarse over this for the last three or four or five years on the floor of the House that your salvation lies in organisation, in taking to agricultural co-operation, but, Sir, all my exhortations, all my addresses have fallen on deaf ears and they are solely engaged in uttering slogans and crying democracy and secular State and such other things.

That is the first point which I want to make. Therefore, Sir, it is these gentlemen who are responsible for the shortage of food. They are the real murderers of the people and they should be hanged. They should be arraigned for bringing out a deterioration of the situation.

Then, Sir, when they found that there was shortage of food they wanted to make something a scape-goat for this. It is said that in West Bengal some places are deficit areas and some are surplus areas. Most of the surplus areas are inhabited by Mussalmans. In my district, Muraroi and Nalhati thanas are mostly inhabited by Mussalmans. Government have said that these are surplus areas. These gentlemen (pointing to occupants of the Treasury benches) have initiated what is called a vigorous procurement drive for the purpose of getting away from the people all the paddy that they have produced. In this fashion they are spreading terror wherever they go. Some people have got 20 bighas, some have got 25 bighas of land, and without caring to ascertain the real stocks they make an imaginary estimate, and on the basis of that imaginary estimate they issue directives for delivery of paddy from owners of 20 or 25 or 15 bighas of land. Such complaints reached me. There were lots of persons who approached me for remedying this state of affairs. But I told them that I had no hand in the matter and that I could only bring this to the notice of the authorities that be. Some of them were sent to Mr. P. C. Sen, our Food Minister, and they complained to him. The Food Minister was accompanied by Lal Behari Singh, the Congress Secretary of the district. He sent the petition, the memorandum to a person who is known as A.R.C.P.

He along with the tormentors, *i.e.*, the Inspectors went to the scene of occurrence and said: "You have been asked to deliver only 150 maunds. You are excused from giving 50 maunds. Better deliver only 100 maunds." In this way, Sir, there are cases in which the entire stock was delivered to the Assistant Regional Controller of Procurement. Even that will not be sufficient for the amount stated in the directives. Not only that. A reign of terror has been spread in the locality, and whenever these teeming millions object, whenever the dumb millions object they are threatened that they would be taken to the *hajat*, and this kind of terrorising takes place. Our District Magistrate also went to Muraroi. I also at the request of the people attended the meeting. Things were placed before him, but no good came out of that. You will be surprised to hear, Sir, that a man has produced only 5 or 6 maunds of paddy per *bigha*, and then he is called upon to keep one maund of paddy per *bigha* cultivated for himself and deliver the rest to the procurement staff. He is allowed to keep 23 seers of unhusked paddy which means *dhan* for members of his family as in the ration cards, and after deducting this the whole thing is directed to be delivered. This is *Mogher rajatya* or anarchy. This is nothing but terror and anarchy. Sir, they are violating the principle of our noble constitution. I do not say that all congressmen are like that. Congressmen are noble persons. I am myself a congressman. I have signed the congress creed. The congress ideals are noble and unsurpassed. (At this stage the red light was lit.)

Sir, I want ten minutes more.

Mr. SPEAKER: There are many speakers. I am sorry I can allow you only five minutes more.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Then, Sir, as regards the price of paddy I am myself a cultivator. I know how much it costs for cultivating a *bigha* of land from ploughing up to threshing and putting it in the market. It costs no less than Rs. 30. If you do not believe me, if these gentlemen, the Ministers, do not believe me, let them consult the list of expenditure of Government firm in which paddy is produced. They will find that even more than Rs. 30 is being spent for production, and their officers themselves have reported that more than Rs. 30 is spent for the production of paddy in a *bigha* of land.

Sir, I would respectfully urge upon the Minister concerned that he will kindly fix a reasonable amount of expenditure per *bigha* of cultivated area. At present after deduction of 23 seers of paddy—23 seers of unhusked paddy is nothing to those who produce—the rest is taken away. Thus the cultivators have to fall back upon grass like cattle. Unless we get one maund on an average for each we cannot live and our health cannot be maintained. Our submission through you, Sir, to the Hon'ble Minister is that in procuring all these things should be deducted, and as regards the surplus of course you can take, but take it at a proper price. Article 31 of our Constitution lays down: "No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law. No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property......"

My friend will say that they have provided for compensation by paying Rs. 7-8 per maund of paddy. Now, Sir, what is meant by compensation? By compensation we mean to make good certain loss and this compensation should be reasonable. Otherwise, Sir, you have no right to take away paddy

unless you pay proper compensation and that value should be on the present market value. Therefore, Sir, through you I urge upon the Hon'ble Minister concerned not to take anything from the citizens without paying them proper compensation which should be the price of the commodities taken at the then market value and not pay them compensation at an abnormally low price. That is my second point.

My third point is about the appointment of the Muslims in public services. Sir, we are proud citizens of India. We have sworn allegiance to the Constitution of India and I declare here that there are not more loyal citizens than ourselves in India. Therefore we are entitled to every consideration, we are entitled as such to every privilege due to a citizen of India. We do not claim any higher privilege than that enjoyed by others. From the day of the partition or from the day of the Delhi Pact you will find that no Muhammadan, not even 1 per cent. of the Muslims have beer taken in the public services. Is it, Sir, good for the country?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Your time is up.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Therefore, Sir, I hope the Government will take into consideration all these facts.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, প্রত্যেক দেশেই স্বাধীনতা লাভ হবার পর জনসাধারণের মনে যে উৎসাহ ও আনন্দ আসে—যাকে glow of freedom বলে—আমাদের দেশের জনসাধারণের মনে, বিশেষতঃ গ্রামবাসীর মনে সেই উৎসাহ ও উদ্দীপনা আজ তিন বৎসরের মধ্যেও আসেনি, যাকে glow of freedom বলে সেই আনন্দ আসেনি। এর কারণ কি? অনেক কারণ অনেকেই বলে দিতে পারেন, ক্রম-বর্দ্ধমান জিনিষপত্রের দাম, খাদ্যদ্রব্যের অভাব। মানুষ যা মনে করেছিল, স্বাধীনতা লাভ হলে, তারা পাবে সেটা পায়নি। কিন্তু আমার মনে হয় সকলের মনেই একটা বড় কারণ আছে। যেজন্য গ্রামবাসীদের মুখে glow of freedomএর ভাব ফুটে উঠেনি। আনন্দ যে ফুটে উঠেনি সেটার কারণ হচ্ছে, বর্ত্তমান কন্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা। এই control ব্যবস্থা আজ যদি উঠিয়ে দেওয়া না হয়, তাহলে আমার আশঙ্কা হয় এই দেশের উন্নতি কোন দিন হবে না। আমি জানি আজ দেশময় খাদ্যের অভাব এবং খাদ্যসঙ্কট। আমরা যেখানেই সমবেত হয়েছি, দেশের মধ্যে সেখানেই বলা হয়েছে একটা মস্ত খাদ্যের অভাব। তাসত্বেও আজকে যদি বলি control অবিলম্বে তুলে দিতে হবে সেকথাটা আজ অত্যন্ত বিসদৃশ ঠেকবে। কিন্তু আমি জোরের সঙ্গে বলবো—আমার অন্তর ও বিবেক যা বলছে সেই ধ্বনি আমি ব্যক্ত করব।

আজকে তিন বৎসরে controlএর মধ্যে চলতে চলতে যে vicious circle তৈরি করা হয়েছে তার প্রতিবিধান না হওয়ায় অবস্থা খারাপের দিকে যাচ্ছে। এই vicious circle দূর করতে হলে, এই control প্রথা তুলে দিতে হবে। এই controlএর ইতিহাস কি? এই control প্রথা Congress Government কর্ত্তৃক সৃষ্ট নয়। Control সৃষ্টি হয়েছিল বৃটীশ গভর্ণমেণ্টের দ্বারা যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজনে। যুদ্ধ লাগলে যোদ্ধমান জাতিসমূহ তাদের অত্যাবশ্যক যেসব জিনিষপত্র প্রয়োজন তা সরবরাহ যাতে হয় যুদ্ধ চালাবার জন্য, সেজন্যই কন্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছিল। সাধারণ মানুষের যতই অসুবিধা হোক যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজনে এই কন্ট্রোল স্বীকার ও সহ্য করে নেয়। কিন্তু যুদ্ধ হয়ে গেলেই কন্ট্রোল তুলে দেওয়া হয়। বর্ত্তমানে এই জিনিষ তুলে দেওয়া হয়নি। আমরা পেয়েছি এই কন্ট্রোল যেমন করে উত্তরাধিকারী তার পিতৃপুরুষের নিকট থেকে সম্পত্তি পায় এবং দেনা-পাওনা পায়। আমরা স্বাধীনতা লাভের পর অনেক ভাল জিনিষ পেয়েছি, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে এই controlএর মত একটা মন্দ জিনিষও পেয়েছি। গভর্ণমেণ্টের কর্ত্তব্য ছিল এবং এখনও কর্ত্তব্য আছে control তুলে দেওয়া, কিন্তু তিন বৎসর পরেও——

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI : আপনারা তুলেননি কেন?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : সেটাই পরে বলছি। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর প্রেরণায় কেন্দ্রীয় কংগ্রেস গভর্ণমেণ্ট এই প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করেছিল যে ১৯৪৭ সালের নভেম্বর মাসে যে সমস্ত control ব্যবস্থা ১৯৪৮ সালের ডিসেম্বরের মধ্যে তুলে দেওয়া হবে। Control তুলবার পক্ষপাতী তখনও ছিলাম এখনও আছি। তখন যে অবস্থায় আমরা পেয়েছিলাম, দেশে ৭ দিনের মত মাত্র খাদ্য ছিল। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর পরামর্শানুসারে ১৯৪৮,

সালের ডিসেম্বর মাসের মধ্যে অন্ততঃ তিন মাসের মত খাদ্য মজুত করতে হবে এবং তারপরে control ছেড়ে দিতে হবে। আর ইতিমধ্যে অন্যান্য সমস্ত control তুলে দিতে হবে। তদনুসারে কাপড়ের control তুলে দেওয়া হল এবং অন্যান্য controlও তুলে দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছিল। উত্তর প্রদেশে এই পরিকল্পনানুসারে ১৯৪৮ সালের ফেব্রুয়ারী বা মার্চ্চ মাসে খাদ্যশস্যের control তুলে দেওয়া হল। তাতে দাম বেড়ে গিয়েছিল এবং সেটা বাড়বারই কথা। সেখানে ৪।৫ মাসের মত খাদ্যশস্য যে রকমেই হোক হাতে মজুত রাখা হয়েছিল। চারিদিকে লোক চীৎকার করতে ছিল এবং সংবাদপত্রের propaganda চলছিল। তাই সেখানকার Government খাদ্যশস্যের control প্রথা পুনরায় বসিয়ে দিলে। আজকেও তেমনি চলছে। তারপর অন্য কোন প্রদেশে কণ্ট্রোল তুলে দেবার কোন ব্যবস্থাই হয়নি। মহাত্মা গান্ধী আজকে নেই—তিনি তারস্বরে চীৎকার করে বলেছিলেন যে এই control ব্যবস্থা আমাদের জাতীয় জীবন ও national economyর উপর অপরিহার্য্য অংশস্বরূপ রাখা চলবে না। এর অর্থ এই নয় যে জাতীয় জীবনে কোন প্রকার কণ্ট্রোল রাখা হবে না। কণ্ট্রোলের পরিচালনা এমনভাবে হওয়া উচিত যাতে জাতীয় সম্পদ বৃদ্ধি পায়। মাত্র সেরূপ কণ্ট্রোল বাঞ্ছনীয়। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমান কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থায় ধনী অধিকতর ধনী হচ্ছে আর দরিদ্র আরও বেশী দরিদ্র হয়ে যাচ্ছে। প্রকাশ, সোভিয়েট রাশিয়ায় কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থার সবিশেষ উন্নতি সাধন করা হয়েছে এবং তাতে সম্পদ ও সুখ-স্বাচ্ছন্দ্য বৃদ্ধি প্রাপ্ত হয়েছে। তাই দেখে যদি প্রত্যেকটা দেশে control ব্যবস্থা করা হয় তাহলে তাব ফল অত্যন্ত খারাপ হবে যা আমাদের দেশে হয়েছে। এই নিষ্ফল অনুকরণে দেশের স্বাভাবিক ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য ব্যবস্থায় অচল অবস্থা স্থায়ীভাবে সৃষ্টি না করে, যে পরিস্থিতির জন্য বা যে অবস্থাব জন্য control প্রথা চালু করা দরকার হয়েছিল, সেই পরিস্থিতির অবসানে কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থারও অবসান করা উচিত ছিল। স্থায়ীভাবে কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা করতে হলে সোভিয়েট রাশিয়ায় কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থার সফলতার মূল কারণ কি তা ভালভাবে বুঝতে হবে। একটু ধীরভাবে চিন্তা করলে বুঝা যাবে যে গোড়া না ধরে, আগা ধরে ফল খারাপ হয়েছে। সোভিয়েট রাশিয়ায় control সফল হয়েছে কারণ সে দেশে সমস্ত লোকের ব্যক্তিগত সম্পত্তির, ব্যক্তিগত incomeএর বিলোপ সাধন করা হয়েছে। সেখানে সমস্ত রকম উৎপাদনএর material resources গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিজ হাতে নিয়েছে। কি কৃষিজাত পণ্য, কি শিল্পজাত পণ্য সমস্ত কিছুর উৎপাদন, বিক্রয় ও বণ্টন সবই control করা হয়েছে। তাই সেখানে কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা সফল হতে পারে। কিন্তু আমাদের দেশে ব্যক্তিগত সম্পত্তি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে উৎপাদন সবই ঠিক আছে। এক্ষেত্রে মাত্র বণ্টন বা মূল্যের উপর কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা কখন হিতকর হতে পারে না। কিন্তু তা সত্বেও আজকে আমাদের দেশে যে রকমভাবে মাত্র মূল্য ও বণ্টন সম্পর্কে control ব্যবস্থা পাকা করা হচ্ছে, তাতে মনে হচ্ছে যেন ঐটা আমাদের জাতীয় জীবনে একটি অপরিহার্য্য অঙ্গ স্বরূপ মেনে নেওয়া হবে। এটা অত্যন্ত বিপজ্জনক। আজকে যদি রাষ্ট্র সমস্ত private propertyর ব্যক্তিগত সম্পত্তির ব্যক্তিগত আয়, ব্যক্তিগত উৎপাদন, সে কৃষিজাত উৎপাদনই হোক আর industrial বা শিল্পজাত উৎপাদনই হোক, সমস্ত প্রকার উৎপাদন বন্ধ করে দিয়ে রাষ্ট্র সমস্ত সম্পত্তি ও উৎপাদনের দায়িত্ব গ্রহণ করে তারপর কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা স্থায়ীভাবে চালু করা হয় তাহলে তা হয়তো করা উচিত। কিন্তু মাত্র যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজনে বর্ত্তমান যে কণ্ট্রোল ব্যবস্থা তা করা হয়েছিল। যুদ্ধের সময় কণ্ট্রোলের জন্য সাধারণ লোকের জীবনযাত্রা যে রকমভাবে ব্যাহত হোক না কেন তাতে লোকে বিশেষ কিছু মনে করে না। যুদ্ধের জন্য প্রয়োজন হয়েছে বলে লোকে এই controlকে মেনে নিতে রাজী থাকে—যেমন গত যুদ্ধের সময় হয়েছে। কিন্তু আজকে তাকে না ছেড়ে এমনিভাবে দিনের পর দিন চালিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়া ঠিক হচ্ছে না। আজকে এই controlএর আবরণে দেশের যারা পুঁজীপতী, কায়েমী স্বার্থভোগী তাদের আয় বৃদ্ধির ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে এবং তাদের হস্তকে দৃঢ় করা হচ্ছে। আজ controlএর আবরণে বর্ত্তমান সরকারের আসনকে দৃঢ় করবার ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে, যাতে General Election পর্য্যন্ত এবং তারপরও সরকার টিকে থাকতে পারে। দেশের শাসনতন্ত্র যা হয় হোক কিন্তু যদি জনসাধারণ স্বাধীনভাবে তার ভোট দান করতে না পারে তাহলে এদেশে democracy কখনও প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে না। সুতরাং আমাদের আশঙ্কা এই control ব্যবস্থা যদি চালু থাকে তাহলে এদেশে স্বাধীনভাবে ভোট দান সুদূর-পরাহত হয়ে দাঁড়াবে। সেইজন্য এখন আমি control তুলবার কথা বলছি, পরে অন্য কারণ বলব। এই controlএর কারণে আমরা কি পেয়েছি? যে দেশ ধানের দেশ, যে দেশে একমাত্র প্রধান ফসল হচ্ছে ধান, যেখানে ধানই লোকের supplementary employment, যেখানে লোকের যা কিছু উপজীবিকা ও প্রয়োজন তাহা এই ধানের উপর নির্ভর করে, তাদের ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র ব্যবসা মাত্র ৫-১০ টাকা মূলধনে চলে। যদি ধানের supply, sale and distribution ঠিকমত free রাখা না যায় তাহলে ধান-চাষীর দেশের সকল লোকের, যার যেখানে আয়ের পথ থাকে সব বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে।

বলা হয় blackmarketing হচ্ছে, কিন্তু লোকে করবে কি? তাদের বাধ্য হয়েই করতে হচ্ছে। গরীব লোক যারা মাথার ঘাম পায়ে ফেলে বছরের পর বছর ধরে চাষের কাজ করে আসছে, আজ তাদের দুর্গতির আর সীমা নাই। ১৯৪৩ সাল থেকে আরম্ভ করে আজ ১৯৫১ সাল পর্য্যন্ত কণ্ট্রোলের কারণে তাদের কি অবস্থা হয়েছে আপনারা একটু চিন্তা করে দেখুন। সহরে বসে শিল্পাঞ্চলে থেকে এই দৃষ্টিকেন্দ্র লাভ করা যায় না। গ্রামের দিকে চেয়ে দেখুন কোথায় তারা ধান পাবে, কি করে তারা খাবে। বড় বড় নানান কথা বলা হয়, কিন্তু তাতে কোনই ফল হচ্ছে না। বলা হয়েছিল, ১৯৫১-৫২ সালের মধ্যে খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা হয়ে control তুলে দেওয়া হবে, কিন্তু এখন তা করা সম্ভব হল না। সুতরাং আমাদের আশঙ্কা হয় এই স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা control থাকা কালে সম্ভব হবে না।

কিছুদিন আগে Londonএ এক press conferenceএ পণ্ডিত জহরলাল নেহেরু বলেছিলেন যে পাঁচ-ছয় বৎসরের মধ্যেও খাদ্যের অভাব ভারতবর্ষে solved হতে পারবে। যে দেশে খাদ্যের এত অভাব, যে দেশে যুদ্ধের সময় control হয়েছিল, সেটাকে নিজেদের হাতে অস্ত্রস্বরূপ রেখে এই কথা বলা হবে যে তাঁরা শীঘ্রই খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতা আনয়ন করবেন। আজ লক্ষ লক্ষ বিঘা ধানের জমিতে পাট চাষ করবার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। শুধু পশ্চিম বাংলায় যে হিসাব পাওয়া গিয়াছে তাতে দেখা যায় যে প্রায় ২ লক্ষ একর ধানের জমি পাটের জমিতে পরিণত করা হয়েছে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের হিসাবে দেখা যায় যে ভারতের অন্যান্য প্রদেশেও আরও পাঁচ লক্ষ একর ধানের জমি নেওয়া হবে। আগামী বছর আরও ধানের জমি নেওয়া হবে পাট উৎপাদনের জন্য। আর আজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট বলছেন যে অতি শীঘ্রই তাঁরা খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ হবেন। এ কি কথা? এ ভণ্ডামীর কথা। এ ধরণের কথা বলার প্রয়োজন কি? তার চেয়ে বলুন যে চিরদিনই control থাকবে। বলুন, ধানের জমি নিয়ে বড় বড় শিল্প বা industry চালাবার জন্য কাঁচা মাল উৎপাদন করা হবে। আর খাদ্যশস্যের ঘাটতি চিরদিন বিদেশ থেকে আমদানি করে পূরণ করা হবে। আজ চেয়ে দেখুন ভাববার দিন এসেছে, লক্ষ লক্ষ বিঘা ধানের জমির কি অবস্থা হয়েছে।

East India Companyর আমলে Lancashire ও Manchesterএর ব্যবসার জন্য ভারতবর্ষে পাট চাষ বেশী পরিমাণে করা হত। এই দেশকে পরিণত করা হয়েছিল শিল্পাঞ্চলের জন্য raw material উৎপাদন করে তা export করবার জন্য। আজকে Lancashireও Manchester চলে গিয়েছে, কিন্তু ভারতীয় শিল্পপতিরা তাদের স্থান অধিকার করেছে; ভারতীয় বড় বড় কলকারখানাগুলি তাদের স্থান গ্রহণ করেছে। গ্রামগুলিকে মাত্র কাঁচা মাল উৎপাদনের কেন্দ্ররূপে পরিণত করতে যাচ্ছে। যাঁরা খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতার কথা বলেন তাঁদের সেদিকে দৃষ্টি নাই। তাঁরা দেশকে দিনের পর দিন controlএর দিকে টেনে নিয়ে যাচ্ছেন। কাদের জন্য তোমরা এই control করছ? বলছ ৭৷৷৵ টাকা দরে ধান কিনতে হয়। কিন্তু গ্রামের গরীব লোকেরা ১২, টাকা দামেও ধান পায় না, তারা ২০-২২৲ টাকায় কিনতে বাধ্য হয়। আমি challenge করছি, আমি প্রমাণ করে দেব আপনারা যাদের জন্য অশ্রু বিসর্জন করছেন, তাদের ২২৲ টাকা হতে ৩২৲ টাকা মূল্যে চাল খরিদ করতে হয়। আর কম মূল্য বৃহত্তর সহরএর অধিবাসীর জন্য করা হয়েছে; কিন্তু যে দরিদ্র, যে গরীব, সে চিরকাল দরিদ্রই আছে। সরকার যদি একথা স্বীকার না করেন, তাহলে একটি বে-সরকারী তদন্ত কমিটি নিযুক্ত করে স্থির করুন ধানের মূল্য উৎপাদন খরচের অনুপাতে কত হওয়া উচিত। কিন্তু সরকার সে দিক বিবেচনা না করে জোরপূর্ব্বক ধান আটক করছেন। বর্ত্তমানে যেরূপ কর্ডন প্রচলিত আছে তাহাতে চোরাকারবারীদেরই সুবিধা দেওয়া হচ্ছে। পৌষ-মাঘ মাসে চাষীদের তাদের প্রয়োজন মেটাবার জন্য যে ধান ৫৷৷৵ টাকা দরে বিক্রয় করতে হয়, সেই ধানই পুনরায় ভাদ্র, আশ্বিন মাসে যখন তাদের ঘরে খোরাকীর ধান থাকে না তখন ধনিকদের কাছ থেকে ১৪-১৫৲ টাকা দরে কিনতে হয়। আগে ধান ধার দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা ছিল কিন্তু এখন আর বেশী মহাজন ধান ধার দিতে চায় না। চেয়ে দেখুন দেশবাসীর দিকে। আপনাদের দৃষ্টি গ্রামের দিকে পড়ে না। আপনাদের দৃষ্টি নিবদ্ধ হয়েছে সহরের দিকে, আপনাদের দৃষ্টি নিবদ্ধ রয়েছে সংবাদপত্রের দিকে। কিন্তু তাঁরা দরিদ্রের কথা লিখতে চান না, দরিদ্রের কথা ভাবতে শেখেন নি। Cordon করে রাখার ফলে আজ মানুষের জীবনযাত্রার পথকে রুদ্ধ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে। Cordonএর line করে দিয়েছেন। ধানের দেশে ধানকে বায়ুর মত কল্পনা করা যায়। বায়ুকে যেমন এক স্থানে রুদ্ধ করা যায় না, যতই তাকে রোকা হোক, সে বেরুবেই। সেই রকমভাবে ধান সম্বন্ধেও কেউ বলতে পারে না যে একটা ধানও blackmarketএ যাবে না বা smuggling হবে না। যখন দরিদ্র, গরীব গ্রামের লোক খাদ্যাভাবে, ধান চাষ সংগ্রহের জন্য ১৩-১৪ মাইল দূরবর্তী হাটে খরিদ করতে আসে, তখন আধ মণ ধানও তাদের কিনতে দেওয়া হয় না, কেউ কিনতে

এসে তাকে পুলিশ দিয়ে গুলি পর্য্যন্ত করা হয়েছে। ডায়মণ্ডহারবার মহকুমার চোলার হাট বলে একটা হাট আছে। আমি আপনাদের অনুরোধ করি সেখানে গিয়ে দেখে আসুন, সেখানকার কি অবস্থা? গ্রামের লোক তাদের খোরাকীর জন্য ঐ হাটে ধান চাল কিনতে গিয়েছিল। তাদের পাঁচ পাচটা লোককে গুলি করে মারা হয়েছে। তার মধ্যে তিনজন হাটের বাহিরে ছিল—হাটে আসছিল—আমি মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে বলেছি আপনি এ সম্বন্ধে একটা judicial enquiry করুন। যারা হাটের মধ্যেও ছিল না, গুলি খেয়ে সেখানে তারাও মারা গেল—কেন এমন হল? গ্রামবাসীরা ধান কেনা-বেচা করতে হাটে যায় আর সেই ধান নিয়ে পুলিশে টানাটানি করছে। চাষীর সামান্য ধান সে বিক্রয় করবে কিন্তু তাতে বাধা দেওয়া হচ্ছে। সেখানে যদি ধান কেনা-বেচা সম্পর্কে একটু অন্যায়ই করে, তাই বলে কি তাকে গুলি করে মারতে হবে? সে কি কম্যুইউনিষ্ট হয়ে ধ্বংসাত্মক কাজ করছিল যে তার উপর গুলি করা হ'ল। তাহলেও গুলি করা হবে কেন? ভাল আইনও, প্রয়োগের ফলে হয় বে-আইনী আইন। এইত রাজত্ব আমাদের, এইত control আমাদের। এইত cordon areaর মধ্যের কথা। Deficit areaতেও আপনারা ধান সংগ্রহ করতে যাচেছন, কাজেই তারা চতুর্দ্দিকে blackmarket করছে, এটাত মানুষের স্বভাব, এতে বিরক্তির কথা বলে কোন লাভ নাই। যেখানে ডিফিসিট এরিয়া সেখানেও লোকে সমস্ত ধান বিক্রয় কোরেছে। যদি distribution করতেই হয় তাহলে equitable distribution করা উচিত। তাহলে লোকে মনে করবে এটা সঙ্গত; তা না হলে মনে করবে ধান লুট করে নিয়ে যায়, এবং এই রকম করে ধান নেওয়ার জন্য লোকে খেতে পাচেছ না, যারা বলে অর্থ তারা পাচেছ তো; কিন্তু সে অর্থ কোথায় যাচেছ, সেতো আর তাদের হাতে থাকছে না। চাষীদের মনে সর্ব্বত্রই নিরাশা। ধান সম্বন্ধে যদি একটা আশ্বাস থাকতো যে ৫২ সালে এই control উঠে যাবে, কিন্তু control কবে যে উঠবে সে প্রশ্নের কোন কিছু উত্তর নেই। যে কথাটা বলেছিলাম সে কথাটা হচেছ এই যে তিনি বলেছিলেন—

"It is the very system of control and all that accompanies it which is responsible for killing all incentive for grow more food, concealing the stocks, resorting to black-market practices, adulteration of articles, making the rich richer and rolling in luxury while the poor get poorer and starve in the neighbourhood of plenty. Peasants are as ruthlessly exploited as in the case of East India Company when India was governed for making her an exporter of raw materials to Great Britain and a consumer of finished products of the country. The same exploitation is now carried on under the name of controlled distribution, the only difference being that the cities and large industries of India herself have stepped into the shoes of Lancashire and the British manufacturers."

মোটের উপর এই হচেছ অবস্থা। এই control শুধু খাদ্য সম্পর্কে নয় জনসাধারণের পরবার জন্য কাপড় তার জন্যেও control তাতে আবার সহরবাসীদের জন্য ২০ গজ গ্রামবাসীদের জন্য ৫ গজ। সহরবাসী পাবে সপ্তাহে এক পোয়া চিনি আর গ্রামবাসীরা মাসে এক ছটাকও পায় না। চিনির controlএর দ্বারা পুঁজি-পতিদের কবলে নিয়ে যাওয়া হচেছ। এই control importers এবং মহাজনদের বড় করবার অস্ত্র-স্বরূপে ব্যবহৃত হচেছ। এই control অবিলম্বে দূর হয়ে যাওয়া উচিত। দেশের সমস্ত ধান অর্থাৎ সমগ্র দেশের সম্পূর্ণ উৎপাদন রাষ্ট্রের করায়ত্ত হয় তখন controlএর কথা ভাবা যেতে পারে। যদি কোন দিন যুদ্ধ হয় তখন controlএর অত্যাচার সহ্য করব, নচেৎ এই অত্যাচার আর সহ্য করা উচিত নয়। চাষীর চোখ দিয়ে, গ্রামবাসীর চোখ দিয়ে সেই চোখে তপ্ত অশ্রু বয়ে যাচেছ--সে অশ্রু যে কোন গভর্ণমেণ্টকে পুড়িয়ে দিতে পারে।

আমি ধানের কথা বলছি, ধানের সংগ্রহ দাম ৭।।০ টাকা করে রাখা হয়েছে। বহু দিন থেকে বলা হচেছ ধানের এই দাম ন্যায্য দাম নয়। খাদ্যমন্ত্রীমহাশয় এক হিসাব দিয়েছিলেন তাতে বলা হয়েছিল ধানের দাম প্রতি মণ ৭।।০ টাকাই বেশী দাম। আমরা বলি ৭।।০ টাকা মণপ্রতি দিলে ধানের উৎপাদন খরচের দাম হয় না—cost of productionও নয়। উঁরা বলেন ধান আমরা সংগ্রহ করি কৃষকদের কাছ থেকে। যেহেতু বড়লোকেদের কাছ থেকে ধান সংগ্রহ করা হয় সেই হেতু দর কম হওয়া উচিত। তারা যদি বলতে চান ধানের মূল্য ৭।।০ টাকা ন্যায্য দাম আমি তাহলে challenge করছি।

কাল হরিপদবাবু দেখিয়েছেন এবং তিনি ঠিকই বলেছেন Central Jute কমিটি তাদের expertএর দ্বারা ভাল করে অনুসন্ধান করে বলে দিয়েছেন ধানের cost of production ১০৲ টাকার কম হতে পারে না। তবুও যদি বলেন কম হয়নি তবে একটা কমিটি বসান না একমেকোয়ারী হউক ধানের প্রকৃত মূল্য কি হতে পারে (At this stage the red light was shown.)

আর দুই মিনিট আমাকে সময় দিন। ধানের প্রকৃত মূল্য নিয়ে আলোচনা করছি সেই জিনিষটা ঠিক করতে দিন। আমরা বলছি procurement নিজে থেকে হবে। ধান-চাষী মাথায় করে এনে দেবে, তাকে সে সুযোগ দেব না তার কাছ থেকে লুট করে নেব, এটা কী উচিত? এত গোলমাল হচ্ছে কেন? এই গোলমালের একমাত্র কারণ তারা ধানের ন্যায্য মূল্য পাচ্ছে না। আমরা জানি যতক্ষণ ration ব্যবস্থা থাকবে, control থাকবে ততক্ষণ procurementও থাকবে। কিন্তু যারা দরিদ্র তারাই ভুগছে এই controlএর জন্য, cordon করার জন্য। তাদের খোরাকীর ধান চলে যাচ্ছে অথচ তারা কেনবার বেলায় পাচ্ছে না কম মূল্যে। কেড়ে নিয়ে stock করা হয়—এমন করে control চলে না। আপনারা বলছেন ধান অল্প লোকের কাছ থেকে procurement করা হয়; ভাল কথা কিন্তু অল্প লোকের কাছ থেকে করুন আর বেশী লোকের কাছ থেকে করুন কম দাম দেবেন কেন? যদি বলেন তারা কৃষক তবে বড় বড় industry সম্বন্ধে কি বলা হয় manager আর managing agent commission বা মাইনা রাখবে কেন? সে টাকা শ্রমিকদের খাইয়ে দাও। এও সেই রকম। আমার অবস্থা ভাল বা মন্দ হউক তুমি মাটির মূল্যে ধান নিয়ে যাবে কেন? আবার বলি এ লাইন ঠিক নয়। চিনি যারা তৈরী করে তারা মাত্র এক per cent. লোক আর ৯৯ per cent. লোকই খায়--তার মূল্যটা বাড়ে কেন? কারণ সে মিল করার ভয় দেখায়। সুতরাং জনসাধারণের বেলায় এক জিনিষ আর মিলওয়ালাদের বেলায় আর এক জিনিষ হয় এ কিরকম ব্যবস্থা? যারা কাপড় তৈরী করেন তারা তো one per cent. লোকই নয় অথচ কাপড়ের মূল্য দিনের পর দিন বাড়িয়ে দেন কেন? লোহার মূল্য এত কেন? যারা producer তারা তো শতকরা দুই-পাঁচ জন লোকওতো নয়। এর উত্তর ভাবতে হবে। আজকে একটা ক্ষমতার আসনে বসে এই রকম খামখেয়ালী জিনিষ করা চলবে না। আজকে এমন কথা বলা হয় ধানের মূল্য যদি না পোষায় তবে চাষ করে কেন? যদি কোন বাঙ্গালী এ কথা বলে তাহলে বলবো তার দৃষ্টি অন্ধ। ভারতবর্ষের কোটী কোটী লোক যারা খেতে পায় না তারা একাজ করে কেন—for want of better employment—বসে থাকার চাইতে তারা ভাবে কিছুটা চাষ কোরব তাতে দুই টাকা পাব তাই ভাল। কাপড়, চিনি প্রভৃতি বাড়িয়েছেন, আপনারা বাড়িয়েছেন সেখানে; আপনারা কিছুই কমাতে পারেননি--আমি বলবো আপনারা অবিলম্বে ধানের দাম বাড়িয়ে দিন। কর্ডন এরিয়ার বাইরে ২৪-পরগণার ডায়মণ্ড হারবারে হাজার হাজার চাষীর ধানের জমি আছে সেখান থেকে তারা খোরাকীর ধান আনতে পারে না; সে বলে আমি চাষ করেছি আমার খোরাকীর ধান দেবে না একী অত্যাচার। কাল তারা এলো খাদ্যমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে দেখা করবার জন্য--তিনি দেখা করলেন না, প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় ছিলেন তিনি তাদের প্রতিনিধির সঙ্গে অনুগ্রহ করে দেখা করছেন--জানিনা ফল কী হবে, এইতো অবস্থার মধ্যে তারা পড়েছে। আমি জানি কেন্দ্রের অনুমতি ব্যতীত তারা control তুলতে পারবেন না--কিন্তু তারা ধানের দামটা বাড়িয়ে দিন! দরিদ্র গ্রামবাসী ৭।।০ টাকা দরে বেচবে আর ২২৲ টাকা ২৩৲ টাকা মণ দাম দিয়ে চাল কিনবে এ জিনিষটা চলবে না।

আমি আরেকটা বিষয়ে আসছি সেটা হচ্ছে এ সরকারের আজ কয় বৎসর হয়ে গেল তারা প্রহিবিসন অর্থাৎ মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জনের কিছুই করেননি। কংগ্রেসের প্রতিশ্রুতি ছিল যে কংগ্রেস ক্ষমতায় এসেই মাদকদ্রব্য বর্জন করবে। জানি এ বিষয়ে কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিরুৎসাহ তা সত্বেও মাদ্রাজ গভর্ণমেণ্ট অনেকটা কাজ করেছেন। সরকার ভাবেন আফিং খাইয়ে, গাঁজা খাইয়ে জনসাধারণের ট্যাক থেকে ৫ কোটী টাকা আদায় করবেন। অনেক টাকাই তারা নষ্ট করেছেন এই ৫ কোটী টাকার লোভ ত্যাগ করুন।

তারপর আরেকটা বিষয় অর্থাৎ জমিদারী-প্রথা তারা রদ করবেন বলেছিলেন কিন্তু সে বিষয় তারা কিছুই করছেন না।

Unauthorised land থেকে উৎপাদনের বিল, অর্থাৎ যে সমস্ত মুসলমান উৎসাদিত হয়েছে তাদের বাড়ী-ঘর যারা অন্যায়ভাবে দখল করেছেন, সেইটার দরকার দিল্লী Agreementএর দ্বারা পালন করবার জন্য হয় তাহলে সে বিলটায়--আমরা একথা পূর্ব্বেও বলেছি সত্যিকারের মাইনরিটির জন্য যা করা উচিত সেটা করা হউক। কিন্তু যদি এই বিল দিয়ে অন্য দিকে যারা পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের এখানে আছে, নিজের চেষ্টায় তারা এক জায়গায় বাস স্থাপন করেছে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের যদি উচ্ছেদ করবার জন্য প্রস্তুত হন তাহলে সে বিলের বিরোধিতা করবো।

মোটের উপর আবার কথা হচ্ছে distressed মুসলমান যারা—তারা যাতে বাড়ীঘর থেকে উচ্ছেদ না হয় সেইজন্য এ বিল প্রযুক্ত হয় তবে এই বিল ভাল বিল।

Janab MAHAMMAD SAYEED MIA: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয় আমাদের মহামান্য রাজ্যপাল মহোদয়, তার বক্তৃতায় অন্যান্য বিষয়ের সঙ্গে বর্ত্তমান খাদ্য-পরিস্থিতি সম্বন্ধেও উল্লেখ করেছেন। আমি এ প্রসঙ্গে মালদহ জেলার বর্ত্তমানে যে চরম খাদ্যসঙ্কট দেখা দিয়েছে, সে সম্পর্কে কিছু বলা প্রয়োজন বোধ করছি। সকলেই অবগত আছেন যে মালদহ পশ্চিম বঙ্গের অন্যান্য জেলা থেকে সম্পূর্ণ বিচ্ছিন্ন থাকায়, মালদহ জিলায় ট্রেনযোগে চলাচলের কোন উপায় নাই। মালদহ জেলার ব্যবসা বা কারবার পশ্চিমবঙ্গের অন্যান্য জেলা বা কলকাতার সঙ্গে চালাতে গেলে বিহারের ভিতর দিয়ে চলাচল করতে হয়। এবং ঐ পথে মাল আমদানী ও রপ্তানী করতে হয়। বর্ত্তমানে বিহার গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেভাবে কঠোর আইন প্রণয়ন করেছেন, তার ফলে মালদহ জেলার সমস্ত ব্যবসা ও কারবারের পথ প্রায় বন্ধ বল্লেই হয়। কোন প্রকারের খাদ্যসামগ্রীর আমদানী-রপ্তানী একেবারেই বন্ধ। এই যে দারুণ কারবারের সঙ্কট মালদহে বর্ত্তমান আছে তার সঙ্গে আবার খাদ্যসঙ্কট দেখা দিয়েছে। তার ফলে মালদহ আজ চরম দুর্দ্দশার সম্মুখীন হয়েছে। মালদহ জেলার কতকগুলি থানা surplus এবং আর কতকগুলি থানা deficit, এই surplus areaর মধ্যে ইতিপূর্ব্বে মাত্র দুটিকে cordon করা হতো এবং সেখান থেকে যে খাদ্য procure করা হতো, তা দিয়ে বর্ষাকালে deficit areaকে খাওয়ান যেতো। কিন্তু বর্ত্তমানে নূতনভাবে আরও চারিটি surplus থানা cordon হওয়ায় বক্রী চারিটি deficit থানায় খাদ্য সরবরাহ সম্পূর্ণ বন্ধ হয়ে গেছে। এবং এই deficit ৪টী থানায় ভীষণ খাদ্যসঙ্কট দেখা দিয়েছে। এ বৎসর মালদহ জেলায় ধানের অবস্থা অত্যন্ত শোচনীয়। মালদহের কতকগুলি থানায় মুসলমানেরা গত হাঙ্গামায় অন্যত্র চলে যাওয়ার ফলে তাহাদের পরিত্যক্ত কিছু জমি পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের হিন্দু refugeeরা আবাদ করেছিল কিন্তু তাহাতে ধান মোটেই আশাপ্রদ হয়নি; আর অন্যান্য থানায়ও বর্ষার অভাবে ধান অত্যন্ত শোচনীয় হয়েছে। এই অবস্থায় নূতনভাবে surplus ৪টী থানায় cordon করার ফলে বাকী ৪টী deficit থানায় নিতান্ত খাদ্যের অভাব দেখা দিয়েছে। আজ যদি এই ৪টী থানায় cordon উঠিয়ে দেওয়া না হয় তাহলে বর্ষাকালে সেখানে লোককে অনাহারে মরতে হবে। এই নূতন কর্ডনের ফলে এই জেলায় খাদ্যাভাবের দরুণ ভীষণ হাহাকার দেখা দিয়েছে। তদুপরি অতি অন্যায় ও অতিরিক্তভাবে directive issue করে ধান্য আদায় করা হচ্ছে। যদি এই অন্যায় directiveএর দ্বারা procurement বন্ধ না হয় তাহলে একটা দারুণ অবস্থার সৃষ্টি হবে। সুতরাং আমি প্রস্তাব করছি যে একটি সরকারী ও বেসরকারী কমিটির যোগে গৃহস্থদের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করে সম্ভবমত ধান সংগ্রহ করা হোক। আর একটি প্রস্তাব এই যে, মালদহের থানা কর্ডন উঠিয়ে দিয়ে মালদহ জেলাকে সম্পূর্ণ cordon করা হোক। কর্ডনের ফলেই মালদহ জেলা চোরাকারবারীতে ভরে গেছে। তার মধ্যে কতক নিম্নস্তরের সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীও জড়িত আছে। আর যদি সমস্ত জেলাকে কর্ডন করা সম্ভবপর না হয়, তবে পূর্ব্বের দুটী থানায় কর্ডন রেখে নূতন ৪টী থানায় cordon তুলে নেওয়া হোক। এইভাবে আমার মনে হয় মালদহ জিলা বর্ত্তমান খাদ্যসঙ্কট থেকে অনেকখানি উদ্ধার পাবে।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the honourable member who was just speaking has been stopped by a certain member. I think it was because he was speaking against the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is the speaker's choice to speak or not.

Extension of time for amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before we adjourn today, I wish to refer to the subject of time for amendments. I have considered the thing, and I think with regard to the Raw Jute Bill, I should extend the time till 3 p.m. tomorrow for sending in amendments. With regard to the Corporation of Calcutta Temporary Supersession (Amendment) Bill, the time is also extended till 3 p.m. tomorrow. With regard to the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, the time is extended till 11 a.m. on the 15th. And with regard to the West Bengal Waste Lands Bill, of course the time is short. As a matter of fact, we have received it today. For the time being I extend the time for sending in amendments till 11 a.m. on the 15th.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, in the programme given today, I do not find the name of the Eviction of the Refugees Bill. It was in the previous list on the 20th, but in the new list we do not find it. Is it an omission or has it been dropped?

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as today is concerned, I am going to adjourn the House now. You can raise the matter later.

Adjournment.

The House was adjourned at 6-58 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 14th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 14th February, 1951, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 65 members.

Point of privilege.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of privilege, Mr. Speaker. I am once more constrained to bring to your notice that we have again today been handed out the West Bengal Land Requisition Bill and told to submit amendments by the 17th, that is, about two or three days' notice. It seems that this is becoming a custom with the office or, I think, the Government is asking the office to do it. I do not know what it is all about, but I think, Sir, that more time should be given to us. We have asked you for this before and we are asking you again. There is a second point which I wish to bring before you on a point of privilege that the spies who dog me in the streets of Calcutta I have found them entering the Assembly premises behind me and they even entered the lobby. I do not know whether this is done with your permission, Sir, because I think the rules are that if policemen—even if they are plain-clothed policemen—are to enter the Assembly premises, they should do it with the permission of the Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: On the question of privilege I have already drawn the attention of the Government to the necessity of providing the members with sufficient time to send in their amendments and to consider them. I have already stated that I find that there has been some improvement in the matter and I do hope that the Government will make further improvements so that members may not have any grievance on this score. With regard to the Land Requisition Bill, the Government has got nothing to do with it. It is our business. As soon as we receive a Bill, we circulate it at the earliest possible opportunity to the members. As soon as we received this Bill, we have sent it to the members. With regard to the time of two days I shall consider as to what should be done with regard to that. Regarding the question of the honourable member being pursued by a spy, I am not aware of the thing. I will ask the Secretary to look into this matter and I shall see as to what can be done in this respect.

Committee on Petitions.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have to announce the Panel of the Committee on Petitions. In accordance with the provision of rule 73 of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules I nominate the following seven members of the Assembly to form a Committee on Petitions with the Deputy Speaker as Chairman:—

(1) Sj. J. C. Gupta,

(2) Sj. Bimal Comar Ghose,

(3) Janab Syed Badrudduja,

(4) Janab Abdur Rahman Siddiqi,

(5) Mr. L. R. Pentony,
(6) Sj. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji, and
(7) Sj. Jyoti Basu.

Before we start the debate on the Governor's address, I should draw the attention of the honourable members of the House that I have got still about 19 or 20 members to speak and we have got only today's time to finish our discussion on the Governor's address.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: It can be extended till tomorrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: No. I do not know——

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: There is no rule that it should be finished today. It is entirely your prerogative.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please do not interrupt me while I am speaking. So far as the present is concerned, I am simply to request the honourable members that they should come immediately to the points on which they wish to speak instead of devoting their time in introductions and other things. That is all that I have got to say just now.

Amendments to the Motions of Address in reply to Governor's speech.

[*Motion of address expressing thanks moved on the 8th February, 1951.*]

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency Dr. Katju's address has placed before the House a true analysis of the country's economic and social picture of the day. It is an admitted fact that India is deficit in food today arising out of national and international calamity which is beyond the control of any human being or the control of any government of the world to check. Now, Sir, the current year's deficit would be near about 6 million tons against 3·7 million tons in the present target of import. In the face of huge deficit of food and uncertainty of foreign import there is no other alternative left on the part of the Government but to make a vigorous internal procurement and make the cut in cereal ration to provide for the rainy days. Various members on the opposition benches including men like Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, Sj. Sibnath Banerjee and Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari have criticised the food policy of the Government in a very vehement language. I must say to these gentlemen who claim to be the champions of the cause of poor peasants that they must realise the real position today. Who would be responsible for the present food situation? Are the Government alone responsible? Have the Government or has any human being any control over the natural calamities? We must admit that this is an extraordinary situation which has been created by some unforeseen circumstances in which our Government had no hand. Do the Opposition think that this Government have no work but to starve the public, that instead of trying their best to help the public they should starve them?

Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari said that control should be abolished, that there is no other way to solve the food problem but to abolish the control, but I think this abolition of control, this abolition of procurement is unthinkable and impracticable. They have not given any practical suggestion how to solve this national problem of national emergency at a time when we find the political atmosphere of this country, not only of this country but the political atmosphere of the world, is very, very grave; if we fail to import sufficient quantities of food from foreign countries, famine is imminent. So, at this time of emergency I think those who love their own country, those who love the people of this country, instead of

making this food problem a political problem, a political game, instead of winning over the public on their side they should take it as a national problem and co-operate with the Government to make it a success so that the people may not die for the cause of the leaders.

If we want to solve this food problem—and I should say technically this is a national emergency—if we who are the sons of the same soil, if we really desire to solve this food problem or whatever it may be, this can be solved. If the leaders who claim themselves to be the champions of the causes of the people, if they are sincere, they can solve this problem, because there is nothing impossible in this world and everything can be solved by sincerity and honesty. So I would request the Opposition that they should also co-operate with this Government if they really feel that there is food shortage—and actually speaking there is food shortage. If they feel for the benefit and prosperity of the country at their heart, I hope that they will co-operate with this Government in their food drive, and in that case we can make our country সুজলা, সুফলা শস্য শ্যামলা বাংলা and we can again see prosperity and peace prevailing in Bengal. With these words, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the policies of Government in regard to procurement of food and other respects.

As regards the refugee problem in his address His Excellency has given a prominent place to the refugees and their problems. He has said that though it is the primary duty of Government to take all steps for the protection of lives and properties, in this abnormal situation it would lead to great suffering if the squatters are ejected without finding alternative accommodation. He has further announced that Government would bring forward a Bill containing specific proposals to meet the situation. The Opposition members have criticised the Evacuee Property Bill which is coming before the House in which the rehabilitation problems are being dealt with by this Government, but the remark of His Excellency the Governor clearly shows that Government had a desire to serve the purpose of the refugees. They are not at all careless about the fate of the refugees. The refugees both of East and West Bengal are men who have been uprooted by certain unforeseen circumstances, and there is no man in the world who would not be touched at heart by their miseries. So it is a pity that our Government have been generally criticised that they are careless about the refugees. An honourable member has said that if the Bill is enacted, the East Bengal refugees know how to fight against this Government. We did not expect such a language from a man like him, because we know that after all the refugees are sufferers, they have their grievances. They may be irresponsible; they may be indisciplined, but if we who claim to be civilised, who claim to be the leaders, if we are sincere, then we can do many things for our country.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of order, Sir. The honourable member over there is referring to the refugees as "irresponsible people". I think this should not be allowed.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: I have not said that.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I do not think there is anything unparliamentary.

Janab S. M. ABDULLAH: Mr. Jyoti Basu has said that there is no liberty, there is no freedom, it is all a mockery and he has challenged the Government to attend any public meetings. He has also said that detention without trial is never thought of in any other country. Sir, he must remember that detention without trial is a necessity in this country. There are people in this country who can throw bombs; there are people who can

throw crackers against their own people and if there be any attack from a foreign country, these people will try to make disturbances in this country. So I think that there should be this practice of detention without trial here. Let us be well-disciplined first like other foreign countries and then deserve this thing.

Sir, with these words I resume my seat.

Sj. KANAI LAL DASS: মাননীয় সভাপালমহোদয়, মাননীয় রাজ্যপালমহোদয় যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন—

Mr. SPEAKER: আপনি "মাইকে" যান।

Sj. KANAI LAL DASS: মাননীয় রাজ্যপালমহোদয় এই Assemblyতে যে উদ্বোধনী বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন তার জন্য ধন্যবাদজ্ঞাপক যে প্রস্তাব এই পরিষদে আনা হয়েছে আমি তা সমর্থন করছি। এবং আমাদের সভাপালমহোদয় সেই রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতা যে আলোচনা করবার সুযোগ আমাদের দিয়েছেন, সেইজন্য ধন্যবাদ দিচ্ছি।

দেশের বর্ত্তমানে যেসব সমস্যা দেখা দিচ্ছে, তার প্রথমটা হচ্ছে Refugee, আর দ্বিতীয়টা হচ্ছে খাদ্য-সমস্যা। কিন্তু আমাদের এখানে বর্ত্তমানে যে কয়েকটা রাজনৈতিকদল আছে, তারা এই দুইটা সমস্যাকে রাজনৈতিক পাশা খেলায় পরিণত করার ব্যবস্থা করে দেশের অবস্থা আরো শোচনীয় করে তুলেছে। যে সমস্ত refugeeরা এখানে এসেছে তাদের সমস্যাটা খুব তাড়াতাড়িই solve হতে চলেছিল, কিন্তু সেই সব রাজনৈতিক classএর কার্য্যের জন্য সেটা দেরী হচ্ছে। একটা উদাহরণ দেবো। একটা কথা বলছি সেটা হচ্ছে, আমাদের T. B. হাসপাতাল সম্বন্ধে। আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে যেসব T.B. হাসপাতাল আছে তাতে দেখা যাচ্ছে এক হাজার bed আছে এর মধ্যে ১৫০টা bed কাঁচড়াপাড়ায় আর ১৫০টা bed যাদবপুরে। যে সব রোগী আছে, তাদের রোগ সেরে গেলেও তারা কেউ bed ছাড়তে রাজী নয়। তারা বলে আমরা এখান থেকে যাইব না। ঐ কয়েকটি রাজনৈতিক দলের কথায় তারা bed ছাড়ে না এবং ছাড়তে রাজীও নয়। কিন্তু এদিকে হাজার হাজার যেসব T. B. রোগী, যারা বাইরে waiting listএ আছে চিকিৎসার জন্য, তাদের যে অকল্যাণ হচ্ছে তা সে-সব নেতারা দেখেন না। আমি আর একটি কথা বলছি এই সম্পর্কে, সেটা হচ্ছে, কলকাতার পূর্ব্ব উপকণ্ঠে যেসব refugee আজ জমি দখল করে রয়েছে তাদের সম্বন্ধে বলব। সেখানে আগের মুসলমান ভাইদের যে বস্তি ছিল যা তারা ছেড়ে চলে গিয়েছিল এবং তাদের সেই ঘর আমাদের বাস্তুহারারা দখল করে বসেছে। যারা পূর্ব্ববাংলায় চলে গিয়েছে তাদের বাড়ী দখল করেছে। যদি সেখানে তারা থাকে তাতে ক্ষতি নাই। কিন্তু তারা এই যেসব জমি ছিল নিজেদের ইচ্ছামত ঘর তৈরী করেছে এবং সেখানে এমন কি পুকুর পর্য্যন্ত কেটেছে। জমির যদি কেউ অধিকার চায় তখন তার দখল ত ছাড়েই না উল্টো তাদের ভয় দেখায়। তারপর সেখানে বেশী লোক একত্র থাকার জন্য ময়লা জমা হয়। বর্ত্তমানে Health Officer খবর পাইয়া জমিদারদের notice দেয়। এখানে পরিষ্কার করে দাও, রাস্তাঘাট তৈরী করে দাও। যেখানে কল নাই সেখানে কলের জলের জন্য বলা হয় আর যেখানে জল নাই সেখানে জলের ব্যবস্থা করতে বলা হয়। এইভাবে বহু জমি যারা দখল করে আছে তারা অপরকেও কষ্ট দিচ্ছে। এই refugee problemএ আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গের জনসাধারণ এবং পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের জনসাধারণ একই সঙ্গে দুঃখের অংশ ভোগ করছে। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ Governmentএ যেসব সুবিধা আছে 2½ কোটি জনসাধারণের জন্য, তাহা সব refugeeদের দেওয়া হইয়াছে। সরকারী চাকরী তারা প্রায় সবই পাচ্ছে। যেসব special সুযোগ আছে যেমন bus route সম্বন্ধে, Government Circularএ তিনটি class mention করা আছে যারা পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ থেকে এসেছে তারা প্রথম পাবে। তারপর যারা political sufferers পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ হইতে আসিয়াছেন আর 3rd হচ্ছে যারা refugee তাদের দেওয়া হবে। Local লোকের কোন সুবিধাই নাই।
(Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: এটা উচিত হয় নাই।)

তারপর আর একটা কথা এখানে বলতে চাই, আমাদের এই পরিষদের কোন কোন সদস্য, পশ্চিমবঙ্গের যেসব সরকারী কর্মচারী আছে তাদের কর্ত্তব্য কর্ম্মের অবহেলার বিষয় বহু কথা বলেছেন। এই সম্বন্ধে আমি বলবো, এইভাবে নির্বিচারে কোন পরীক্ষা না করে, প্রমাণ না নিয়ে সরকারী চাকরীতে লোক লওয়ার জন্য দায়ী। আর একটা কথা বলেই এখানে শেষ করবো। আমাদের শ্রদ্ধেয় ডাঃ সুরেশ চন্দ্র ব্যানার্জী মহাশয় বলেছেন যে কংগ্রেসই partitionএর জন্য দায়ী। আমি বলবো তিনি সে কথা বলতে পারেন না। তিনি সভাকে বিকৃত করিয়া বলিতেছেন। যদি তিনি সে সময়ের খবরের কাগজের পাতা উল্টে দেখেন তাহলে দেখতে পাবেন

তখনকার জনমতের চাপেই কংগ্রেস এতে রাজী হয়েছিল। খাদ্য সম্বন্ধে আমি এই কথা বলতে চাই আজ যেসব অবস্থা হয়েছে, যতদিন না আমাদের মধ্যবিত্ত শিক্ষিত সম্প্রদায় নিজেরা চাষ করবেন, ততদিন এই সমস্যা দূর হবে না। আমরা করছি কি? বাংলার প্রধান সমস্যাই যে খাদ্য-সমস্যা সেটাকে আমরা সবাই ছেড়ে দিয়েছি চাষীদের হাতে। যতদিন না বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রণালীতে শিক্ষিত সম্প্রদায় সমবায়ের মাধ্যমে এই বিষয় হাত দেবেন ততদিন খাদ্য-সমস্যার সমাধান হবে না। বিরোধী দলের অনেক সদস্য procurementএর অব্যবস্থার কথা বলেছেন। তাঁদের আমি বলছি--হাতের পাঁচটা আঙুল যেমন সমান নয় officerদের মধ্যেও তেমনি সকলের যোগ্যতা সমান নয়। তার মধ্যে ভালোও আছে, মন্দও আছে। যতদিন procurement system থাকবে ততদিন এই বদনামটাও থাকবে। এটা দূর হবে, যখন আমাদের খাদ্যাভাবটা দূর হবে, অর্থাৎ যখন আমরা আমাদের খাদ্য-সমস্যাটার সমাধান করতে পারব।

আর একটা কথা, আমাদের শ্রদ্ধেয় হরিপদ চ্যাটার্জি মহাশয় যে বক্তৃতা করেছেন তা শুনে আমাদের বোধ হয়েছে যে তিনি যদি একটু বাক্ সংযম করেন তাহলে আমাদের সকলেরই কিছু উপকার হয়। তিনি নানা রকম কথা বলেছেন। একটা বিষয় আমরা বুঝতে পারিনে, হঠাৎ এমন কি ঘটলো যার ফলে আমদের যা কিছু বিধান সব পাল্টে গিয়েছে। আমাদের এই খাদ্য-সমস্যা ৪ বছর ধরেই আছে। কিন্তু হঠাৎ এমনকি ব্যাপার ঘটেছে যে এক রাত্রের মধ্যেই তাঁরা আত্মবিস্মৃত হয়ে সংযম হারিয়ে যা তা বলতে আরম্ভ করেছেন। (At this stage the red light was shown.)

Sir, আমি আর একটু সময় চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER : আর ক মিনিট চান?

Sj. KANAI LAL DASS: আমি আর সময় চাইনে। (Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : এবার সত্যিই বাধ্য হয়ে বাকসংযম করতে হল তো।) আপনি নিজের অবচেতন মনের ভাবই ব্যক্ত করছেন। আমি আর সময় নেবো না। আমি সভাপতি মহাশয়কে অনুরোধ করছি এবং তাঁর through দিয়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করছি এমন কি ঘটেছে তা যদি দয়া করে বিরোধী দলের বন্ধুরা আমাদের জানান তাহলে বাধিত হব।

Sj. RADHA NATH DAS : মাননীয় স্পিকারমহোদয়, যে প্রস্তাবটা আমাদের শ্যামাপদবাবু উত্থাপন করেছেন এবং সুশীলবাবু সমর্থন করেছেন, সে প্রস্তাবটা আমিও সর্বান্তঃকরণে সমর্থন করছি। Governor যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন, তার উপর এখানে যে আলোচনা তিন দিন ধরে সুরু হয়েছে, সেই আলোচনায় আমাদের Governmentএর বিরুদ্ধ পক্ষীয় সভ্যরা যাঁরা আছেন, তাঁরা অনেকেই অনেক কিছু আলোচনা করেছেন। ঐ সভ্যদের মধ্যে অনেকেই যে আলোচনা করেছেন, তাতে এমন অনেক কথা উঠেছে, যেসব কথার উত্তর দিতে গিয়ে বলতে হয় যে তাঁরা সব দিক দেখে কথাগুলি আলোচনা করেন নাই। একটা উদাহারণ আমার মনে পড়ছে। সেটা হচ্ছে, তিনটী অন্ধ হাতী দেখতে গিয়েছিল, তিনজনই চোখে দেখতে পায় না। একজন অন্ধ হাতীর পা ধরে ভাবলো হাতী বুঝি থামের মত, আর একজন অন্ধ হাতীর লেজ ধরে ভাবলো হাতী বুঝি দড়ার মত এবং আর একজন কানটা ধরে ভাবলো হাতী ঠিক কুলার মত। আমাদের Government বিরোধী পক্ষীয় সভ্যদের অবস্থাও ঠিক তাই হয়েছে। তাঁরা সম্পূর্ণ হাতী দেখতে পান নাই। সম্পূর্ণ না দেখেই এক-একটি সভ্য যে অংশটুকু দেখেছেন সেই বিষয়েই আলোচনা করেছেন। অবশ্য অন্ধরা দেখতে পায় না, তাই তাদের কাছে হাতী হয়েছে কুলার মত, হাতী থামের মত এবং দড়ার মত। এই সমস্তই দেখা দিয়েছে বিরোধী দলের মধ্যে। বিরোধী দলের একজন সভ্য এক কথা বলছেন আর একজন সভ্য আর এক কথা বলছেন।

তারপর সভ্যদের মধ্যে এমন কথা কেউ কেউ বলেছেন যে কথা উল্লেখ করতে আমার লজ্জা বোধ হয়। একটা কথা বলি—আমাদের বিরুদ্ধ পক্ষের একটি সভ্য, হরিপদ বাবু, তিনি ভাবেন যে ভাষার অপপ্রয়োগ বোধ হয় তার একচেটিয়া ব্যাপার। তাঁকে জানাতে চাই যে আমরা যাঁরা Governmentএর পক্ষে আছি, আমরাও ইচ্ছা করলে যে ভাষার অপপ্রয়োগ না করতে পারি তা নয় তবে শিষ্টাচার বলে একটা কথা আছে। এই শিষ্টাচার লঙ্ঘন করে বক্তৃতা দেওয়া পরিষদের সভ্যদের পক্ষে শোভা পায় না। যাই হোক আমি হরিপদবাবুকে দুই-একটা কথা আপনার through দিয়ে বলছি। ভবিষ্যতে তিনি যেন তাঁর বাকসংযম করেন। এখানে অনেক প্রশ্ন উঠেছে। আমাদের Dr. Suresh Banerji বলেছেন, হয় food control সারা পশ্চিমবাংলায় হোক, নইলে একেবারে control তুলে দেওয়া হোক।

কথাটা বলা যত সহজ করা তত সহজ নয়। কাজেই দায়িত্ব নিয়ে কথা বলতে হয়। মনে আছে তিনি এক সময়ে যখন মন্ত্রিত্ব করেছিলেন তখন এরকম কথা তাঁর মুখ থেকে শুনতে পাইনি। চারু ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয়ের পক্ষেও একথা প্রযোজ্য। তিনি যখন এখানে মন্ত্রিত্বে ছিলেন তখন এবিষয়ে একটা আইন প্রণয়ন করেছিলেন। এখন দায়িত্ব ঘাড়ে নাই, বাইরে আছেন, খুব সোজাসুজিভাবে যেসব কথা বলে গিয়েছেন তারা তা এখন বলতে পারেন। যাদের দায়িত্ব আছে, যারা দায়িত্ব নিয়ে দেশময় ঘুরে বেড়াচেছ, প্রকৃত দেশের অবস্থা যারা জানেন এবং যাঁরা দেখেছেন যে দেশের জনসাধারণ কি রকম দুরবস্থার মধ্যে দিয়ে চলেছে তারা কিন্তু এরকম দায়িত্বহীন কথা বলতে পারেন না। যাই হোক no-control—কণ্ট্রোল তুলে দেওয়া হোক একথা উঠেছে। আমরা সকলেই জানি যে গত ১৯৪৩ সালে যে দুর্ভিক্ষ হয়েছিল তাতে যারা ধান উৎপাদন করে তাদের অনেকেই এই কলকাতায় ফেন দাও ফেন দাও করে রাস্তায় রাস্তায় ঘুরে বেড়িয়েছে এবং না খেয়ে মরেছে—এই রকম অবস্থা হয়েছিল ১৯৪৩ সালে। যাকে Suhrawardy ফেন বলে আখ্যা দেওয়া হয়েছিল। কিন্তু Government বিরুদ্ধ পক্ষীয় সভ্যদের কথা শুনে control যদি একেবারে তুলে দেন তাহলে সেই Suhrawardy ফেনের অবস্থা আবার হবে—চাষী এবং কৃষকেরা আবার কলিকাতায় এসে হাজির হবে এবং খাদ্যাভাবে মরতে থাকবে। ১৯৪৩ সালের দুর্ভিক্ষে কলকাতায় মধ্যবিত্ত গৃহস্থের ঘরে—বড় বড় লোকের কথা ছেড়েই দিলাম, মধ্যবিত্ত ও সাধারণ গৃহস্থের ঘরের একটি লোকও মারা যায় নি। মারা গিয়েছে চাষীরাই যাঁরা নিজেরা ধান উৎপাদন করে। যারা লোভী ব্যবসায়ী তারা ধান কিনে নিয়ে আসবে কলকাতায় বিক্রী করার জন্য এবং সে ধান ৬০।৭০ টাকা মণ দরে বিক্রী হয়ে যাবে। কলিকাতার একটি লোকও না খেয়ে মরবে না। সারা বাংলা দেশের ধান কলকাতায় চলে আসবে। আমি জোর করে বলতে পারি এই পরিষদের একটি সদস্যও বোধ হয় নেই, ১৯৪৩ সালে যার ঘরে কিছু না কিছু চাল ছিল না। কিন্তু Governmentকে তখন কেউ বিশ্বাস করত না। জনসাধারণ খেতে পাবে কি না পাবে সেজন্য অনেকেই নিজের ঘরে কিছু ধান, চাল মজুত করার ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন। কিন্তু আজকে যদি—গর্ব্ব করে বলতে পারি,—সারা কলিকাতার সমস্ত বাড়ীঘর অনুসন্ধান করা যায়, তবে সেখানে হয়ত নিজেদের ration quota ছাড়া বেশী চাল পাওয়া যাবে না। সমস্ত বাংলা দেশে যেখানে যে চাল উৎপন্ন হচেছ, সেখান থেকে Government কলকাতায় তা নিয়ে আসে কলিকাতার লোকদের খাওয়াবার জন্য। সে নিয়ে আসার পরেও কিছু কিছু চাল অন্যান্য পথ দিয়েও আসবেই—সেটাকে কেউ বন্ধ করতে পারে না। খুন করলে ফাঁসি হয় এটা আইনে আছে, কিন্তু খুনতো বন্ধ হয় না। তবে আইন থাকার জন্যে অনেকটা percentage কমে যাবে। আর control সম্পূর্ণভাবে উঠিয়ে দিলে সেই ১৯৪৩ সালের মতই অবস্থা হবে।

তারপর ধানের দর বৃদ্ধির কথা হয়েছে। তারা বলছেন যে ধানের দর বৃদ্ধি হলে অন্যান্য জিনিষের দর বাড়বে এমন কি কথা আছে? খাদ্যচাষী আন্দোলন অনেকদিন যাবৎই চলছে। কিন্তু বাস্তবিক যারা অর্থবিদ্ তারা জানে সত্যই ধানের দর বৃদ্ধি হলে মূল্যমান—price level—উপরে উঠে যাবে। তার ফলে এখন যে অসুবিধা আছে তা আরও বেশি হবে। সমস্ত জিনিষের দর বেড়ে যাবে, তার সঙ্গে খাপ খাওয়াতে গিয়ে মজুরের মাইনেও বাড়াতে হবে। এ ছাড়া অন্যান্য problem আসবে। আর একটা জিনিষে আমি আশ্চর্যান্বিত হচ্ছি। তখন প্রফুল্ল ঘোষ মহাশয় আমাদের পক্ষে ছিলেন। জানি না এটা সত্য কি মিথ্যা—তখন সর্দ্দারজী কলকাতায় এসেছিলেন, সেই সময় খাদ্যচাষী আন্দোলন সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা হয়েছিল। তখন সর্দ্দারজী ঘোষ মহাশয়কে বলেছিলেন, চাষীর ব্যাপারে আপনার চেয়ে আমি বেশি জানি। খাদ্যচাষী আন্দোলন আপনি বন্ধ করুন।

Dr. PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH : Not that I know of.

Sj. RADHA NATH DAS : You may know more than I do, but that is the thing that I have heard. Let us be satisfied on our agreeing to this—both of us. তারপরে refugee সম্বন্ধে অনেকেই বলেছেন। গতকাল সমস্ত সদস্যদের কাছে একটি report circulate করা হয়েছে তাতে refugee সংক্রান্ত সমস্ত জিনিষ জানিতে পেরেছেন। আমার সময় শেষ হয়েছে, মাত্র; আর একটি জিনিষ আমাদের বিরোধীপক্ষীয় সদস্যদের বলবো। তারা যেন তর্কের খাতিরে তর্ক করা ছেড়ে দিয়ে সত্যই যাতে দেশের মঙ্গল হয় সেইরকম গঠনমূলক তর্ক করেন। সেটা যদি করতে পারেন তাহলে খুব ভাল হয়। আর একটা জিনিষ উল্লেখ না করে পাচ্ছি না। Jyoti Babu বলেছিলেন বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রীদের—তাঁরা যেন মন্ত্রিত্বের গদী ছেড়ে দেন কেন না তাঁদের কেউ বিশ্বাস করে না। সে কথার মূল্য অনেক আগেই বিচার হয়ে গেছে। কিছুদিন আগে কংগ্রেসের প্রেসিডেণ্ট এখানে এসেছিলেন। লোকেরা কংগ্রেসকে

চায় কিনা তখন সেটা বিচার হয়ে গেছে। জওহরলালজী, সর্দার প্যাটেলও কলকাতায় এসেছিলেন তখনও লোকে কংগ্রেসকে ভালবাসে কিনা তার যথেষ্ট পরিচয় পাওয়া গেছে। যা হোক মন্ত্রীরা কেহ জোর করে এখানে বসে নেই। দেশের লোক তাদের চায়, তারাই আসবে।

Sj. JYOTI BASU : Election করুন, বুঝতে পারবেন—সর্দার প্যাটেলের নাম করছেন কেন—এঁরা বেরুচ্ছেন না কেন?

Sj. RADHA NATH DAS : কয়েকটা bye-election তো কিছু দিন আগে হয়ে গিয়েছে তাতে প্রমাণিত হয়েছে দেশের জনসাধারণ কাকে চায়।

Sj. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমাদের রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতার উপর যে প্রস্তাব এখানে উপস্থাপিত করা হয়েছে, সেটা সমর্থন করে কয়েকটি কথা বলতে চাই। বাংলা দেশে খাদ্যের অভাব সম্পর্কে বিরোধী দলের কয়েকজন সদস্য Governmentএর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করবার মানসে অনেক কিছু কথাই বলেছেন। দৃষ্টি তাদের আকৃষ্ট হয়েছে, সে বিষয়ে কোন সন্দেহ নাই তবে যে সব কথা তারা বলেছেন তার উত্তরে দু-একটি কথা বলা আবশ্যক মনে করছি। কেউ কেউ বলেছেন procurement নীতি খারাপ, কোন বন্ধু বলেছেন procurement তুলে দেওয়া উচিত এবং cordon তুলে দেওয়া উচিত। এরকম অনেকেই অনেক কথাই বলেছেন। Cordon সম্বন্ধে একথা বলা যেতে পারে, যে জায়গায় ফসল তৈয়ার হয়, যে জায়গায় ফসল বেশী আছে, সেখান থেকে Government কিছু খাদ্য সংগ্রহ করতে পারে, সেই জায়গা থেকে বেষ্টনী দিয়ে খাদ্য রাখা হয়। এর উদ্দেশ্য হচেছ যেখানে পর্য্যাপ্ত পরিমাণে খাদ্য আছে, অতিরিক্ত খাদ্য মজুত না রেখে তা Governmentএর হাতে দিতে হবে। কারণ জনসাধারণের Governmentকে লক্ষ লক্ষ লোককে খাওয়াবার দায়িত্ব নিতে হয়েছে। পূর্ব্বে Governmentকে লোককে খাওয়াতে হত না। লোকে বাজারের চাল কিনে মফঃস্বল থেকে কলকাতার বাজারে আমদানী করতো এবং লোকেরাও ইচছামত কিনে খেতো। কিন্তু দেশ বিভাগের ফলে দেশে খাদ্যাভাব যা ঘটেছে Governmentএর বিস্তৃত বিবরণীতে সেটা পেতে পারেন তাই আজ খাদ্য-নিয়ন্ত্রণ চালু রাখতে হয়েছে। যুদ্ধের জন্য দেশে খাদ্য কিছু কম পড়েছিল। যারা যুদ্ধ চালিয়েছিল তারা খাদ্য-নিয়ন্ত্রণ করেছিল। সেই নিয়ন্ত্রণ-প্রথা বর্ত্তমানে চলে আসছে। Cordon যদি না রাখা হয় তাহা হইলে যে অঞ্চলে খাদ্য উৎপন্ন হয় সেখানে খাদ্য থাকবে না। আমার বাড়ী মেদিনীপুর কাঁথি মহকুমায়--তার area ৯০০ বর্গমাইল--চারিদিকেই cordon করা হয়েছে। Surplus areaতে কিছু cordon থাকা দরকার সেখানে ৮$\frac{১}{২}$ লক্ষ মণ ধান সংগ্রহ করেছে। এসব সত্বেও কিছু কিছু ধান লোকে গোপনে husking millএ নিয়ে চাল করে সেই চাল কলিকাতায় ও হাওড়ায় হাজির করে, যেখানে অতিরিক্ত দরে চাল বিক্রী হয়। Ration areaর লোকেরা কিছু কিছু বেশী চাল কিনে থাকে। যে কোন দরে সহরের লোকেরা কিনতে পারে, যেহেতু তাদের টাকা আছে কারণ বহু ধনিক ব্যবসায়ী আছে, বহু উচচ বেতনের কর্ম্মচারীও আছে। তাদের পক্ষে খাদ্য যে কোন দরে কেনা সম্ভব। সেজন্য মফঃস্বলের লোকেরা লাভ করবার জন্য Governmentএর cordonকে ফাঁকি দিয়ে চোরা পথ দিয়ে, policeকে ঘুস দিয়ে সেই চাল নিয়ে এসে বেশী দরে বিক্রী করে। যেহেতু বেশী দরে বিক্রী করবার সুবিধা আছে, সেই হেতু cordon রাখা দরকার। যদি আজ সেই cordon তুলে দেওয়া হয়, তাহ'লে সেই চাল বেশী দরে বিক্রী হওয়ার জন্য ব্যবসায়ী লোকেরা বহু ধান-চাল আমদানী করবে কলকাতার বাজারে। এইজন্যই আমি cordon প্রথাকে সমর্থন করি। এটা আছে বলেই যেখানে উৎপন্ন হয় সেখানে মালিকেরা যদৃচ্ছা খেতে পারে এবং অন্যেরাও প্রয়োজন হলে কিনে খেতে পারে। অনেক সময় এই দর বেশী হয় বলে অনেকে বলেছেন। Government এই যে ৭॥০ টাকা দরে যে ধান তাঁরা purchase করেন, এটা গভর্ণমেণ্টের খরিদ দর। গৃহস্থের যে ধান বেশী হয়, সেটা সে বাজারে বিক্রী করে, ৮৸০ দরে বা কখনও ৯৲ টাকা দরে বিক্রী করে। তারজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের এমন কোন আইন নাই যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের ধরে নেবে। কাজেই যারা তাদের কাছ থেকে ধান কেনেন, তারা এই কর্ডন এলাকার অন্তরালে আনতে পারলে চালের দর বেশী পায়। এটা তাদের জানা আছে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের এতসব কড়াকড়ি সত্বেও ট্রেনে, বাসে, ষ্টীমারে, গোপনে কত চাল এনে লোকে deficit areaতে হাজির করে এবং বেশী দরে বিক্রী করে লাভ করে। তাদের একটা profiteering tendency রয়েছে, এই করে তারা চালায় যারা এইভাবে বে-আইনীভাবে চাল-ধান নিয়ে এসে বিক্রী করে, তাদের ধরে শাস্তি দেওয়া যেতে পারে, গভর্ণমেণ্টের এর আইন আছে। আমাদের শাস্ত্রে আছে রাজা হরিশ্চন্দ্র তাঁর টাকার দরকার হয়েছিল বলে, তাঁর স্ত্রীকে বিক্রী

করে দিয়েছিলেন। কারণ তাঁর দায় পড়েছিল, তাঁর টাকার দরকার হয়েছিল। তারা দু-টাকার জিনিষকে চার টাকায় বিক্রী করতে পারলেও তা করে তাদের কাছে কিনে বেশী লাভ হবে এটা হচ্ছে কথা। দু-টাকার কিনে কেউ এক টাকায় বিক্রী করে না। আমাদের দেশে একটা প্রবাদ আছে ছ'রে কিনে ন'রে বেচে। ন'রে কিনে কেউ ছ'য়ে বেচে না। তাতে খরিদ্দারদের সুবিধা হবে সন্দেহ নাই। কিন্তু কেউ তা করে না। (At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER : Please finish it within two minutes otherwise time will have to be extended till tomorrow.

Sj. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL : আর একটু সময় নেবো। তারপর এই procurementএর নীতিতে একটা "কর্ডন" আছে। কেউ বলছেন, cordon তুলে দিলে ভাল হয়। অবশ্য মালদহ জেলার কথা কালকে একজন বলেছিলেন, সেখানে একটা জেলার মাঝখানে যে inter-cordon আছে সেটা তুলে দিয়ে যদি বাইরের cordon বেশী করে দেওয়া যায়, তাহলে ভেতরের চাল-ধান বাইরে নিয়ে যাওয়া কিছুটা বন্ধ হতে পারে; এটা সম্ভব। কিন্তু যে সমস্ত area surplus সেখানের ভেতরে যদি cordon থাকে, তাহ'লে খুব difficulty হয়। সেই জন্য বাইরে cordon রাখতে হয়। যে সমস্ত deficit area যেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্ট রেশন দিচ্ছেন কিম্বা modified রেশন দিচ্ছেন, সেখানে লোকের বেশী খাওয়ার জন্য চালের টান দেবে। ১৯৪৩ সালের অবস্থা দেখলে বোঝা যায় যে তখন গ্রামের লোক না খেয়ে বেশী মরেছে কিন্তু ক'লকাতার লোক একটিও মরে নাই। যারা মুনাফা-শিকারী তারা scheme করে গ্রামের ও বাজারের সমস্ত ধান-চাল কিনে মজুত করে রেখেছিল, ভবিষ্যতে চড়া দামে বিক্রী করবে বলে। তাতে বহু লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা তারা লাভ করেছিল। তবে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কর্তব্য হচ্ছে যতদূর সম্ভব গভর্ণমেণ্ট মেশিনারী perfect করা। যেখানে বহু লোক নিয়ে কারবার, সেখানে দুষ্ট, অসাধু লোকও দু-চার জন থাকতে পারে। আমাদের দেশের শিক্ষিত লোকের মধ্যে কেউ একজন এম-এ পাস করেও যদি ঘুষ নেয়, তাহ'লে সেজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টকে দোষ দেওয়া যায় না। কিন্তু এই রকম দোষ থেকে মুক্ত হতে আমাদের একটু সময় লাগবে। পরাধীনতার গ্লানি আমাদের চরিত্রকে যেটুকু কলুষিত করেছে তা হতে মুক্ত হতে একটু দেরী হবে; তাড়াতাড়ি বা রাতারাতি তা হবে না। ইতিহাস সেটা সাক্ষ্য দেয় নানা রকম গ্লানিতে আমাদের মন ভরা। ক্রমানুয়ে তার সংশোধন হবে। তাই বলে কর্ডন-নীতি দুর্দশাগ্রস্ত হয়েছে, তা বলা যায় না। আজকে যখন খাদ্যাভাব, তখন আমাদের কণ্ট্রোলের নীতিকে অত্যন্ত সাবধানতার সাথে চালাতে হবে। যারা জনসাধারণকে পরিচালিত করছেন, তারা গভর্ণমেণ্টের এই খাদ্য-নীতিকে সচল করতে যতটুকু সহায়তা করা সম্ভব তাই করুন। খাদ্য বাড়ালেই সব সমস্যার সমাধান হবে।

আমাদের কাঁথী মহকুমায় একটা co-operative societyর ছেলেমেয়েরা গভর্ণমেণ্টের সামান্য সাহায্য নিয়ে নিজেরা চাঁদা তুলে ১,৪০০ বিঘা জমির জন্য একটা বাঁধ করেছিল। সেই ১,৪০০ বিঘা জমির বিঘাপ্রতি ১৭।১৮ মণ করে ধান ফলেছে। তার ফলে ঐ অঞ্চলে ছ'হাজার মণের অধিক ধান বেড়েছে। কেউ যদি অবিশ্বাস করেন, তাহ'লে সেখানে গিয়ে আপনারা তা পরীক্ষা করে দেখতে পারেন। গভর্ণমেণ্টের যেসমস্ত ছোট ছোট scheme আছে, তাতে যদি সাধারণ চাষীদের সহায়তা নেওয়া হয়, তাহ'লে খাদ্য বাড়ান সহজ হয়। বক্তৃতা বাদ দিয়ে গ্রামে গিয়ে চাষীদের বাড়ীতে বসে থাকা উচিত। যদি চাষের কোন উন্নত ধরণের প্রণালী জানা থাকে, তা চাষীকে শেখাতে হবে। যতক্ষণ না universally এই রকমটি করতে পারবেন ততক্ষণ এইরকম দীর্ঘ বক্তৃতায় দেশের কোন মঙ্গল হবে বলে বিশ্বাস করি না। (At this stage the red light was lit.)

আর দু-মিনিট সময় দিতে হবে, স্যার। ১৯৪৯ সালে internal procurement হয়েছে ৪ লক্ষ ৩৭ হাজার টন খাদ্য, অর্থাৎ ১ কোটি ১৯ লক্ষ ৯৯ হাজার মন চাল। আর বাইরে থেকে হয়েছে ১ কোটী ১১ লক্ষ ২৪ হাজার মণ। ১৯৫০ সালে internal procurement হয়েছে ৪ লক্ষ ৭৩ হাজার টন অর্থাৎ ১ কোটী ২৭ লক্ষ ৭১ হাজার মণ চাল। অর্থাৎ দেখা যাচ্ছে ১৯৫০ সালে বেশী procurement হয়েছিল। Procurement বেশী হওয়ার মানে দেশে বেশী উৎপাদন হয়েছিল। অর্থাৎ জনসাধারণ তাদের নিজেদের খাদ্য রেখে বাকী খাদ্যটা ছেড়ে দিয়েছিল! হয়ত দু-একটা ক্ষেত্রে তেমন হতে পারে যেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কেড়ে নিয়েছে। ১৯৫০ সালে বাহির থেকে খাদ্য সংগ্রহ করা হয়েছে ৩ লক্ষ ২৩ হাজার টন বা ৮৭ লক্ষ ২ হাজার মণ চাল বাহির থেকেও সংগ্রহ কম করা হয়েছে। কাজেই internally খাদ্যের উৎপাদন বেড়েছে

সংগ্রহও বেড়েছে, তা প্রমাণ হয়ে গেছে। Intensive production ও extensive cultivation যদি করা যায় তবে দেশের অনেক উপকার হবে, দেশে খাদ্য বেশী উৎপাদন হবে। তাহ'লে আর বাহির থেকে আর লক্ষ লক্ষ মণ খাদ্য আমদানী করতে হবে না। বিরাট বিরাট পরিকল্পনা কোন কোন জায়গায় দরকার। পাটের জমিতে irrigation facility দিতে গেলে গভর্ণমেণ্টের বহু টাকা দরকার। ইঞ্জিনিয়ারদের সেই পরিকল্পনাগুলো examination ও scrutiny করতে গেলে অনেক সময় লেগে যাবে। যেসমস্ত চাষের জমিতে ধান হয়, সেখানে জলের যদি ব্যবস্থা করা যায়, তা হ'লে ফসল আরও বেশী বাড়বে। ধর্মগোলা করেও চাষীকে খাদ্যাভাবের সময় দেওয়া যেতে পারে। আমাদের ওখানে ধর্মগোলা ক'রে ১৩ মণ থেকে আরম্ভ ক'রে ১,৩০০ মণ পর্য্যন্ত ধান মজুত করেছি। প্রদেশপাল মহাশয়ও খুব জোরের সঙ্গে বলেছেন যে co-operative production society স্থাপন করেও খাদ্যোৎপাদন বাড়ান যেতে পারে। এই যে control—একথাটা শুনতে সত্যিই বড় কষ্ট লাগে। কিন্তু কোন উপায় নাই। খাদ্য কণ্ট্রোলের স্বাভাবিক নীতিই হচ্ছে যা খাদ্য আছে সেটা সকলে কিছু কিছু ক'রে সমানভাবে ভাগ করে খাও। আমাদের এই গভর্ণমেণ্টও সে নীতি প্রতিপালন করছেন মাত্র। অবশ্য যারা খাদ্য distribution করেন সেসব কর্মচারীরা যে সকলে ভাল লোক বা সাধু হবে তা ঠিক নয়। তবে জনসাধারণেরও সব ব্যাপারে সহযোগিতা করা প্রয়োজন—তোমরা এখানে ভুল করছো, এইভাবে করো। বিশেষ করে আমাদের M. L. A.রা, যাঁরা জনসাধারণের প্রতিনিধি, তাঁদের কর্ত্তব্য হচ্ছে জনসাধারণের তরফ থেকে তাদের সমস্ত অভাব অভিযোগের কথা গভর্ণমেণ্টের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ ক'রে জানাতে হবে। আমিও এক সময় oppositionএ ছিলাম, চারু বাবুও ছিলেন, বক্তৃতা করেছি, গালাগালি করেছি, কিন্তু তাতে কোন লাভ হয়েছে বলে আমি মনে করি না। আজকের এই অবস্থাকে আমাদের national calamity বলে গণ্য করা উচিত। Opposition Benchএ যাঁরা আছেন, তাঁরা কেবল গভর্ণমেণ্টকে গাল না দিয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্টের নীতিকে কি করে উন্নত করা যায়, সমৃদ্ধ করা যায় তার জন্য তাঁদের concrete suggestion দিতে হবে। তাঁরা জনসাধারণের ভোটে এখানে এসেছেন। তাঁরা ১০৲ টাকা ধানের দর করতে বলেছেন। কিন্তু ১০৲ টাকা ধানের দর হ'লে, কি repercussion হবে তা ভেবেছেন কি? তাতেও লোকে সন্তুষ্ট হবে না। ধানের দাম বাড়ালে মজুরীর দামও নিশ্চয় বাড়বে এবং তার সাথে অন্যান্য খরচও বেড়ে যাবে। তাতে লাভ হবে না কিছুই। পৌষ মাসে ধানের দর কম থাকলেও আশ্বিন-কার্ত্তিক মাসে বেড়ে যায়। এটা অত্যন্ত স্বাভাবিক। এটাকে আপনারা check করবেন কি করে? বন্ধুবর, আপনাদেরও কর্ত্তব্য রয়েছে—concrete suggestion দিয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্টের নীতি কি হবে তা decide করে দেওয়া। আপনারা হাসছেন?

Dr. PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSE : সে জন্য হাসি নাই, বন্ধুবর বললেন ব'লে হাসছি।

Sj. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL : আজকের এই দুরবস্থাকে যদি আপনারা national calamity বলে মনে করতেন, তাহলে আর হাসতেন না। বেশ কথা, ঢাক পিটিয়ে যত পাবেন গভর্ণমেণ্টকে গাল দেন। তাতে দেশের কোন মঙ্গল হবে না। আজকে দেশের এই খাদ্য সংকট হ'তে উদ্ধার পেতে হ'লে, আমাদের খাদ্য সংগ্রহ নীতিকে চালু রাখতেই হবে। ধানের দর, এই খাদ্যের দর বেড়ে গেলে, সাধারণ লোকের পক্ষে কিনে খাওয়া খুবই কষ্টকর। তারা দু-তিন মাস ধান বিক্রী করলেও আবার তিন-চার মাস তাদের কিনে খেতে হয়। গভর্ণমেণ্ট ধান ক্রয় করেন ঘাটতি এলাকার লোককে খাওয়াবার জন্য, কলকাতাবাসীকে খাওয়াবার জন্য, রিফিউজিদের খাওয়াবার জন্য। ধানের দর গভর্ণমেণ্ট বেঁধেছেন সেখানে যেখানে তাঁরা ধান সংগ্রহ করছেন। Deficit areaর লোকদের খাওয়াতে হবে। এটা তাদের primary duty. যেখানে ধান-চাল কম হয় সেখানে তাদের পাঠাতে হয়। জলপাইগুড়ি দার্জিলিং প্রভৃতি জেলায় গভর্ণমেণ্টের ধান পাঠাতে হয়। সেইজন্য তাঁরা সংগ্রহ করেন। খাদ্যাভাবের জন্য বাস্তুহারা সমস্যা কিছুটা বেড়েছে, আবার বাস্তুহারা সমস্যার দরুণ খাদ্যাভাবও বেশী করে বেড়েছে। যেখানে দু-কোটী লোকের খাদ্য ছিল, সেখানে যদি লোকসংখ্যা বেড়ে যায়, তাহলে নিশ্চয়ই খাদ্য-সমস্যা সমাধান করতে বেশ একটু কষ্ট হবে—তাতে সন্দেহ নাই। আজকে দেশে খাদ্য নাই, পৃথিবীর অন্যদেশ থেকে যদি খাদ্য আনতে না পারা যায় তাহলে সংযমের সঙ্গেই এই খাদ্যাভাব মেটাবার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। দোষ থাকতে পারে গভর্ণমেণ্টের, কিন্তু আমাদেরও কর্ত্তব্য আছে। সেটা যাতে সুপরিচালিত ও সুসম্পাদিত হয়, তাও আমাদের অবশ্যই দেখতে হবে।

প্রকৃতির দুর্যোগের জন্য যে ফসল নষ্ট হয়েছে তা রদ করবার জন্য আমাদের হাত নাই। কিন্তু বুদ্ধিমান লোক নিয়ন্ত্রণমূলক ব্যবস্থার দ্বারা সে অভাবটা কমাতে পারে। যেমন কেউ যদি জলে পড়ে যায় তাকে সাঁতার কেটে পারে উঠতে হয় তেমনি যাঁরা বুদ্ধিমান নিয়ন্ত্রণ ব্যবস্থার দ্বারা এই রকম বিপদ থেকে বাঁচতে পারে। আজকে যদি এটাকে national calamity মনে করেন তাহলে খাদ্য-নিয়ন্ত্রণ নীতি যা Governmentএর আছে তাতে Governmentকে সমর্থন ও সাহায্য করবেন এবং তাতে যদি ত্রুটি থাকে তাহলে পরামর্শ দিয়ে সেটা সংশোধন যাতে করা যায় সেইটা করবেন। এই আমার বক্তব্য।

Janab HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I congratulate His Excellency on his address delivered on the 8th February and thank you for the opportunity extended to the members of this House for expressing their views on His Excellency's speech.

As many honourable members have given their views on various matters including the food problem, rehabilitation and other items, I shall be very brief and not take much time of the House.

Sir, His Excellency has made a short reference to the Delhi Pact with its encouraging results and the noticeable stream of refugees returning to East Bengal and *vice versa* with the estimate of those remaining and of those who have returned to their former homes.

The Indo-Pakistan Agreement was signed eleven months ago in April, 1950. This memorable Pact has greatly relieved the terrible tension and destruction prevailing at that time with millions of human beings uprooted from their ancestral homes, comprising people from the districts of West Bengal, Calcutta and its suburbs, who though citizens of the Republic of India were huddled together in the city of Calcutta from the month of February, 1950. Though bereft of all their earthly belongings they were still in dread of their lives lying in the open with their womenfolk and children, innocent victims for the fault of others. It was at this time, when the condition was deteriorating from day to day that by a master-stroke through the combined efforts of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan this Pact came into existence and there was a lull in the situation. I shall not deal with the appointments of the two Central Ministers of India and Pakistan or the joint tours conducted by them for restoring confidence in the urban and rural areas of both Bengals or the periodical conferences of the Secretaries of West and East Bengal to implement this Pact. The results achieved have shown a remarkable progress in restoring confidence, but there is yet much to be achieved to make it complete and this can be further achieved by the joint efforts of the people themselves.

It is said by some that the Pact has been a failure and has borne no good results. There are always two sides to every question, and opinions will always differ in this world of ours.

It was expected that the minorities of the two Bengals will be immensely benefited by this Pact. Their sufferings will be relieved, and they will be able to follow their respective normal lives without hitch or hindrance. Comparing the mass exodus of the people fleeing from their hearths and homes in 1950 with the present condition and the return of a large number of those evacuees to their ancestral homes, we cannot but heave a sigh of relief and appreciate the valuable services rendered by the Central Governments of Bharat and Pakistan as well as of the Provincial Governments of the two Bengals for the free movements of the minorities in their homelands.

There have been some unhappy incidents in some places now and then, which has also appeared in the press. These unhappy incidents can be prevented if the leaders of the masses imbue their followers to observe peace and treat the minorities as their fellow-countrymen without any distinction

আর একটা জিনিষ হচ্ছে cloth. ইতিপূর্ব্বে পশ্চিম বঙ্গের জন্য ১৮ হাজার bale allotment ছিল, তার মধ্যে কাটছাট করে মাত্র ছয় হাজার bale পাওয়া যাচ্ছে। আমাদের প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় এই ছ' হাজার bale অতি সামান্য--কি করে এখানে বস্ত্র-সমস্যার সমাধান হতে পারে? এই যে cloth crisis এত বড় difficulty লোকের হচ্ছে তা সমাধানের জন্য Central Government থেকে যাতে বেশী কাপড় পাওয়া যায় তারই চেষ্টা করতে হবে। (At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH SARKER: Two minutes more and I shall finish.

একটা জিনিষ বলতে চাই--এই যে আমাদের দেশের procurement করার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে extensive cultivation of aus paddy করতে গিয়ে বীজ ধানের অভাব দেখা যাচ্ছে, Government-এর কাছে অনুরোধ যাতে আউস ধানের বীজ সবাই পায় তার ব্যবস্থা অচিরে করবেন। আষাঢ়ের মধ্যেই আউস ধান যাতে চাষীরা পাবে এজন্য বীজ দিয়ে তাদের অভাব দূর করুন। এই আউস ধান পেলে তারা খেয়ে পরে বাঁচতে পারে।

আর একটা জিনিষ হচ্ছে হালের গরুর দাম অত্যধিক চড়ে গিয়েছে যাতে এই গরু কৃষকরা কিনতে পারে সেজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেন without interest-এ টাকা ধার দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করেন।

Sj. SHEO KUMAR RAI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, since we last met in September, 1950, great events have happened in the Assembly outside and inside. It is gratifying to note that many of the prominent congressmen who had dedicated their lives for the cause of the country and who were lifelong companions of Bapuji have found out the truth that no honest men can associate themselves with dishonesty, corruption, nepotism, jobbery, etc. I find that they have emerged out of the vicious circle and formed a group among themselves to represent public feeling. Since then comrade Jyoti Basu has been released and I am sure all will form a very valuable asset of the opposition group.

Sir, I have come from the remotest corner of North Bengal and with the disturbances in Nepal and Tibet I find that His Excellency has shown his concern over my district. His Excellency's concern is not the usual concern for the people. His concern has got nothing to do with the backwardness and helplessness of the people there. His concern does not reflect his anxiety for the food situation there. It has no link whatsoever with the sufferings of the people there. His concern is rather shrouded in mystery. It reflects his distrust and suspicion for the people inhabiting these mountain homes. His remark indirectly hints that Government should keep alert lest we may betray. It is a matter to be regretted that the Government failed to have the confidence of the people there and for their own fault they unhesitatingly go so far as to brand us as suspicious characters. Sir, I would like to dispel His Excellency's suspicion and say that the Gurkhas are born fighters and disciplined people. They are no less a patriot than any of the Indians who inhabit this vast Republic of ours. They know how to handle weapons, when to use arms and when to exhibit their spirit of patriotism. It would be better if the Government would care to take a little concern in the matter of acute food situation in the district.

There are two types of system in the district—modified and statutory rationing system. It is a blunder to bring the small *bustees* of Darjeeling under a modified rationing scheme. More than half of the district is under tea plantation and the rest is covered with forest and small patches of *bustees*. In this mountain soil nothing can be grown that may be taken as substitute for rice and other essential foodstuff. There is no alternate food. A small quantity of maize that they used to grow was totally

destroyed last year by the great disastrous landslide. Moreover, all the people who live in the *bustee* area have no land of their own. They are landless carters, porters, dairymen and forest coolies. It is a mistake to treat them as producers. At present half a seer of rice and half a seer of wheat product is given to the people in the modified rationing area per week. They were already half-fed and this cut has brought them on the verge of starvation. People in the hills eat more than the people of the plains. It is partly due to the climatic effect and due to the heavy manual labour they do that they consume more. The Hon'ble Food Minister was apprised of this fact when he visited Darjeeling during the last disaster. I would again draw the attention of the Hon'ble Food Minister and suggest that the modified rationing system be abolished in the three hill sub-divisions of Darjeeling and the entire hill subdivisions be brought under statutory rationing system.

It is useless saying that there is shortage of foodstuff and Government in this way cannot shift the responsibility so easily. To cope with the food problem Government could have controlled birth by legislation, but as it is too late why not now form a "life control committee" and let them say "you have no right to live more than 40 years and now you must die". This will perhaps help the Government in solving the food problem.

Sir, I find that in His Excellency's speech no reference has been made about refugees and sufferers who lost everything during the last great disaster in Darjeeling. This is a regrettable omission. Thousands of people have lost their entire belongings. Villages, huts, cow-sheds, cattle and cultivable lands were swept down and many lives were lost. No attempts have been made by Government to rehabilitate these uprooted families. Some of the people of the Laldak *bustee* in Kurseong and other places whose homestead and cattle were lost during the disaster and lands were rendered unproductive and useless applied to the Forest Department to lease out some portion of the forest land for themselves, but they were refused permission flatly. We never invited this disaster; we never wanted this calamity. The people had no hand in the disaster. It was an act of God. As such Government ought to come forward to help these people. There are lots of waste land in the forest area and in the cinchona plantation in Mongpoo and elsewhere. I would suggest that these lands be settled with uprooted people immediately.

Is key bad main do char satar labour ke beshay men kahna chahtahoon. His Excellency ka jo speech hai us men labour ke bishay men kuch naheen kaha. Yeh labour ek important problem Darjeeling District men hai. West Bengal men kam sey kam labour ke barey men kahna tha, keon ke yahan labour force ek important force hai. Parantu is ke beshay me koie legislation aur koie kanoon naheen bana. Yeh abhi tak usitarah say hain. Yeh log jo bohut din sey apney ghar men rahey hain, apney land men, apni jagah men aj tak rahey hain, un logon ko bhi hataya jasakta hai. These people have no occupancy right. Unka occupancy right kuch bhi naheen hai. Yah log jo bohat agey sey dur dur jagah sey wahan aker rahgay hain, abhi tak unka koie occupancy right naheen hai. In admeon ko gardeners turant hata de saktey hain. Hamari Serkar ko yeh sochna chaheay ke un admeon ko naheen hatadiya jai, keon ke inka aur koie ghar naheen hai. In logon ko apney gharon sey aey huey sao (100) baras hogiya ab agar apney gharon sey nekal diey jaengey to kahan jaengey unka janey ka aur rahney ka koie jagah raha naheen. Abhi jo serkar ney do char welfare centres khola diya hai yeh public money ka waste hai, wahan per do char admi rakhtey hain jo Khasker Congress ke karmachari hain, kahtey hain ke yeh public servant hain leken kam kertey hain party ka. Ager koie Government servant ager kisi party ke sath bat cheet

karey, usko usiwakt nekal diya jata hai, kam sey kharej kerdiya jata hai, leken yehan per hum dekhtey hain ke yeh log Intelligence Department ke bhejey huey hain, Hon'ble Labour Minister ke bhejey huey yehan aey hain, yeh unkey khas admi hain. Yeh ek taraf Government servant hain aur dusrey taraf apna party ka kam ker saktey hain. Is liey yeh sub welfare centres jo ahin yeh koie kam naheen desaktey hain. Is liey labour ke bishay men koie Legislation hona chaheay. His Excellency ney T. B. ke bishay men kaha ke yeh khaey bimari hai, wah kahtey hain ke sarey West Bengal me yeh bimari hai, parantu sub-sey ziada Hills men phaila hua hai. Iska ek karan yeh bhi hosakta hai ke kam khana, ashastha jaga men rahna hota hai aur yeh bhi hosakta hai, ke hills men admi pushtuker bhojan naheen khaney sey yeh bimari men bhugtey hain. Agey ke barus men survey hua tha, yeh report paya giya ke 50 per cent. admi yehan T. B. germs ke reactor hain aur yeh germs ahesta ahesta phail rahey hain Bengal men kaie T. B. sanatorium bana hai, kam sey kam un jagon men in garibon kè liey bhi koie babasta hona chaheay. Kerseong men, wahan ke admeon ka koie protest naheen suna, garib pahar baseon ke chati per ek bara imarat khari kiey hain leken kam sey kam un garibon ko wahan per jagah to milna chaheay. Hon'ble Minister sey main araz kerta hoon ke us sanatorium men kam sey kam 30, 40 beds un garibon ke liey reserve rahna chahey.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, parliamentary form of Government cannot function successfully unless there is a strong and healthy opposition. I am therefore happy that this want which was very keenly felt in this House is being removed. At the same time, in order to be effective, the criticism has got to be responsible and well informed. I hope the Leader of the Opposition will pardon me if I give him some suggestions as to how it could be improved. I will give only one instance. If he looks at clause 2 of his amendment he will find that therein he has stated something which does not do justice to the address of His Excellency. Clause 2 states: "But regret the omission of any mention of cases of eviction by the Government of squatter refugees without finding alternative accommodation for them". But if he looks at page 5 of His Excellency's address he will find "ejectment of squatters without finding them alternative accommodation might lead to great suffering". (Cries of "Hear, hear" from Government benches.)

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: The reference is to incidents. There are many incidents.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: I would only expect in order to be helpful, in order to be effective that the Opposition Leader will always make points which are always beyond any question. It is only a suggestion. I am not saying this in a spirit of carping criticism, but as I am accustomed to healthy and strong opposition, I very much want that this opposition will also grow like that.

In the next place, Jyoti Basu—excuse my saying so—Sj. Jyoti Basu said that more than 50 lakhs of refugees could be well settled in West Bengal. Why need they be sent elsewhere? Sir, I have found him generally well informed in his criticism. He uses some hard words which, I am sure, with age will all be mollified, but to say that 50 lakhs of refugees can be settled within West Bengal would be raising rather false hopes in the minds of the refugees and would be misleading them. Early in 1949, when I had occasion to forward my suggestions regarding refugee rehabilitation in West Bengal I ascertained district by district and *thana* by *thana* the waste and culturable lands that were available. If Sj. Jyoti

Basu likes, I shall make available to him a copy; and I came to the conclusion that not more than two lakhs of refugees could be settled within West Bengal with adequate lands. I therefore recommended that our refugees should be sent over first to the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar, Orissa and Goalpara in Assam and then also to other provinces with the help of the Central Government.

I would only refer to another criticism of Mr. Jyoti Basu. I know he has drawn pointed attention to wrong application of the Preventive Detention Act. Everyone knows my views that I am always for proper safeguard, that this Act should not be applied for curbing political parties and should only be applied to those engaged in subversive acts, communal activities and those who interfere with the essential things of life.

I am not against the Act for this reason. The biggest justification for the Act has been given by Sj. Jyoti Basu's party by following the cult of violence. We were glad that Sj. Jyoti Basu and his other comrades boldly declared in another place that they eschewed the path of violence. Now we find that they have decided to change the Government by securing the support of the people and I am sure it will not be possible for any Government to apply the provisions of the Preventive Act unnecessarily and we shall also see that they do not do it. (Sj. Jyoti Basu: This shameful Act is to be found only in India and in no other place in the whole world.) (Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee: Why you are interrupting him?). Let him. I am used to interruptions both here and elsewhere. Interruptions quicken our intellect. Now, Sir, nowhere in the world, Mr. Jyoti Basu will agree with me, subversive activities are tolerated—be it in Russia or be it in America. A Government is not worth its name if it cannot prevent subversive activities. Sir, I welcome a party which would like to work among the masses and who would declare that they do not want violence or they do not want to pursue any subversive activities. Sir, I appreciate Sj. Jyoti Basu's challenge to this Government to address public meetings to see whether the Government has the support of the people. That is the proper way to proceed democratically. Sir, I am one of those who do not want the use of the Preventive Detention Act. I appeal to him and to his party through you, Sir, to make it impossible for the Government to apply this Act to any political party as such.

Then, Sir, I would refer to the criticism regarding the rehabilitation of the refugees which has loomed largely in this discussion. I say, Sir, that we will not be serving the cause of the refugees if we in any way induce the people, I mean the refugees, to believe that if they forcibly occupy some lands or houses they should stick to them. I say this in their own interest. The position is that they are forcibly occupying some lands, they are spending their time, labour and money in constructing houses thereon and now what would happen if they are dispossessed from them by somebody; what legal remedy will they have in that case? Of course we say that the refugees must have alternative accommodation provided, but they should not be encouraged to spoil their own cause by resorting to violence. I should also say this at the same time that there is much to be done for the rehabilitation of the refugees and we must see that this question is tackled as early as possible and not an hour is lost where it is possible to avoid it. In this matter we invite the co-operation of all people.

Another matter which has been referred to is the food question and the question of procurement. Sj. Haripada Chatterjee illustrated his criticisms on procurement and Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari also gave his views in a very sober way. The whole thing seems to be this: The procurement scheme, I am afraid, is causing some hardship for want of proper statistics.

I think the complaint regarding taking 10 maunds of paddy from an individual would not have arisen if there were proper materials and statistics before Government and the procurement officers. Here I must emphasise the necessity of our having proper statistics. The Chief Minister has issued an appeal for us to co-operate in the Census operations and in preparing the right statistics. Let us all here and outside respond to that call and place our services at the disposal of the Government during this time to try and prepare very good statistics. Members have already brought the hardships of the people to the notice of the Food Minister and the Chief Minister and I am sure that they have taken note of the cases of hardship that have been referred to on the floor of the House and hope that they will look to it that there is no recurrence of that thing. Now that a very helpful and a very strong Opposition has developed it is for the Opposition to bring to the notice of the Government such matters after themselves looking into them and I am sure in that way both the Opposition and the Government should co-operate to lessen the troubles of those who are suffering. As regards the procurement price of paddy I do not know much but after hearing the members it seems to me that if privately it is sold at Rs. 12 per maund of paddy, to pay only Rs. 7-8 naturally will create great resentment and hardship among and to those from whom paddy is procured. If we can minimise the expenditure on procurement by enlisting public co-operation we could at least to that extent increase the price or in place of increasing the price we could possibly give them some premium to the area where this procurement scheme proceeds on a voluntary basis. However, these are matters of detail, but I am sure, after the criticisms that have been levelled here, that the Food Minister and the Chief Minister will apply their minds to it and see that the natural objection of the people to get Rs. 7-8 only when they see all around people getting Rs. 10-12 is met. I would suggest to the Ministers that, instead of taking offence for some of the criticisms that have been made by the members, if they would apply their minds and if they would make enquiries in connection with such criticisms, then, much of the defects of the Government personnel may also be obviated. A simple enquiry of a matter helps a good deal. It is not always necessary that whenever a charge is levelled they must at once suspend the officer first and do something. But whenever there is any complaint if enquiries are made that will always help. To treat complaints from the Opposition as not to be attended to is a dangerous thing in a parliamentary form of government. In this connection I may tell my friends who are in the Opposition not to spare any defect that may come to their notice and to be up and doing to remedy that and on the other side let the Ministry also profit by their criticism and also help us out of the very difficult situation we are passing through.

We are passing through a very acute crisis. There is a world crisis; and now, particularly in West Bengal, we have crisis with regard to food, with regard to cloth and with regard to everything else. Sir, co-operation is necessary on all sides, and I hope we shall all agree to make the best of what we can.

Sj. RATANLAL BRAHMIN: স্পিকার মহোদয়, আমাদের মাননীয় লাটসাহেব যা বলেছিলেন যখন তিনি——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please go to the mike.

Sj. RATANLAL BRAHMIN: আমাদের লাট সাহেব দার্জিলিং যখন গিয়েছিলেন তখন বলেছিলেন meeting করে পাহাড় ধসে পড়ায় সেখানকার লোকদের এবং চা বাগানের কাজ যারা করে তাদের ঘর আর রাস্তা ভেঙে গিয়েছে তার জন্য "আমি Executive Engineerকে বলে ব্যবস্থা করবো।" কিন্তু তার পাঁচ মাস হয়ে গেল আজ পর্য্যন্ত তাঁর কথামত কাজ করা হয় নাই। সেখানে গিয়ে বড় বড় কথা বলে

আসেন আর এখানে এসে ভুলে জান, এটা যে এত বড় দায়িত্ব পদে যিনি আছেন, যিনি বাংলা দেশের সবচেয়ে বড় পদে বসে আছেন সেই দায়িত্বপূর্ণ পদের উপযুক্ত প্রমাণ দিয়েছেন বলে আমি মনে করি না। তারপর রাস্তার কথা বলি G. B. Road সেই roadএই আগে মটর যেত এখন ভেঙ্গে চুরমার হয়েছে। সেখানকার কংগ্রেস Secretary তিনি অনেক দরখাস্ত পাঠিয়েছিলেন। তারপর Labour Ministerকেও অনেক পত্র দেওয়া হয়েছে, তার একটি মাত্র চিঠিরও উত্তর পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। এটা কেন হয়? যদি চিঠিপত্র দিয়ে তার উত্তর না পাওয়া যায় তাহলে কি মনে হয়? আর চা বাগানের ভিতর--কাগজে দেখেছি আবার election হবে, আজ পর্য্যন্ত চা বাগানে যে এতগুলি লোক কাজ করে সে বাগানের ভাল রাস্তা নাই। আমাদের উপরেও যখন তখন আক্রমণ হয় কিন্তু চা বাগানের রাস্তা না দিয়ে election করবেন এটা যে কি করে করবেন তা আমরা বুঝতে পারি না। এই বিষয়টার প্রতি আপনাদের খেয়াল রাখা দরকার তাই বললাম। আপনারা যেসব বড় বড় কথা বলেন এক এক যায়গায় গিয়ে, সেই অনুসারে যদি কাজ না করেন তাহলে জনসাধারণ কি মনে করতে পারে? তারপর খাওয়া দাওয়ার ব্যবস্থা সম্বন্ধে বলি, "সিকিম" থেকে আগে কিছু কিছু ভুট্টা আসতো। এখন নেপালে গণ্ডগোল হওয়ায় আর সিকিম ভারত সরকারের হাতে যাওয়ার দরুণ একটা ভুট্টাও আসছে না। এবং দার্জিলিংএর চারদিকে যে সমস্ত চা বাগান আছে সেখানে এক মাসের খোরাকও হয় না। ঐ সব যায়গায় ১/২ সের করে চাল ও ১/২ সের করে গম দিচ্ছিলেন। এ খেয়ে লোকে কি করে বাঁচতে পারে। আপনারা যদি গ্রামে যান তাহলে দেখতে পাবেন যে গাছের পাতা খেয়ে লোকেরা আধমরা হয়ে আছে। এর যদি কিছু ব্যবস্থা না করেন তাহলে ডাল পাতা খেয়ে লোকে বাঁচতে পারবে না। আর একটা কথা, আমাদের সেখান থেকে কমলালেবু বা আর যেসব ফল চালান হয়ে আসে, তার উপর salestax বসান হয়। তার ফলে সেখানকার লোকের বেশ কষ্ট হচ্ছে কেননা তারা বেশী পরিমাণে ফল ও লেবু এখানে পাঠাতে পারে না, দাম বেশী পড়ে বলে বিক্রয় হয় না। এটার উপর আপনাদের নজর দেওয়া দরকার। তারপর সেখানে যে Deputy Commissioner পাঠিয়েছেন তিনি কি রকম লোক তাই বলছি। আমি একজন M.L.A., যখন বৃটিশ আমলে M.L.A. ছিলাম না তখনও দরখাস্ত করে একটা বন্দুক পেয়েছিলাম। জেলে যখন আমাকে নিয়ে যাওয়া হলো তখন revolverটা জমা দিয়ে গিয়েছিলাম। তারপর জেল থেকে বেরিয়ে যখন আবার revolverটা ফেরত চাইলাম ওরা লিখে দিল যে revolver রাখবার উপযুক্ত আমি নই। এটা কেন হয়? আমরা বুঝতে পারছি না। এই হচ্ছে আমাদের এখানকার স্বাধীন দেশের অবস্থা।

বর্ত্তমানে এখানে যাঁরা পুলিশ বিভাগে আছেন তারা বৃটিশ আমলের লোক। দেশ স্বাধীন হওয়ার পর-- তারা কি করেছিল? বিড়লাকে ধরতে গিয়েছিল ইনকাম ট্যাক্সের ব্যাপারে। কাগজে দেখেছি, কোথায় তাদের চাকুরিতে উন্নতি হবে তা না হয়ে তাদের অনেককে suspend করে রাখা হয়েছে। এইতো সরকারী বিচারের নমুনা।

তারপর Calcutta University. সেখানেও strike চলছে। কিছু লোক আমার কাছে এসেছিল, সেখানকার একজন বড় পাণ্ডা হচ্ছেন আমাদের প্রধান মন্ত্রী। যারা strike চালাচ্ছে তাদের সামান্য দাবী দাওয়া মিটিয়ে দেবার কোন লক্ষণ দেখা যাচ্ছে না। এসব ছোট খাট কাজই হচ্ছে না আর এই যে বড় বড় বুলি বলছেন দেশ কি করে উন্নতি করবে, লোকের খাওয়া পরার ব্যবস্থা হবে এসব যে কি করে হবে আমিতো কিছুই বুঝছি না। তারপর Darjeelingএ চা বাগানে অনেক খালি জমি পড়ে আছে। সেগুলি পরিষ্কার করে চাষ-বাসের বন্দোবস্ত করা হয়েছে। খাস মহলের জমি যা আছে, তাতে নূতন করে, চাষ করার চেষ্টায় ৩৭৲ টাকা দর দিতে হচ্ছে এরকম অন্যায় জুলুম যদি হয়, বলুন দেখি এটা কি রকম হবে? আজকাল আবার এদের কাছ থেকে মালিকরা আধিয়া করার আরম্ভ করেছে। যদি এসব বিষয়ে মালিকদের কাছ থেকে ঠিকঠাক্ করা বিষয়ে একটা আইন প্রণয়ন করা হয় তাহলে সমস্যার সমাধান হয় এই বলেই আমি শেষ করছি।

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: Sir, I congratulate His Excellency for the excellent speech that he has delivered the other day here and I congratulate him specially for the frankness which he has displayed in

putting the case of the Government before the House. He has said a lot of matters respecting food-shortage specially, but in the end—on the ninth page of his speech—he has said: "I am glad to be able to say that the law and order situation in the State has, on the whole, been quite satisfactory since your last session. There have been some sporadic but deplorable instances of gangsterism and my Government are doing their best to tackle such cases". This is no doubt a correct state of affairs for the Government of the Province; for the Government of this State to confess before the House that gangsterism is prevalent in the province is a thing which ought to be taken notice of. He has said that "my Government are doing their best to tackle such cases". I do not know what steps this Government have taken to suppress gangsterism that is disturbing the country's peace and that is practically retarding the progress of the country. I do not know whether I will be fortunate enough to get any reply from the Chief Minister on the subject. Probably he will not care to give any reply to this, but the country is in such a desperate state that it cannot wait long to hear from him. I want to tell him that if he is to work as the Chief Minister here, his duty, first and foremost duty, is to see that this gangsterism is stopped and once for all. I should like to mention in this connection that this gangsterism which His Excellency has referred to, probably you think, refers only to the city of Calcutta. I want to tell the House that this gangsterism is going on in mufassal areas as well with virulence which, we all deplore. Whenever I go to Jalpaiguri I find mention of such dacoities and lootings by armed gangs with the help of motor cars and motor lorries. It is a pity that these things are not checked. When they are coming by motor cars and motor lorries they must be coming from a distance. I submit that pickets placed at corners can easily put a stop to this sort of gangsterism. Anybody who has any knowledge of roads knows that there are corners which must be crossed by a motor car or a motor lorry before it reaches the place which it wants to destroy. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are talking here on a subject which is of vital concern to us but unfortunately they (showing the Treasury Benches) are speaking among themselves and they do not care to pay any attention to me.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. Yes, Janab Musharruff Hossain.

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: In mufassal areas this gangsterism is going on with motor cars and motor lorries. They are going from place to place and looting and killing the people. And victims, I may tell you, are members of the minority community whether they are Hindus or Muslims. Marwaris and the Mussalmans are the victims here. I want to suggest to my friend over there who is now speaking with other friends and who does not care to listen to us. I am speaking on a subject which is very vital to us.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I am all attention.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, you are not the man who is wanted. The honourable member wants Dr. Roy.

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: Yes; you should pay some attention; you are the most senior man.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, if you kindly ask him to speak in front of the mike, then we could hear him. I could not hear him at all.

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: Sir, the position is that in my district this gangsterism is going on almost every night and the houses of the minority community are being raided and some of them are being killed outright. This is being done with the help of motor cars and motor lorries.

It means that people from a long distance travel without any notice being taken of them, attack the minorities, kill them and take away everything that they get. If the step which should be taken by Government is taken, then it can be prevented. There are corners everywhere on roads. If anyone wants to come from a distance of say 10 miles, there are probably two or three corners where pickets can be posted. Now that this gangsterism is going on almost every night and in every part of my district, I think it is time that something is done to place pickets there. If Government feels that——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: From what distance are they coming? You say from a long distance—about 50 miles?

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: The other day a Marwari's House was raided and Rs. 80,000 was taken away.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Why say about the Marwari community?

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: They are also minorities. They come from across the border.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: What distance?

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: Some of them came from ten miles distance.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: From east or west?

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: From south, Sir. All came from the south. They crossed streets where pickets could have been placed and thereby looting could be prevented, but you have done nothing. What I suggest to the Government is that they should post pickets in every corner through which the motor cars pass, namely, Barnes Junction, Moynaguri, Dhubguri, Dum Dum, etc. If you post pickets at these places then people will not be able to cross those pickets and raid the villages and loot the property of the people. I know all these people came from Dhubguri side. If you post a picket at Gayaghata no one would be able to come from that side——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Are you sure that they are all Indians and not outsiders? Were they all Indian nationals?

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: They came from a distant place. They looted Rs. 87,000 from the house of one person and went away and I gathered that a part of that money has been recovered from the arrested persons. Therefore my point is that after the crime is committed you are taking steps but if you take steps beforehand, that is, if you post pickets in all pivot places then they will not be able to come at all. I think preventive action should be taken to post pickets in these places. I know of another case in which a person was looted, who lost Rs. 2,000. This happened in Macrapara.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I know, Sir, whether he gave all this information to the local police or this is the first time that he is telling all these things here?

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: Where I shall tell all these things? Who will listen to me? I can ventilate my grievances here. I can only do this. But if you think that I should not say all these things here but keep quiet then I shall do the same. But my suggestion to Government was

that they should post 30 or 40 pickets and if they cannot spare so many pickets, they can get volunteers from the country. They should do something to prevent the raids by motor cars and motor lorries. Of course you cannot prevent people crossing fields and just committing small thefts here and there. To prevent it is impossible but surely motor cars and motor lorries carrying a large number of people with arms and ammunition and going to selected places for committing crimes can be stopped. I appeal to you to think of this and do the needful and not say that this is not practical. I say it is a practicable proposition. For God's sake do the needful and save the people from all these difficulties. Really speaking that is the point which I wanted to place before the House.

As regards other points my friends have already spoken. So far as food is concerned I think food should not be the monopoly of just a few. It should go to all and everyone has a right to take the food that is produced in his country. If anybody would say that food should be reserved for one class of people, that is, for those who grow the food crops alone I am not one with him and if anyone would say that the land should belong to only a few cultivators who actually cultivate the land then also I would not agree with him. If you think of giving up the land altogether to one class I would go against it. That is not what I want. If you say that the land should belong to one class of cultivators only then all the rest go out and no caste Hindu can have anything to do with any land anywhere. Is it fair?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Not even Nawab Sahib.

Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: The Nawab Sahib is also one of the caste Hindus taken by that view of the matter. If you say "only to the cultivator" I object to it. We should not be deprived of our right to have some food from the land which we possess in the country. That should be kept in mind when any slogan is spread in the country. Anyhow that is not the subject before us today and it is for the authorities to decide when that subject comes up. When I was the Minister in 1943 the Government of India took up the responsibility of feeding Calcutta and its neighbourhood. If the foreign government at that time thought that Bengal cannot produce sufficient food to feed Calcutta cannot you now say that it is really true. We should now approach our Government of India to help us in exactly the same way as the British did in those days. If they say, "No, you must have everything from your own place", then I think all that my other friends have said may be repeated to Government of India. But can't you approach the Government of India and should not the Government of India think of an industry out of which they get at least half the profit if not more and should they not feed those people who are feeding them. The British people accepted that principle and worked with that aim and fed Calcutta and its neighbourhood. You should move the Government of India with a statement like this: "When you are taking away all the profits of industries in and around Calcutta, why don't you feed those people who serve these industries?"

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The Government of India is still giving us some assistance.

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: But that is not enough. If they had given us enough, there would have been no question of food shortage.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: In 1944 when the Nawab Saheb himself was a Minister, then also there was shortage.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: On a point of order, Sir. Can there be a private discussion in the House like that?

Mr. SPEAKER: Let there be no more such discussion.

Janab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: In 1944 we also had something from the Centre, and that was really used for feeding the people of Calcutta. The Government of India promised before me when I was a Minister that they would feed the Calcutta people. (A VOICE: No.) If you say, "no", I say you don't know. So I say, let us approach the Government of India with the prayer that they should come to our rescue. I can tell you from my own experience that this year, with reduction all over, we can have only five-eighths of last year's production. I have all the accounts before me. So I say that even with this reduced production you will have to take the responsibility of feeding the Calcutta people as well as the people in the deficit mufassal areas. A promise has come from the United States that they will supply 2 million tons of wheat from April onwards. Why don't you wait for some time until the results of the negotiations that are taking place between the Government of India and the Government of the United States are known? I think the food situation will be settled the moment we get our supply from America. That being the case, I think you can wait for some time and should not demand to take foodstuff from the people in the mufassil areas. If America supplies us with foodstuff, the whole problem is solved.

I appeal to my friends to think of that. You should see that no foodstuff is taken away from the places where half the normal paddy has not been harvested. I do not like to speak on any other subject. I think my friend Dr. Roy will not be angry with me but co-operate with me in this and save Jalpaiguri from utter ruin.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have listened with very close attention to the speeches that have been delivered in this House during the last three days by various members. I have been considerably benefited by their observations. But this evening I was a little amazed to find—he is not present in his seat at the present moment—Mr. J. C. Gupta rising from his seat and making a special pleading for Government referring to the subversive activities and the responsibility of the Government of the land to crush all subversive activities, forgetting for the time being that preventive detention without trial that has never been recognised, has never been encouraged by any canons of democracy in any civilised part of the globe. It is the negation of democracy. I wish he had been here to listen to what we are saying and the reasons that the leaders of the opposition are advancing. If a Government fails to protect the civil liberties of the people, if a Government fails to stop vandalism and hooliganism, if a Government fails to supply food, cloth and shelter, if a Government fails to improve the economic condition of the country, then that Government forfeits the confidence of the people for all time. If Mr. Jyoti Basu remarked, the day before yesterday, "You quit", there was nothing wrong. Mussalmans and Hindus, agriculturists and tillers of the soil, all classes of people want that this Government that stands today as a nightmare on the province should clear out. Let there be a general election. I ask them to face the people, not in the way they did in the recent bye-election at Howrah. But, Sir, I would not refer to that because the case is *sub judice*. Sir, I expected some indication in His Excellency's speech about the maladministration, the corruption, the bribery, the dishonest conspiracy, the perfidy, the treachery almost everywhere that have characterised the present administration. I had expected that there would be some reference whatsoever to the positive steps that have been taken by the Government for the solution of the food crisis in this province. The speech of His Excellency seems to be a welcome departure from the one that was delivered in 1950, inasmuch as there is a passing reference, to the food crisis, and a

passing reference to the poor, unfortunate Muslim citizens of this State that were evicted by the communal unrest last year. There is nothing about the positive steps, nothing about the financial provisions, nothing about relief and rehabilitation of those thousands of people who have been dispersed by the conspiracy behind the scene. Thousands of Muslim employees who thanks to the guidance and inspiration of the Government were dislodged from the industrial centres. There is no reference to the forcible evictions, no reference to violent hands laid on the respectable citizens of the State by the myrmidons of law and order, no reference to the persons often highly cultured ladies shot down dead in front of a procession in the name of communism, no reference to the hushing into dead silence of the groans of the agriculturists by the most unscrupulous methods that have been adopted by the procurement officers: nothing whatsoever, but only a special pleading for the Government. I am not one of those who would embarrass the Government in their attempts to stabilise the food situation in the country. Sir, it would be unfair to the administration if I were to suggest that drought, earthquake, floods and other natural calamities have not affected the food situation in the country. If we take a correct assessment of the entire situation, we will find that they too have their share in determining the entire economic structure of the province. But if we go a little further, probe the question a little deeper why is it that the Government have failed to rise to the height of the occasion, why have the Government failed to anticipate the developments of the situation, why have the Government failed to adjust the debit and credit sides—adjust the resources of the province—and adapt their course accordingly? If Russia, in spite of the blood-sucking process of Czarism for centuries, could tide over the difficulty and could turn over a new leaf, if China, in spite of the devastating wars extending over a quarter of a century, could come out as a great nation, if America and even smaller States like Pakistan and Turkey which began only from a scratch could solve the problem of unemployment and the problem of food, how is it not possible for this Government with all the huge resources, with the most efficient brains and talents at the helm of the administration, to solve the problems of the province? On the other hand, they have complicated the situation, they have poisoned the springs of life and postponed the day of our salvation.

They are talking of democracy, Sir. Is it democracy to arrest people at dead of night, is it democracy to pitchfork into a responsible office, a Muslim hireling of the State, a miscreation of the Government when Muslims do not want him at all? I challenge this Government to go to any constituency. Mr. Jyoti Basu challenged them to go to any rally. I will challenge this Government from the Chief Minister downwards to go to any Muslim constituency, to any Muslim electorate. They will register their vote of no-confidence in them with hissings, with booings, treating them with denunciation and condemnation all along the line. Shame upon this administration! It is a bare-faced mendacity, a shameless hyprocisy that has characterised this administration throughout. The case is *sub judice,* otherwise I would have torn to pieces the whole case of the Government.

SJ. RADHA NATH DAS: Recently there have been some by-elections.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: It has gone home. Wait. You will have an answer very soon, Sir. I could have understood if they had a comprehensive scheme of their own. I could have understood if they had a comprehensive scheme of their own to meet the food situation in the country—a comprehensive scheme that contemplates abolition of permanent settlement and of intermediate interests, a comprehensive scheme that contemplates liquidation of all vested interests, a comprehensive scheme that contemplates transfer of land to the tillers of the soil, creating a dynamo

and enthusiasm in the tillers, a comprehensive scheme that tries to introduce better and more scientific methods of agriculture for improving the agricultural produce of the land. I could understand that. But there is no such scheme. On the other hand, as my esteemed friend Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari referred yesterday, lakhs and lakhs of *bighas* of land are being diverted for production of jute. They are talking of food sufficiency. They are talking of reaching the target by the year 1951 and in the same breath they are talking of sufficiency in jute, sufficiency in cotton and diverting the lands meant for growing paddy. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Also in *ganja*.) And *ganja* too that intoxicates and ever inebriates. They are talking of all these things. I do not know what they talk. Our *munshis*, our *pandits*, with pontifical air speak from the Olympian height that they are solving the problem of food. They have not solved this problem of food. This problem of food, this problem of unemployment, this problem of cloth, this problem of unrest, the problem of these unfortunate minorities have exercised the brains of the people—if not the brains of these people over there—the brains of the people outside. They are not satisfied. There is unrest everywhere—unrest among labour, unrest among agriculturists, unrest among the tillers of the soil, unrest among the poor, unfortunate millions that knock about the street for a morsel of rice, unrest among the Muslim minority who have been tortured with every refinement of cruelty and barbarous savagery in this administration of Bengal. (Laughter from the Government benches.) Do not laugh. He laughs best who laughs last. We reserve that fund of laughter for the day when you will topple down from that height never to raise your head again.

My friend Mr. Jyoti Basu was saying, "Take lessons from history". They will not, they will not read the signs on the wall. These signs have been precursors of the French Revolution, these have been the precursors of the Russian Revolution, these have been the precursors of the American Revolution, these have been the precursors of the Turkish Revolution, these have been the precursors of the revolution in India. These signs have preceded the fall of the mighty British Government that crumbled to pieces like the baseless fabric of a vision.

You have talked in the name of democracy. You have gone back upon your own words, you have gone back upon your own assurances, you have gone back upon the pledges that you had given to the constituencies. You have committed a breach of your promises. Where shall I turn my attention to? To whichever direction we turn, the same picture of gloom, the same picture of despair, the same picture of disappointment. Go to the University of Calcutta. What do we find?—A muddle, a scandal. Go to the Calcutta Corporation. You find the same picture there. Even they have not the courage to publish the report about the scandalous affairs of the University, it has not even seen the light of the day and Government sitting at the helm of affairs are enjoying their mid-day slumber—Sweet blessedness—perhaps another name for all that diseased, all that is corrupt, all that is dishonest, all that is inefficient, all that is debasing, all that is demoralising, all that is dehumanising in the life of a nation or a State. The scandalous report of the University has leaked out here and there. A Judge of the High Court had presided over the Committee. The report however does not come out as yet.

They are trying to democratise the Calcutta Corporation of which the Chief Minister of the province happened to be Mayor for two years—A person who cannot manage his own affairs, who does not know how to restore order in his own house, a physician who cannot heal himself is trying to heal others. My friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was referring to that

eminent doctor. The doctor is there to diagnose the physical ills of life. He is not there to treat or prescribe medicines for the economic and political health of a nation, a community or a State. (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: He is not a mental doctor.) Do you want a mental doctor? You will have it with vangeance. Go to the Lunatic Asylum at Ranchi. You will be properly taken care of. It is time that you all should go there. I will ask you to go over there because in its much cooler atmosphere you might look into your heart, into your own short-comings, into your limitations, into the accumulated sins of the past which have gathered round you, which have coloured your vision, which have blurred your impression, which have confused your brains and clouded the entire perspective. I will ask you to go to the Lunatic Asylum. It was nearer home in my district. I might have taken you over there, but unfortunately it has shifted on to Ranchi now. For treatment you might go to Ranchi for the present.

Sir, they are talking of civil liberties. Talk of civil liberties—the less said, the better. The talk of civil liberty in the lips of those whose administration stands as a lurid commentary on their inefficiency, a lurid commentary on their communal perversity, a lurid commentary on their lack of sense of democracy, a lurid commentary on any lack of comprehension of the complexities of the economic situation in the country! Yet, they should have the cheek, they should have the barefaced hypocricy to talk in this strain from safe quarters at the present moment. I will ask them to go to the people to realise for themselves where they are, to look into the hearts of the people, to see if they really respond to their appeals or solicitations at the present moment. The doom is coming. They have bungled, mismanaged all along the line. My friend is asking them to come out in the open. They will not with that guilty conscience, with that infamous record of maladministration. (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: How pathetic.) Yes, pathetic indeed for the nation, pathetic indeed for the State, pathetic indeed for the vast millions, pathetic indeed for those who are tortured, oppressed and distressed, pathetic indeed for those who are at the mercy of the police forces that run amuck in broad day-light and shoot people down dead, pathetic indeed for the poor agriculturists in the mufassil who are harassed and tortured and whose foodstuffs are squeezed out by the procurement officers.

I can assure you, Sir, that the example of these people will be like that, of Rome and other ancient nations of the world, which with their lust of power, with their intoxication, with their bribery and corruption, with their dishonestly and tyrannies and tortures, went down the gates of hell and oblivion. That is the position, Sir, that awaits them; that is the doom that awaits them; that is the crisis that awaits them. If we present facts, they cannot challenge them. They go beating about the bush. If we say you are offering small prices for paddy which range from Rs. 5-15 to Rs. 7-8, whereas the cost of production is Rs. 10 only they cannot challenge facts. They have got to count upon the support of the people, they have got to count upon the sympathy of the people, the co-operation of the people. But for feeding the people of Calcutta and of the industrial establishments they are squeezing the people, they are sucking them dry, and bleeding them white, all for maintaining industrial establishment. That is the position, Sir. Poor agriculturists do not count; poor middle-class people do not count. Rations have been reduced, and the prices have shot up. At the present moment, the Chief Minister of the province and the other Ministers may be laughing in their sleeves, because they do not yet know that their doom is coming, because they do not know that this is the death dance of the bureaucracy, of the oligarchy and of themselves who have no connection, no contact whatsoever with the masses.

Sir, I have been reading these days in the newspapers that the *pandits* and *maulanas* are waxing eloquent from safe quarters asking Mussalmans to join the Congress. For what? To be tortured and oppressed in the name of the Congress. I met a redoubtable Maulana in Delhi after the Delhi carnage. The redoubtable Maulana said in his characteristic Urdu language.

روشنی تو دیکھائی نہیں دیتی ہے فضا بالکل گندی ہو چکی ہے *

And that *rosni* came only two months later when in the dark and darkening atmosphere he asked the Mussalmans to walk into the parlour of the Congress. We have condemned the Britishers; we have condemned the Muslim League administration also, but today there is no administration at all. And in spite of all the carnage, in spite of the massacre of innocents, in spite of the curtailment of civil liberties, in spite of strangulation of the progressive forces of society throughout India *maulana* who one day condemned the Britishers, who denounced them, who hated them, who pelted stones at them and who tore them to pieces, preserve a soft corner for the Congress though the Congress has broken all its pledges, has gone back upon all its assurances and promises, has torn to pieces the fundamental rights that have been incorporated into the Constitution; though the Congress has violated all constitution and constitutional proprieties in the name of the Constitution itself. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, poor Jawaharlal, a great figure indeed, torn between conflicting tendencies and forces, vested interests and reactionaries on the one hand and progressive democratic forces on the other—he does not know which way to side at the present moment, and the Muslims look up to him for real guidance and inspiration. It is not for nothing that men like Kidwai, Kripalini, men like Dr. Prafulla Ghosh and Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari, men like Dr. Suresh Banerji, men like Mr. Haripada Chatterjee—stalwarts of the nation, who dedicated their lives to the cause of the Congress—are tired, are fed up with the Congress. They have broken away from it, because the rot has set in. There is nothing to stop that. It is eating into the vitals. Soon it will meet with natural or unnatural death. Sir, we do not encourage subversive activities at all. They must be crushed by all legitimate manner. But Muslims, Hindus, Christians—all classes and communities—in West Bengal will have to register their verdict on the administration which has failed to protect the people, an administration which is directly or indirectly responsible for all the miseries of the people, an administration which sits as a nightmare, an administration which has failed to give food, cloth and shelter to the homeless wanderers, an administration which provides no facilities or opportunities for full expression or development of people in the cultural, political and socio-economic field of the entire State. That administration stands self-condemned before the bar of public opinion. (A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCHES: ভাল লাগছে।) ভাল লাগে: নিশ্চয়ই ভাল লাগে। Certainly, because I know that it is no longer possible for you to hoodwink the people. I know it is no longer possible with all the infamous record in the Calcutta Corporation, in the University, in the public life, in the administration with all your failure writ large, with your failure to solve the problems of life—it is not possible to hoodwink the people any more. Nemesis is coming full cycle. Today or tomorrow you have got to give an account before the public. You are postponing the election from day to day. We want the election not for the sake of occupying the positions which you are now occupying but for the sake of registering the people's verdict against this Ministry which has usurped power. I can understand men like Nadir Shah, that tyrant, who had looted the Punjab and Delhi and massacred people, irrespective of Hindus and Muslims. I can understand Nadir Shah. People asked him: "What is it that you want? If you are God, be merciful to

your own servants. If you are a Prophet show mercy to your followers; if you are a king show mercy to your subjects". اگر خدا هستی رحم کن بر بندگان خود اگر پیغمبر هستی رحم کن بر امت خود اگر پادشاه هستی رحم کن بر رعایان خود

He exclaimed: "I am neither God nor a prophet nor a king: I am a tyrant bent on tyrannising over you."

نه خدا ام نه پیغمبرم نه پادشاهم بلکه ظالم ظلم می کنم

If you are tyrants, if you are oppressors, have the courage to declare that you are tyrants and oppressors. Do not take shelter in the name of the Constitutions and constitutional propriety. If you are tyrants, appear as tyrants as you did in February and March, 1950, when your Government failed to protect the Muslims. There is another minority, namely, Sj. Jyoti Basu's party. That is also a victim, because his is the party that represents hungry millions who want food, that represents the naked who want cloth. You have guaranteed—freedom from hunger, freedom from illiteracy and freedom from disease. You have no food to supply. You have no cloth to cover the naked. You have no medical aid to come to the succour of the poor unfortunate diseased that obtain all over West Bengal, nay all over India. You have failed as an administration in the elementary conduct of human affairs. The cry for food, for cloth, for medical aid represent the elemental urge of the human mind. This like the laws of gravitation, conservation of energy and of the elemental forces of the universe envelops in its gigantic sweep all classes and communities in the State. It is time you cried halt to the policy hitherto pursued. You must revise your programme, you must readjust your position, you must try to go deeper and deeper into the realities of life; you must try to take stock of the entire situation in all its bearings, in all its implications, in all its significance, in all its repercussions upon the entire socio-economic structure of the country. You must face the problems. Never evade them. In the name of all that is sublime, in the name of poor millions, in the name of the future of the State, in the name of the future of India which we value so much, in the name of the Constitution I would urge upon this Government, this Ministry, to take up the entire position and try to improve the economic condition. If you want to drive out communism or any other cult, it is not by theoretical programmes, it is not by scheming and planning, it is not by this or that, it is not by confabulations and conferences but by actual drive, by a positive dynamic approach, by imagination that you can really tackle the problems of West Bengal and improve the economic position of the State. I would again implore through you, Sir, the Ministry of this State who sit over there to come to the rescue of the people, to stop this procurement muddle, to get the support of the people, gain the sympathy and co-operation of the people, take them into confidence, to read their feelings, study their grievances and then come to the real solution of the problem. Do not evade the issues. Face the issues like the great nations of the world, and you will be able to solve the problems. Otherwise, your doom will be hastened perhaps much quicker than you and I can imagine.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was hearing the Address on the 8th February delivered by His Excellency a feeling of disappointment began to creep in. It has been customary, Sir, on such occasion as the 8th February on the part of His Excellency the Governor of the State to enunciate the policy and programme which his Government is going to follow and pursue either for a long-term or a short-term. It is also customary on such occasions as this to tell the people as to how the

Government is going to solve the various problems that confront us in this State. It is true that His Excellency has touched upon some of the problems that confront this province. I say he has touched upon because he has not given any solution, neither has he shown or given any indication as to how his Government is going to act with a view to have these problems solved but I will not deal with the problems on which he has touched. I would only like to bring to your notice and through you, Sir, to the notice of this Assembly as also to the larger public outside, the grave fundamental problems which confront West Bengal or for the matter of that India also but to which he has made no reference at all. Judging his speech from that point of view I consider his speech to be a failure. I consider, Sir, that His Excellency has been ill-advised to deliver such a speech which does not deal with the fundamental problems with which we are confronted. One such problem, Sir, is the abolition of the zemindary system, the abolition of the rent-receiving interest in West Bengal. This problem is important for more than one reason. It is important for this reason that it is on the abolition of this zemindary system that the advent of the second revolution, the economic and social revolution depends. We have achieved only political freedom but what is the political freedom for the masses? Does it mean anything to them? Those who have got contact with the masses, those who have gone inside the villages, inside the factories and met them know what they want. They know what the masses are wanting today. Have they not heard the wailings coming out from the lacerated hearts of the toiling masses, wailings coming out from our people in the villages and in factories? After the Britishers have left, after the alien rule has gone, what have we got? Have not the prices of articles gone up, have not our sorrows multiplied, is not blackmarketing going on rampant, have not our civil liberties been curtailed? All these things are being asked by them. Therefore I am also asking what is the good of having political freedom which does not bring for us anything. It is therefore important from that point of view that this reform in the property relationship particularly with regard to the lands should be made so that the benefit may go to the peasants, to the toilers in the villages, the actual tillers of the soil. I would submit, Sir, that surely the Congress never envisaged such a political freedom throughout its whole career, particularly under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In Lahore in 1929 it only passed a resolution for attainment of independence but in the Karachi session they realized that such freedom, such independence would be nothing and therefore they passed a resolution for the fundamental rights of the people. Towards the end of 1947 or rather from the beginning of 1946 Mahatma Gandhi went even further and began to give shape to these fundamental rights by suggesting that our object in India is the attainment of Krishak-Mazdoor Raj. In the Jaipur session also Congress registered as its ideal the attainment of a classless democratic society. Therefore Congress has always envisaged two phases of the same revolution. One is the elimination of the foreign rule and the other is the social and economic revolution which would bring about a social order in which there will be no exploitation, in which the masses will get at least food, clothing and shelter, in which there will be no corruption and in which there will be no blackmarketing, and such was the second revolution that the Congress envisaged but actually we are not going near it. I say, Sir, that particularly in West Bengal there is a conspiracy going on with the Cabinet as the pivot for consolidating the counter-revolution in this State. This is a serious charge I make and I make it with the fullest responsibility. There is a serious conspiracy that is going on in West Bengal with the Cabinet as the centre to bolster up a counter-revolutionary force in the State so that they may come into power not merely by influencing the people but also by other ways. I shall now develop the point I made. What I want to say, is that, having utilised the masses for the attainment of

political freedom, and for elimination of alien rule and having come into power, it is a grave betrayal to stop the second revolution, to prevent the revolution from coming about and that betrayal I accuse the present rulers of.

The zamindary system is the legacy of the feudal days. It has outlived its utility everywhere. May be, at one time it had its utility. If I remember aright, in the 12th and 13th centuries in England the feudal lords acted as the bulwark of the kingdom. In our province also at one time the *barabhuyas*, the then zamindars, both Hindus and Muslims, acted as the bulwark for the preservation of the independence of this province against the greedy and lustful rulers of Delhi. But our present zamindars, taking the history of their origin into consideration, never played any such revolutionary role. Most of them were *lathials* of the East India Company: many of them were tax-gatherers but all of them were agents of the East India Company for the protection and further expansion of their interest. The present zamindars of Bengal have never had any utility. They have been a reactionary and anti-social force always and they have no right to exist now. But if they are existing today, what for is this reluctance on the part of the Bengal Ministry to introduce a Bill and take other steps for the elimination of this feudal system! That is because of the conspiracy to bolster up the counter-revolutionary force. There is now an alignment of capital and zamindary and vested interests in Bengal as against all the progressive forces. Recently that alignment not only in Bengal but throughout India is going to be strengthened by the reactionary princes. That is the whole picture before us. But we must not think that counter-revolution always comes through violence. It came in Russia through violence. Counter-revolution came in Ireland through the Ulster. Counter-revolution came in America as a fight between the North and the South. But it is not always necessary that counter-revolution must come through violence. It may also come very peacefully and through election also. That is the policy that has been adopted by the counter-revolutionary party throughout India and they have concentrated their activities on peaceful lines and they have found it to be a very congenial background in India because of the character, composition, activities, outlook and sentiment of the people and the climate of the land. We were told in 1949 that the zamindary system could not be eliminated even if the Ministers wanted it. Even we were told that the Ministers were anxious to do so, but it could not be done for that damned letter from the Government of India. We were told that that letter informed them that if Bengal wanted to eliminate the zamindary system Bengal would not get any monetary help from the Centre. We were told that there were legal difficulties in abolishing the zamindary system in West Bengal. But when we find today that other provinces have gone ahead, other States have gone ahead, the United Provinces have done it, even Bihar which is successfully competing in the art of blackmarketing has gone ahead, I do not know what prevents the West Bengal Government from taking steps towards elimination of this system. We were told that our financial position would deteriorate. May be so. We do not know what our financial position is.

Sir, in the Constitution of India there is a provision for compensation and if the Bengal Government thinks that it cannot pay compensation and abolish the zamindary system by paying compensation, Government ought to have said that such a clause should not have found place in the Constitution. I would also like to say that even the Constitution, as it now stands, does not in any way create any difficulty even from the financial point of view if the Bengal Government or the Bengal Cabinet wants to abolish the zamindary system. The relevant clause 31(*2*) says: "* * * unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies

the principle, on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given". So this subsequent sentence gives a long scope to take action and to spread over that compensation, it gives a long scope as to what that compensation should be, a long scope to determine the compensation in such a way that that compensation, if at all it is to be paid—personally I am against it—is within their financial means. So this clause gives the Ministry an opportunity to fix that compensation in such a way as would be within their financial means. So I find there is no argument on which the Cabinet can take its stand for not abolishing the zamindary system. Sir, it has not been done, and I am afraid it will not be done because in the present Cabinet there is a preponderance of the zamindary interests. It is really curious that the very Minister who is to abolish the zaminary system is himself representing a zamindary interest. The reluctance is therefore accountable and we have doubts that it will ever be done by the present Government at all. Yet if this thing is not done and the way for the coming in of the second revolution is altogether stopped, then it will be necessary for the people to take to other forms of action for bringing about the necessary changes in the social order as is contemplated in the second phase of the revolution. I think our Ministers and the Assembly members do realise what disastrous results there have now been. Because of this failure on the part of the Bengal Government to abolish the zamindary system, because of the failure on the part of many of the provinces in this direction, the international prestige of India has suffered. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru no longer holds the position in the eyes of Asia, particularly South-East Asia as Mao Tse Tung. Mao Tse Tung's government has——

Mr. SPEAKER: I am very sorry I cannot allow much more time. We have got to close the debate tomorrow and still we have got a large number of speakers. Will you please finish in two minutes?

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Are we going to sit after 7 o'clock?

Mr. SPEAKER: One day has been extended for the purpose of this debate and I find still several speakers who are to speak. Therefore, I am going to allow one or two speakers. They won't take much time.

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: As I was saying, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's India has suffered the prestige internationally and in Asia it is not India that is coming to the forefront, it is China that is coming to the forefront and in the national sphere we are heading towards a catastrophe, and masses, exasperated, suffering intensely, will take to direct action if these problems are not solved.

Janab MOLLA MOHAMMED ABDUL HALIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, শাসন ক্ষমতা এখন যাদের হাতে রয়েছে, আমরা জানি জীবনের প্রারম্ভে তারা কত ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন। অনেক অগ্নি পরীক্ষায় উত্তীর্ণ হয়েছেন এও আমরা জানি। এটাও দেখছি তাদেরই শাসনকালে যে অত্যাচার ও অনাচারের বন্যা বয়ে যাচ্ছে তা কখনও হয়নি। এটা হচ্ছে কেন আমরা বুঝতে পারি না। আমার মনে হয় সর্ষের ভিতরই ভূত ঢুকেছে। তাই দেশের অত্যাচার অনাচারের জন্য দায়ী রাম শ্যাম নয়—দায়ী তারা যারা উপর তলায় বসে নিজেদের লোহার বেড়াজালে ঘিরে শাসন চালাচ্ছে। আমরা ছেলেবেলায় পড়েছি পরের জন্য মরতে শেখা তার উপরে ধর্ম্ম নাই। কিন্তু এখন দেখছি তা অন্য রকম। আমার যদি ঘর-বাড়ী পোড়ে আপনারা এগিয়ে এসে যদি আগুন না নেবান তবে সমাজ-জীবন বিষময় হয়ে উঠবে। এই ছিল আগেকার রীতি। কিন্তু এখন এমন নীতি চলেছে যে যদি পরের ঘর পোড়ে তাহলে অট্টহাসি হাসতে হবে। আমার মনে হয় দেশের সাধারণ মানুষ এখনও ঠিক আছে। তাদের মনে এখনও বিষ যায়নি বটে কিন্তু বিভ্রান্ত নেতৃত্বের চাপে তারা গুমরে মরছে। তাদের অন্তর বিদ্রোহ করছে। কিন্তু তারা মুখ ফুটে কিছু বলতে পারছে না। এসময় আমাদের সব চেয়ে বেশী দরকার নির্লোভী নিস্বার্থ নেতৃত্ব—যদি আমরা তা না পাই তাহলে আমাদের ভবিষ্যৎ অন্ধকারময়।

আমার জেলা নদীয়ায় সম্প্রতি কয়েকটি গ্রামে নিরীহ মুসলমান চাষীর আবাদী জমির ফসল পাচ্ছিল না। অপরে জোর করে কেটে নিয়ে যাচ্ছিল। এই সব নিরীহ নিরক্ষর লোকেরা যারা আইনের মালিক তাদের দরজায় ধর্ণা দিয়েও কোন ফল পায়নি। তখন তারা নিজেদের মুখের গ্রাস রক্ষা করার জন্য মরিয়া হয়ে রুখে দাঁড়িয়েছিল। তার ফলে সঙ্ঘর্ষ হয়। নির্বিচারে পুলিশ আক্রমন করে, পুলিশের ভয়ে গ্রামের লোক দেশ ছেড়ে পালিয়ে যায়। আমি বলছি মোল্লাপাড় গ্রামের কথা। সেখানে অরক্ষিত অবস্থায় গ্রাম লুঠ হয় এবং গ্রাম শ্মশানে পরিণত হয়। সেই সময় সেই সঙ্কট মূহূর্ত্তে মহাত্মা গান্ধী সেখানে আসেন। তিনি অভয় দিয়ে বল্লেন, তোমরা নিরীহ লোক। তোমরা যদি সত্য কথা বল তাহলে তোমাদের জন্য প্রাণ দিতে প্রস্তুত আছি। এই আশ্বাসে তারা অকপটে সমস্ত কথা তাঁকে বলেন। সেই সত্যাগ্রহী মহাপুরুষের আপ্রাণ চেষ্টায় লোকের মনে সাহস ফিরে এসেছে। পুলিসের চেহারাটাও অনেকখানি বদলেছে। আমার মনে হয় যদি সত্যিকার নেতৃত্ব সাধারণ লোকে পায় তাহলে আবার তারা ঠিক পথে চলে আসবে। হরিপদবাবু তার ছোট বইয়ের মারফৎ বলেছেন—লোকের মন এখনও ঠিক আছে। অভাব নেতৃত্বের। আমরা যদি সাধারণ লোককে লেলিয়ে দিই তা ক্ষেপে উঠবেই এবং ক্ষেপে উঠে অত্যাচারের বন্যা বইয়ে দেয়। এবং অনেক জায়গায় তা হয়েছে। আমরা যদি তাদের বুঝিয়ে বলি তবে তাদের শান্ত করা যায় এবং শান্ত হয়ে বিষয়টা বুঝে। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর মন্ত্রশক্তি-বলে তাঁর আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে এখানে উভয় সম্প্রদায়ের লোকই নিজেদের শান্তি অনেকখানি ফিরে পেয়েছে।

Janab A. M. A. ZAMAN : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, বহুদিন পরে আমি আবার এসেম্ব্লীর কক্ষে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছি। আমার শরীরও ভাল ছিল না এবং বলবারও বিশেষ ইচ্ছে ছিল না। তবুও না বলে পারা গেল না। আমি অবশ্য বসেছি corner নিয়ে Opposition Benchএ। আমি যেখানেই বসি না কেন, আমি আমার জীবনে, আমার political lifeএ যা ভাল মনে করেছি আমি তাই পার্টিতে দ্বিধাহীন চিত্তে বলেছি। আজকে হলে এসে দেখ্‌লাম ঝড় হবার আগে যে একটা থমথমে ভাবের সূচনা হয়, তাই আরম্ভ হয়ে গেছে। কোরিয়ায় একটা ভীষণ যুদ্ধ চলছে। পশ্চিম বাংলায়ও যেন সেই আবহাওয়ার স্বষ্টি হয়েছে। একটী-মাত্র বক্তৃতার উপর হাউসে এই অবস্থা মাত্র আরম্ভ হয়েছে। বাজেট এখনও সামনে রয়েছে। কাজেই বোঝা যাচ্ছে এখানেও ঝড় আরম্ভ হবে। কিন্তু কয়েকটা কথা বলা দরকার।

আজকে আমাকে বলতে দেওয়ায় আমার প্রতি অন্যায় করা হয়েছে। আমি আমার বন্ধু শিবনাথ ব্যানার্জীর কাছে জানতে চাই—এই যে রিফিউজীদের নিয়ে সঙ্কট দেখা দিয়েছে, তাদের কি আশ্বাস দিয়ে আনা হয়েছিল? পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে যেসব বাস্তহারা চলে আসবে, তাদের থাকবার জন্য জায়গা-জমি দেওয়া হবে? কিন্তু সে প্রতিশ্রুতি রাখা হয় নাই এবং তারা দলে দলে আবার বানপুর হয়ে গালাগালি দিয়ে ফিরে চলে যাচ্ছে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে একটা কথা জানতে চাই তাঁরা কি তাদের ডেকে এনেছিলেন? তোমরা এসো, তোমাদের থাকতে দেব, জায়গা দেব? (VOICES FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: No. No.)

আমার ইষ্টবেঙ্গলে বাড়ী। আমি তাদের বাধা দিয়েছিলাম যাতে তারা ঘরবাড়ী ফেলে না আসে। এখানকার এজেণ্ট গিয়ে বলেছে—তোমরা যাওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে পাবে খাদ্য, কাপড়, জমাজমি, ইত্যাদি। আবার দরকার যদি হয় বাড়ীঘরও দখল করতে পারবে। তোমরা যেসব জিনিষপত্র বাড়ীঘর বিক্রী করে ছেড়ে চলে যাবে, তা তোমরা ওখান থেকে ইষ্টবেঙ্গলকে যুদ্ধ করে দখল করলে পর সব ফিরে পাবে। এই সব এজেণ্ট কি গভর্ণমেণ্টের? (VOICES FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: No. No.) আমিও একটা Political Party করতে পারি, বক্তৃতা দিতে পারি। কিন্তু আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে একটা কথা বলবো যে যদি তাঁরা সময়মত step নিতেন, enquiry করতেন, তাহলে আজ বাংলা দেশের এই অবস্থা দাঁড়াত না, লক্ষ লক্ষ লোকের এই দুরবস্থা আজ হত না। এর ফলে শুধু পাকিস্থান ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হয় নাই, ভারতেরও যথেষ্ট অনিষ্ট হয়েছে। আজ খাওয়ার কষ্টের দরুন লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক না খেতে পেয়ে মারা যাচ্ছে। পঞ্চাশ সালে যে মন্বন্তর হয়েছিল, তখনও বলা হয়েছিল, হেসে উড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছিল। তখন কোন দলের কোন লীডার বা এসেম্ব্লীর কোন মেম্বার না খেয়ে মরে নাই, মরেছিল দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ যাদের নিয়ে আমরা মিটিং করতাম। এবারও যে মন্বন্তর দেখা দিয়েছে, তা রোধ করবার কোন উপায় নাই। আজকের এই দুর্ভিক্ষের সময় একজন লীডারের মুখেও শুনলাম না যে ৩ মণের জায়গায় দেড় মণ আছে, আর বাকী দেড় মণের কি করে ব্যবস্থা করা হবে? গভর্ণমেণ্টও তার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারছেন না, এখান থেকেও বলা হয় নাই এই যে চালের দরকার তোমরা এইভাবে আন বা সংগ্রহ কর। মিটিং করে যদি publicকে এবিষয়ে বলা হ'ত, তাহলেও তারা বুঝতে পারতো। এতগুলো

Political Party এখানে রয়েছে, তারাও কিছু করছেন না। জমিদারীপ্রথা উঠিয়ে দেবার কথা হয়েছে। এখনও জমিদাররা বসে আছেন। এখানেও যার যা জমিদারী তাই নিয়ে বসে আছেন। আজ চাই যে যেভাবে রয়েছেন, সেইভাবে তিনি চেষ্টা করুন। বর্তমানে যে অবস্থা চলেছে, মুসলমান মাইনরিটীর যে অবস্থা হয়েছে, refugeeদের যে অবস্থা হয়েছে, এইসব সমস্যার সমাধান কি করে করা যায়? প্রকৃতই যদি আপনারা দেশের মঙ্গল চান, দেশের গরীবদের বাঁচাতে চান, তাহলে প্রত্যেক গরীব-দরদীদের একত্রে কাজ করা উচিৎ। এখানের একজন লীডারও মরে নাই। মরেছে কারা? গরীবরা। গরীবদের মুখে একটা ভাত দেবার জন্য যা করা উচিৎ ছিল, তা করা হয় নাই।

আজ যে খাদ্যাভাব হয়েছে, এর জন্য দায়ী সেই সব Political Party যারা এই রিফিউজিদের অন্য জায়গা থেকে আমদানী করে এখানে দলবদ্ধ বা সংঘবদ্ধ করে নিয়েছে নিজেদের প্রতিপত্তি বাড়াবার জন্য। একটা হুলুস্থুলু ব্যাপার, সব নষ্ট হয়ে গেল। যে আন্দোলন হয়েছিল, তা সাফল্যমণ্ডিত হয় নাই। কিন্তু সেই সব Political Partyগুলো রয়েছে যারা রিফিউজিদের নিয়ে নাচাবার চেষ্টা করেছিলেন। সেই সব লোক এখনও আছে তাঁরা যদি শস্য ফলাবার চেষ্টা করতেন, তাহলে এত তীব্রভাবে খাদ্যাভাব হত না। কাজেই আমি request করছি আপনাদের কাছে যে এর আগেও criticism করেছিলেন, লক্ষ লক্ষ লোকও না খেতে পেয়ে মরেছিল, বর্ত্তমানেও যদি শুধু criticism করেন, তাহলে ঐ পঞ্চাশ সালের অবস্থাই হবে। যাতে লোক আর সেই ভাবে অনাহারে না মরে তার আপনারা ব্যবস্থা করুন। আপনারা plan নিয়ে আসুন এবং বলুন যে এইভাবে চেষ্টা করলে মাইনরিটীদের রক্ষা করতে পারবো, রিফিউজি-সমস্যার সমাধান করতে পারবো, খাদ্য-সমস্যারও সমাধান করতে পারবো। সেই চেষ্টাই আমার মনে হয় সব চেয়ে আগে দরকার।

এই যে ২৪-পরগণায় food সংগ্রহ করতে গিয়ে যে ব্যাপার হল, এটা সত্যই খুব দুঃখের ব্যাপার। সেই food সংগ্রহের কি নীতি তা পাবলিকের জানা নেই। বৃটিশ আমলে, লীগ আমলে প্রতি ইউনিয়নে ইউনিয়নে একটা করে ফুড্-কমিটি ছিল। আমার মনে হয় বর্তমানে সেই ফুড্-কমিটিগুলো ভাঙ্গবার পথে চলেছে। কংগ্রেস থেকে সেসব withdraw করে নিয়েছেন, যে না, এসব ফুড্-কমিটী থাকতে পারে না। কংগ্রেসও জানাচেছন না পাবলিককে, গভর্ণমেণ্টও জানাচেছ না কেন তোমার ধান নিয়ে যাচেছ। পাবলিক ভাবছে আপনারা তাদের সর্ব্বনাশ করছেন। আজ ইষ্টবেঙ্গলের অবস্থা কি হয়েছে? সেখানেও ধান সংগ্রহ হচেছ। কই সেখানেত কোন গোলমাল হচেছ না? সেখানে প্রতি ইউনিয়নে ইউনিয়নে ফুড্-কমিটী রয়েছে। মাইনরিটী মেম্বারও সেখানে আছে। তারা সবাই মিলেমিশে যা বলছে, হ্যাঁ, এটা করা উচিত, গভর্ণমেণ্টও মিটিং করে তাদের সিদ্ধান্ত পাবলিককে জানিয়ে দিচেছন। তাই আমি বলছি প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে ইউনিয়নে যাতে ফুড্-কমিটী ভালভাবে চলে, মাইনরিটী ও other Political Partyর মেম্বার নিয়ে তা যেন করা হয় এবং পাবলিককে যেন ভালভাবে বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া হয়—কি তাদের নীতি, কি তাদের উদ্দেশ্য, তার ব্যবস্থা করুন। Publicকে বুঝিয়ে না দিলে কি করে হবে? কণ্ট্রোল উঠিয়ে দিলেও আপনাদের দায়িত্ব শেষ হয়ে যাবে না। অন্য দেশ থেকে ধান-চাল আনলেও সেও মস্ত বড় হিসেবের ব্যাপার। কাজেই আমি request করছি আপনাদের concrete suggestion কি? শ্রমিকদের অবস্থা আরও শোচনীয় হয়ে পড়ছে। শ্রমিকরা না বাঁচলে দেশও বাঁচবে না, সব কবরস্থানে পরিণত হবে। যাতে সকলে বাঁচে, তার ব্যবস্থা করুন।

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I adjourn the House I want to notify to the members that the time for sending amendments to the West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951, is extended till 11 a.m. on the 19th February, 1951. This debate will continue tomorrow and the House stands adjourned till 3-30 p.m. tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 7-26 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Thursday, the 15th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

পাছে এই আশঙ্কায় বহু পরিমাণ খাদ্য নষ্ট করে দেওয়া হয়। সুতরাং ১৯৪৩ সালের অবস্থার সঙ্গে আজকের তুলনা দেওয়া চলে না, এ তুলনা দেওয়া নিরর্থক। আমাদের দেশে উপর্য্যুপরি কয়েক বৎসর শস্য ভালই হয়েছে, এ বৎসর কিছু কম হয়েছে বটে; দেশের এখন স্বাভাবিক অবস্থা। যুদ্ধ বহু দিন শেষ হয়েছে, সরকারী মতে শতকরা দশ ভাগের বেশী খাদ্যের অভাব নাই; সেরকম অভাব চিরকালই আছে; তবুও কি control থাকবে? আর কত কাল থাকবে? সুতরাং সমস্ত বিষয় বিবেচনা করে কথা বলা উচিত, কেবল ১৯৪৩ সালের দুর্ভিক্ষের দোহাই দিলেই হবে না। মাত্র দশ পার সেণ্ট খাদ্যশস্য কম থাকার জন্য control রাখা হয়েছে না মন্ত্রীদের হাতে ক্ষমতা অটুট রাখবার জন্য এবং আগামী নির্বাচনে জনসাধারণকে control করবার জন্য এই control প্রথা চালু রাখবার ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছে? Controlএর জন্যই আজ দেশে দারুণ অশান্তি ও সর্ব্বপ্রকার দুর্নীতি দেখা দিয়েছে। এই control রাখার ফলেই জনসাধারণ কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠানের উপর তার আস্থা হারিয়েছে, তারা কংগ্রেসের লোকদের ধাপ্পাবাজ, সুবিধাবাদী বলে গালাগালি দিচ্ছে। এই control প্রথা চালু রাখার ফলে আজ দেশের প্রায় অধিকাংশ লোকের দুঃখ-দুর্দশার সীমা নেই। এই control থাকার জন্য মন্ত্রীদলের সমর্থনকারী কতকগুলি কংগ্রেসী দালালদের খুব সুযোগ-সুবিধার বন্দোবস্ত করে দেওয়া হয়েছে। এই control প্রথা তুললে পরে জনসাধারণ সরকারের প্রতি এতটা বিরোধীভাবাপন্ন হত না এবং দেশের মধ্যে এত অনৈক্য ও অশান্তিরও সৃষ্টি হত না। অন্নবস্ত্রের মত নিত্য-প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিষ control করে সরকার নিজের হাতে রাখায় লোককে অত্যন্ত কষ্ট দেওয়া হচ্ছে এবং জনসাধারণ নির্বিচারে এই কষ্ট সহ্য করতে বাধ্য হচ্ছে। Control তুলে দিলে দেশে স্বাভাবিকভাবে ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য চলতে পারে, আর তার ফলে জিনিষপত্রের দামও সস্তা হয়, প্রতিযোগিতা থাকায় মুনফাখোরী বন্ধ হয়, ব্যবসায়ীরাও ধান-চাল, কাপড় বিক্রি করে দু' পয়সা রোজগার করতে পারে; কিন্তু তার পথও আজ বন্ধ হয়ে গিয়েছে। সবদিক থেকে জনসাধারণ অত্যন্ত জর্জরিত ও নিষ্পিষ্ট হচ্ছে। জিনিষ control করা হচ্ছে অথচ উৎপাদন বাড়ানর কোন ব্যবস্থা করা হচ্ছে না। Distribution control করা হচ্ছে, কিন্তু মূল্যটা control করা হচ্ছে না। ধান-চাল বিক্রয়ের লাভ বাদে আরও প্রায় চার কোটী টাকা Civil Supplyএর দরুন খরচ হয়। দেশের লোককে খাওয়াবার অজুহাতে এই মহাপাপ দেশের উপর চাপিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

তারপর আর একটা কথা, কেউ কেউ চারুবাবুকে বলেছেন আপনিও ত এক সময় Civil Supplyএ ছিলেন, সেই সময় control তোলেননি কেন? আমি তাঁদের জানাতে চাই যে, সেই সময় এটা তুলে দেবার চেষ্টা হয়েছিল, এবং India Governmentএর সঙ্গে চিঠিপত্র লিখে ঠিক হয়েছিল যে ১৯৪৮ সালের ডিসেম্বর মাসের মধ্যে control তুলে দেওয়া হবে। এবং তার মধ্যে কাপড়, চিনি, লোহা ইত্যাদি জিনিষের উপর হতে control তুলে দেবার ব্যবস্থা হচ্ছিল। চিনির control তুলেও দেওয়া হয়েছিল। কাপড়ের control সম্বন্ধে এইরূপ স্থির হয়েছিল যে, যদি সমগ্র ভারতবর্ষে control তোলা সম্ভব নাও হয়, তথাপি পশ্চিম বাংলায় তোলা হবে। পরে, শুধু পশ্চিম বাংলায় নয়, ভারতবর্ষের বিভিন্ন রাজ্যেও কাপড়ের control তুলে দেওয়া হয়েছিল। তবে শুধু control তুলে দিলেই সমস্যার সমাধান হবে না, ব্যবসাক্ষেত্রে শিল্পপতি ও পুঁজীপতিদের সম্পূর্ণ সহযোগিতা চাই; কিন্তু তা তাঁরা করেননি। সেজন্য সরকারের বিশেষ অবহিত হওয়া প্রয়োজন।

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

SJ. KANAI LAL DE: Only two minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will not be able to give more time today.

SJ. KANAI LAL DE: Only two minutes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please finish within two minutes.

SJ. KANAI LAL DE: সরকারপক্ষ-সমর্থন করে যে সদস্য মহাশয় ধানের দর ৭॥০ টাকা দেওয়া ঠিকই হয়েছে বলেছেন, তাঁকে চাষের খরচ ও জমির উৎপন্ন ধান্যের পরিমাণ কত এই হিসাব সঠিকভাবে দেখতে অনুরোধ করি। তাঁরাও যেমন দেশের মঙ্গল চান ও দেশের প্রতি দরদী, বিরোধী দলের সভ্যরাও সেই পরিমাণ দেশের প্রতি দরদী। তাঁদের চেয়ে এরা কম দরদী এটা মনে করা খুব অন্যায় ও ভুল। যে সদস্য ধানের ন্যায্য দর ৭॥০ টাকা এই কথা বলেছেন তিনি তার নিজের মনের কথা বলেননি, তিনি সরকারের শেখান কথা

বলেছেন? তার কারণ, তিনি বাইরে একরকম কথা বলেন আর এখানে আর একরকম বলেন। তিনি এখানে জোর দিয়ে বলেছেন যে বর্ত্তমানে ৭।।০ টাকাই ধানের ন্যায্য মূল্য, আর তা বাড়াবার প্রয়োজন নেই। কিন্তু তিনি যদি দরিদ্র চাষী জনসাধারণের সঙ্গে গিয়ে এই কথা বলতে পারতেন তাহলে তাঁর সৎসাহস আছে বুঝা যেত। মুখে খালি চাষী ও কৃষীদরদী বলে পরিচয় দিলেই চলবে না, কাজে দেখাতে হবে। বর্ত্তমানে যে control প্রথা রয়েছে তা তুলে দেবার জন্য অবিলম্বে চেষ্টা করা উচিত। যদি control প্রথা একান্ত রাখতেই হয় তাহলে যাতে চাষীরা তাদের উৎপন্ন ফসলের ন্যায্য মূল্য পায় তার ব্যবস্থা করুন। যাতে এ বিষয়টা সহানুভূতি ও আন্তরিকতার সঙ্গে বিবেচনা করা যেতে পারে তার জন্য এবিষয়ে ভারপ্রাপ্ত মন্ত্রীর চিন্তা করা উচিত। গরীবের জিনিষ অল্প মূল্যে কেড়ে নেওয়ায়, সরকারের কোন ন্যায়সঙ্গত অধিকার আছে কি? বহু ক্ষেত্রেই fundamental rights বজায় রাখবার জন্য সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে হাইকোর্টে মামলা করতে হয়েছে।

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, some of my friends sitting on the opposite benches have brought up the question of the protection of minorities in our State. One honourable member has brought up the question of appointments of Muslims in public services and has referred to the feeling amongst the Muslims that they are discriminated against.

Sir, it is too late in the day now to talk of special favours being given to Muslims for having a different religious persuasion. I would want my friends on the opposite side to remember what has happened in our country during the last 20 years. Separate communal electorates, reservation of seats and reservation in the services have done incalculable harm in the evolution of one common nation in our country. Deep and vital principles are involved for which some of us have agreed to differ all our lives. We are not going to give up those principles at anybody's bidding or under any threat. We have built up the noble structure of a free India on the basis of those principles and we are going to stand by them. If some of my friends still harbour in their minds the old ideas of communalism and bigotry, if they want to fight secular nationalism, then, I am afraid, we are in for one more struggle.

Sir, the Muslims in West Bengal must learn to think that they are Indians first and last. The fundamental rights are guaranteed in the Constitution. (Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Is it not too late in the day to have this sermon?) It is for us to bring into practice those fundamental rights. I hope none of my friends on the other side will say that our High Courts and Supreme Court are not doing what they should do with regard to the protection of these fundamental rights. I am one of those who believe that the great Muslim community in India is not inferior in any way and that they require no spoon-feeding. You will naturally counter with the argument that in the free field of competition Muslims stand nowhere. This is correct to a certain extent and to my mind it is due to the fact that special privileges were encouraged during the British régime to certain classes of people with the result that these privileged people never exerted themselves. In the India of today, all of us have to come out on the common platform of being nationals of this great country and take our rightful places. I can see the fear complex in the minds of some of our honourable friends opposite, but I ascribe it to the fact that they were elected at a time and under circumstances which were very different from what they are today. I feel that with joint electorates and no reservation of seats, some of my friends opposite would not be here. They suffer from the old fear complex and this fear complex leads them on to imagine many grievances which do not really exist. I would beseech them to come out in the day-light, see the facts in the face and remodel their lives in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the present time. I personally have no inferiority complex. I for one do not feel that in the

field of competition the Muslims, as such, will not be able to hold their own, because I am very sure that this great community has always been able to compete with others and hold their own under very adverse circumstances. The difficulties they are feeling at the present time is due to past bad leadership and, I am sure, if the Muslims agree to work in collaboration with other communities and fight for their just rights which are guaranteed to them in the Constitution, they will get all that they desire. But for that, correct ideology is wanted. A mind clouded by communalism cannot see things in their proper perspective and that is the reason why we still hear of special privileges for particular groups of people.

Some honourable members on the opposite side have detailed the difficulties of the Muslims in West Bengal. I do not deny that such difficulties exist. But these difficulties are there to be overcome. Out of 11 lakhs of people who had migrated to Eastern Pakistan, about 7½ lakhs have already returned to this State and a large number have been rehabilitated. The good effect of the Delhi Pact is becoming increasingly apparent. When you see this problem in relation to the 11 lakhs of East Bengal Hindus, whom it is still our duty to rehabilitate in West Bengal, you will realise that the problem is not so easy. I do not want to go into the reasons why all these difficulties are there, but I can assure my friends that everything is being done to put things in the normal condition as quickly as possible. A foreign journalist remarked to me a few days ago that he knew of no other country in the world where rehabilitation of displaced persons and of returning migrants have taken place on such a large scale and going by world standards we have been able to do things in a way for which we need not be at all ashamed.

Sir, a word now about co-operation in our State. I realise that the Co-operative Department has been cinderella in our State but a new experiment has been started in this State for linking agricultural credit with agricultural production and marketing. In 1950-51 six co-operative societies, 2 in Midnapore and 1 each in Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan and 24-Parganas districts have been organised for the purpose. Crop loan within their jurisdiction will be distributed through these six societies and these societies will also get improved seed, manure and agricultural implements from the Agriculture Department. In return, these societies will sell their surplus production to Government at the Government procurement price so long as procurement operation by Government continues.

Besides the above, there are two Government farming societies, one at Phatapukuri in Jalpaiguri district and the other at Saddya in Burdwan district.

The intention of Government in starting six experimental societies mentioned before is that if on a complete year's work it is found that these six societies have worked successfully, more such societies would be started in future and ultimately the entire State would be covered by a net-work of such societies.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়, অধিবেশনের আরম্ভে রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় যে উদ্বোধনী বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন, তাকে শুধু যে আমরা সমর্থন করতে পাচ্ছি না তাই নয়, আমরা মনে করি উহা সম্পূর্ণ অবাস্তব। অনেক বিষয়ের অবতারণা ঐ অভিভাষণে করা হয়েছে। সময় অত্যন্ত সংক্ষেপ, সেইজন্য কয়েকটি বিষয়ে মাত্র আমি আপনার কাছে নিবেদন করব। আর আমি আপনার কাছে এই অনুগ্রহ চাই যে যদি সময় একটু বেশী লাগে—যথাসম্ভব সংক্ষেপে বলছি, তবুও একটু সময় আমাকে দিতে হবে।

আমি প্রথমেই বলতে চাই উদ্বাস্তুদের কথা। রাজ্যপাল মহাশয়, তাঁর উদ্বোধনী বক্তৃতায় বলেছেন ১৯৪৮ সাল থেকে আরম্ভ করে এ পর্যন্ত ১৪ কোটি টাকা এখানকার উদ্বাস্তুদের জন্য খরচ করা হয়েছে। এর আগের

অধিবেশনে তিনি যে অভিভাষণ দিয়েছিলেন ২৫শে September, তাতে তিনি বলেছেন ১৯৫০এর June মাস পর্য্যন্ত ছয় কোটি টাকা খরচ করা হয়েছে। তারপর যেসব chart আমাদের কাছে দেওয়া হয়েছে তার সঙ্গে মিলিয়ে যদি এই ছয় কোটি টাকা ১৯৫০এর June পর্য্যন্ত ধরা হয় তাহলে June to September পর্য্যন্ত মাত্র ৮৭ লক্ষ টাকা খরচের হিসাব পাওয়া যায়।

দ্বিতীয় কথা, গত কাল পার্লামেন্টে মাননীয় অজিত প্রসাদ জৈন বলেছেন যে পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে ৪৯ লক্ষ লোক চলে এসেছে। আমরা শুনেছি ৩৫ লক্ষ। বাকি ১৪ লক্ষ কোথায় গিয়েছে বা তাদের কি হয়েছে, Government অনুগ্রহ করে আমাদের জানাবেন। তারপর ভারত সরকারের তরফ থেকে ৮৪ কোটি টাকা খরচ হয়েছে উদ্বাস্তুদের জন্য। তার মধ্যে যদি মাত্র ১৪ কোটি টাকা এই পশ্চিমবঙ্গের জন্য খরচ করে আমরা আত্মসন্তুষ্টি লাভ করতে চাই, তবে সেটা কি ধরণের আত্মসন্তুষ্টি? যদি ৭০ কোটি টাকা প্রায় ৫০ লক্ষ পশ্চিম পাকিস্থান থেকে আগত উদ্বাস্তুদের জন্য খরচ হয়ে থাকে তবে বাংলা দেশের ৪৯ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তুর জন্য মাত্র ১৪ কোটি টাকা খরচ করে কি কেউ আত্মসন্তুষ্টি লাভ করতে পারে? এই ১৪ কোটি টাকার যদি হিসাব করা যায় তাহলে মাথা পিছু ১২৫৲ টাকা দাঁড়ায়। তাছাড়া এর মধ্যে কর্ম্মচারীর বেতন, যাতায়াত খরচ তারপর truck এবং jeep প্রভৃতির দাম ও খরচ এবং কর্ম্মচারীদের মধ্যে যাদের prosecution করা হচ্ছে তাঁরা যত টাকা আত্মসাৎ করেছেন, সে বাবদ যত টাকা এবং ভবিষ্যতে আরো যা হবে তা যদি বাদ দেওয়া যায় তাহলে এক একজন উদ্বাস্তুর জন্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গে যে টাকা খরচ হয়েছে সেটা মাথা পিছু ১২৫৲ টাকারও কম পড়বে। এই অবস্থায় রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় আত্মসন্তুষ্টি লাভ করতে পারেন কিন্তু আমরা পারি না। তারপর আমরা যে অবস্থায় দুই বাংলার সৃষ্টি করতে বাধ্য হয়েছিলাম তা যখন ভাবি তখন আমাদের দায়িত্ব আরো গুরুতর হয়ে পড়ে। ১৯৪৬ সালের August মাস থেকে ১৯৪৭ সাল পর্য্যন্ত যখন মুসলিম লীগের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠতার চাপে পশ্চিমবাংলার হিন্দু অধিবাসীরা ত্রাহি ত্রাহি করে উঠেছিল এবং শুধু পশ্চিমবঙ্গে নয় উভয় বঙ্গের লোকই যদি বাংলা বিভাগের সিদ্ধান্ত না করতো তাহলে এই পশ্চিমবাংলা রাজ্যের উৎপত্তি হত কিনা সন্দেহ। তখন আমরা এখানকার কেউ কেউ গিয়েছিলাম পূর্ববঙ্গের হিন্দুদের কাছে এবং তাদের বলা হয়েছিল যদি বাংলাকে ভাগ করা যায় তাহলে পূর্ববঙ্গের হিন্দুরা পশ্চিমবঙ্গে একটা home land পাবে। যদি পূর্ববঙ্গে থাকা সম্ভব না হয়, সেখানে যদি বাস বজায় রাখা না যায় তবে ধর্ম্ম, শিক্ষা ও কৃষ্টি রক্ষা করবার জন্য একটা স্থান পশ্চিমবঙ্গে পাওয়া যাবে। যে বাঙ্গালী ১৯০৫ সালে তার বুকের রক্ত দিয়ে বঙ্গ বিচ্ছেদ রদ করেছিল সেই বাঙ্গালী স্বতন্ত্র পশ্চিমবঙ্গের অস্তিত্ব মেনে নিয়ে নিজেদের দেশকে ভাগ করতে সম্মতি দিয়েছে। এবং আজ তারাই গৃহহারা হয়ে ধনসম্পত্তি রিক্ত হয়ে পুত্রকন্যাসহ সাত পুরুষের ভিটে ছেড়ে দিয়ে যখন পশ্চিমবঙ্গে এসেছেন তখন আমরা মনে মনে আত্ম-সন্তুষ্টি লাভ করছি যে আমরা তাদের জন্য ১৪ কোটি টাকা খরচ করেছি। আমাদের এখানে ৩৫ লক্ষ লোক এসেছে তার মধ্যে চার বৎসরে ১২ লক্ষ লোকের পুনর্বসতি করা হয়েছে এবং ১২ লক্ষ লোক তাদের দেশে ফিরে গিয়েছে। তারা সানন্দে ফিরে গিয়েছে না আমাদের অভিসম্পাত দিতে দিতে ফিরে গিয়েছে জানি না। কিন্তু চার বৎসর পরে, এই নিয়ে আপনাদের আত্মসন্তুষ্টির কোন প্রশ্নই উঠতে পারে না। এখন দেখি যে ১১ লক্ষ লোকের পুনর্বাসনের ব্যবস্থা এখনও বাকি রয়ে গিয়েছে। আমরা আগে বলেছি যে এখানে এসে তাঁরা বাস করতে পারবেন, কিন্তু আজ আমরা হিসাব করে বলছি যে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ অত্যন্ত জনবহুল। আর বাইরের লোকের এখানে স্থান সঙ্কুলান হতে পারবে না। যোগেশ গুপ্ত মহাশয় বলেছেন প্রায় দুই লক্ষ লোক মাত্র এসে এই রাজ্যে বাস করতে পারে। কয়েকটা সংখ্যা দেখিয়ে এর প্রতিবাদ করছি। রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় পশ্চিমবঙ্গে ২৩ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তুর পুনর্ব্বসতির কথা বলেছেন, তাঁর প্রদত্ত সংখ্যা সম্পর্কে কোন প্রশ্ন না করে এই কথা বলি যে ২৩ লক্ষ লোকের পুনর্ব্বসতি এখানে অনায়াসে হতে পারতো এবং এখনও হতে পারে। যে অঙ্ক দেখিয়ে রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় বলেছেন এবং তার সরকার পশ্চিমবঙ্গ ঘনবসতিপূর্ণ বলে বাংলার বাইরে উদ্বাস্তুদের ঠেলে দিচ্ছেন, সেই সংখ্যা উল্লেখ করেই বলতে চাই যে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ ঘনবসতিপূর্ণ নয়, এবং বাঙ্গালীকে বাংলার আকাশ, বাতাস, ফল, ফুল থেকে বঞ্চিত করে মাদ্রাজে পাঠান অপরিহার্য্য নয়। ১৯৪১ সালের লোকগণনার হিসাবে দেখা যায় এখানকার লোক সংখ্যা ২ কোটি ১১ লক্ষ ৯৬ হাজার; আয়তন ২৮ হাজার ২ শত ১৫ বর্গ মাইল, অর্থাৎ প্রতি বর্গ মাইলে বসতি ৭৫১। অপর দিকে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের লোকসংখ্যা ৩ কোটি ৯১ লক্ষ, আয়তন ৪৯ হাজার ২ শত ৩৪ বর্গ মাইল অর্থাৎ সেখানে প্রতি বর্গ মাইলে লোক বসতি হচ্ছে প্রায় ৮০০। সুতরাং বিভক্ত বাংলার লোক বসতির হিসাব ধরলে বলতে হয় পূর্ব্ববঙ্গই ঘনবসতিপূর্ণ, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ নয়। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের তুলনায় পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ নদীবহুল। অবশ্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গে নদী কম থাকলেও বন আছে বেশী এবং এই নদী ও বনের হিসাব ধরলেও এই

কথা নিঃসন্দেহে বলা চলে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের গ্রামগুলি পূর্ববঙ্গের তুলনায় বিরল বসতি। তারপর পশ্চিমবঙ্গের কলকাতা সহরের লোকসংখ্যাকে এই রাজ্যের লোকসংখ্যার সঙ্গে জড়াবার ফলে গড় হিসাবে মস্ত বড় একটা ফাঁক রয়ে গিয়েছে। কলিকাতার ৩৫ লক্ষ বর্গ মাইলে ২১ লক্ষ লোকের বাস। বর্ত্তমানে নাকি ঐ সংখ্যা বেড়ে ৫০ লক্ষে পৌঁচেছে। এই বর্দ্ধিত সংখ্যা ছেড়ে দিয়েও যদি পূর্ব্বের ঐ ২১ লক্ষই বাদ দেওয়া যায় তবে দেখা যাবে যে পল্লী বঙ্গের লোক বসতি পশ্চিমবঙ্গে মাত্র ৬৮৪ জন।

এ প্রসঙ্গে পূর্ববঙ্গের কয়েকটি জেলার বর্গ মাইল প্রতি, লোক বসতির সঙ্গে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের লোক বসতির তুলনা করলে আমার বক্তব্য আরও স্পষ্ট হবে। এবং দেশে কোথায় কত লোক বসানো যেতে পারে তারও একটা ধারণা পাওয়া যাবে। আয়তনের দিক দিয়ে ঢাকা ও বর্দ্ধমান জেলা প্রায় সমান। নোয়াখালি ও বীরভূম জেলা, বরিশাল ও ২৪-পরগণা, চট্টগ্রাম ও বাঁকুড়া এবং মেদিনীপুর ও ময়মনসিং জেলা প্রায় সমান সমান। কিন্তু লোক বসতির দিক দিয়ে তুলনা করলে দেখা যায় পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ঐ সকল জেলায় পূর্ববঙ্গের তুলনায় অল্পাধিক অর্দ্ধেক লোক মাত্র বাস করে। ঢাকা জেলায় প্রতি বর্গ মাইলে যেখানে ১,৫৪২ জন লোক বাস করে সেখানে বর্দ্ধমানে বাস করে ৭০০ জন। নোয়াখালিতে যে স্থানে বাস করে ১,৩৩৭, বীরভূমে সেস্থলে আছে ৬০১ জন। চট্টগ্রামে যেস্থলে ৮৩৮ জন, বাঁকুড়ায় আছে সেস্থলে ৪৮৭ জন। ময়মনসিংহে যেস্থলে ৯৭৮, মেদিনীপুরে সেস্থলে ৬০৪। ফরিদপুরে যেস্থলে ১,০২৪ জন, মালদহে সেস্থলে বাস করে ৬১৬ জন। বস্তুতঃপক্ষে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের শুধু হাওড়া ও হুগলী জেলাকে বাদ দিয়ে আর সর্ব্বত্রই উদ্বাস্তদের ঠাঁই দিবার মত জায়গা আছে এবং সুপরিকল্পিত উপায়ে তাদের পুনর্বসতির ব্যবস্থা করতে চাইলে সমগ্র পশ্চিমবঙ্গে হাওড়া, হুগলী ও কলিকাতা বাদে প্রতি বর্গ মাইলে আরও ৭৫ জন হিসাবে অর্থাৎ গড়ে ১৫টি পরিবারকে বসাবার ব্যবস্থা করলেও পশ্চিমবঙ্গের density পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের তুলনায় কমই থেকে যাবে।

পতিত জমির হিসাবের দিক দিয়ে দেখতে গেলেও দেখা যাবে যে এই ১৯$\frac{১}{২}$ লক্ষ লোকের অনুসংস্থানের অসুবিধাতো হতই না অধিকন্তু রাজ্যের সম্পদ বৃদ্ধির কাজে পরম সহায়কই তারা হতে পারতো। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে ১৪ লক্ষ ১৫ হাজার একর পতিত জমি আছে। এই ১৯৷৷ লক্ষ লোক বা ৪ লক্ষ পরিবারের মধ্যে ঐ ১৪ লক্ষ একর জমি ভাগ করে দিলে গড়ে প্রতি পরিবার ৩৷৷ একর করে জমি পেত। পাঁচ জনের একটি পরিবারের গ্রাসাচ্ছাদনের পক্ষে ঐ পরিমাণ জমি আজকের অবস্থায় যথেষ্ট। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্য আমাদের। রাজ্যপালের বা রাজ্যপালের মন্ত্রিদের দৃষ্টি, চিন্তা বা প্রচেষ্টা ওর কাছে দিয়েও ঘেঁষেনি। শুধু লাল ফিতার চক্রব্যূহে, অঙ্ক ও হিসাবের জটিল জালে এবং reporting ও notingএর অতল সমুদ্রেই তাবা এযাবৎ ডুবে রইলেন আর তারই পটভূমিতে ক্ষণে ক্ষণে আত্মসন্তুষ্টির বাগবিভূতি বিস্তার করে ঘরছাড়া সর্বহারা হতভাগ্যদের লাঞ্ছনা, অপমান ও অত্যাচারের মধ্য দিয়ে তিলে তিলে মৃত্যুর পথে ঠেলে দিয়ে বা ভিক্ষুকের বেশে আবাব পূর্ব্ববাংলায় ফেরত পাঠাবার ব্যবস্থা করে চুক্তির মহিমা কীর্ত্তনে মগ্ন রইলেন। অত্যন্ত বেদনা ও দুঃখের সঙ্গেই তাই আমাকে আজ বলতে হচ্ছে এ সরকার, এ কংগ্রেস, আজ ধনিক ঐ জমিদারদেরই কুক্ষিগত হয়েছে। নিরন্ন ও হতভাগ্য লক্ষ লক্ষ লোকের সুখ-সুবিধাকে দিনের পর দিন তাচ্ছিল্যভাবে উপেক্ষা করে চলেছে। তা চলেছে বলেই রাজ্যপালের সমগ্র উদ্বোধনী বক্তৃতায় তার সরকারের credit sideএ উদ্বাস্তদের জন্য ৪ বছরে ১৪ কোটি টাকা ব্যয় করার ব্যাপারটাকে খুব ফলাও করে দেখানো হয়েছে কিন্তু আসলে ওই অঙ্কটি bankrupt bankএর হিসাবের কারসাজি ব্যতীত আর কিছুই নয়।

আর একটা বিষয়ে বলেই আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করতে চাই। সেটা হচ্ছে খাদ্য ব্যবস্থা। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার ঠিক করেছিল যে ভারতবর্ষ ১৯৫১ সালের মধ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ হবে—শুধু খাদ্যে নয় পাট ও তুলা এই তিন বিষয়েই স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ হতে চেষ্টা করা হবে। খাদ্য সমস্যা সম্বন্ধে পূর্ব্বেই বলেছি। আমরা যেন এক গোলকধাঁধার পড়েছি। ধানের জমিতে পাট তৈরী করে যাই ডলার উপার্জন করবার জন্য। এবং বিদেশ থেকে দু'গুণ তিন গুণ চড়া দামে খাদ্যশস্য কিনি। এবং ঐ চড়া দামে গম যা কিনি তাও আমরা খেতে অভ্যস্ত নই। শুধু তা নয় ঐ জিনিষ আনবার জন্য freight দরকার। সেজন্য ৬ কোটী ৮ কোটী টাকা খরচ করে জাহাজ কিনতে হচ্ছে তারপর আবার আজকাল চারিদিকে লড়াইয়ের দামামা বেজে উঠেছে। কাজেই সেই জাহাজ ঠিকমত আসবে কিন

সেটাও চিন্তার বিষয়। তারপর পাটের জমিতে ধান ফলাতে গিয়ে আমরা যে কাজ করি ২০শে জানুয়ারীর Commerce Paperএ তার একটা নমুনা আছে—

CULTIVATION OF JUTE AND "MESTA"—NEED FOR AVOIDING MISTAKES URGED.

"Mr. Sircar, a former Fibre Development Officer to the Government of India, says: In Bengal the authorities asked the State Government to put 200,000 acres under *mesta* on land meant for *aus* paddy. As is generally known, *aus* paddy lands in Bengal are low-lying lands. *Mesta* is a high land crop and cannot stand water-logging. It is therefore surprising that the authorities failed to get correct advice in the matter from those who by virtue of their practical knowledge and experience of the subject in the different Indian States in the past could give. The result was that not only the seeds failed to germinate, in fact, these did rot in the low-lying water-logged *aus* paddy fields but that the State of Bengal had to lose considerable amounts of money in its cultivation which resulted in nothing but loss of some 2,000,000 maunds of paddy at 10 maunds production at the minimum per acre."

এটা বলেছেন Mr. Sircar, Fibre Development Officer, Government of India.

কোনটাই আমরা করতে পাবিনা আমাদের ক্ষমতায় কুলায় না। তারপর পাটের জমিতে ধানের চাষ করতে গিয়ে দেশের যে পরিণতি হয় তা সহজে অনুমান করতে পারি না। তারপর procurement সম্বন্ধে এখানে অনেকেই অনেক কথা বলেছেন আমি বিশেষ কিছু বলতে চাই না। শুধু বলতে চাই procurement করে খাদ্য সমস্যা সমাধান করতে হলে একতাবদ্ধ হওয়া দরকার। যারা কৃষক, যারা খাদ্য উৎপাদন করে তাদের মনে উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করতে না পারেন তাহলে কিছুতেই grow more food—বেশি খাদ্য উৎপাদন আমাদের দেশে হতে পারে না। আমি প্রশ্ন করে তর্কের মধ্যে যেতে চাই না। শুধু জিজ্ঞাসা করি যাবা খাদ্য উৎপাদন কবে তারা কি সন্তুষ্ট? খাদ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয়, যিনি ৩০ বছর ধরে দেশের নাড়ীর সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ রেখে কাজ করে এসেছেন তিনি স্বয়ং গেলেও গ্রামেব লোক আজ পালিয়ে যায়। ধান চাল তারা procurement officerএর হাতে তুলে দেয় না। তিনি অনুসন্ধান কবে দেখতে পারেন। আর একটা কথা বলে আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করতে চাই। Corruption সম্বন্ধে নানা কথা শুনা যায়। আমি সে বিষয়ে অন্য কিছু না বলে একটা বিষয়ে কেবল বলবো। সেটা হচেছ যে প্রতিষ্ঠান আমাদের জাতীয় ভবিষ্যৎ বংশধরদের গড়ে তোলবার জন্য, সেই প্রতিষ্ঠান, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, তার কলঙ্কেব কথা আজ কোথাও অবিদিত নাই। সেই কলঙ্কের কথা যখন প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয় সরকার তরফ থেকে একটা enquiry committee বসানো হয়েছিল।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : না Chancellorএর তরফ থেকে।

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY : যাই হোক Governorই Chancellor এবং তাঁর বক্তৃতাই এখানে সমালোচনা হচেছ। এই কমিশনের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল যাতে এ ধরণের corruption পুনরায় না ঘটে। বি, এল্, মিত্র মহাশয় যে report দিয়েছেন—কাকে বাঁচাবার জন্য জানি না—কার জন্য তা গোপন রাখা হয়েছে? কেন গোপনে ঐ রিপোর্ট ইউনিভারসিটি প্রেসে ছাপিয়ে Governorএর প্রেসে ছাপান হয়? এইরকম করার ফলে যেসব উচচপদস্থ কর্ম্মচারীর শাস্তি হওয়া উচিৎ তাদের expel না করায় সেই সব গলদ তলায় তলায় আবার গজিয়ে উঠছে। আজ আমি জানিয়ে রাখছি তিন-চার দিনের মধ্যে জানতে পারবেন—আরো কত রকম গলদ এই প্রতিষ্ঠানের মধ্যে আছে।

তাই এইসব কলঙ্ককর ব্যাপার, corruptionএর প্রতিকার যদি না হয় তবে দেশের মধ্যে যে অসন্তোষ চারিদিকে জমে উঠছে তার প্রতিকার যদি সময়মত না করতে পারা যায়, তাহলে দেশে যে আগুন জ্বলবে সেই আগুন সমস্ত দেশকে পুড়িয়ে ছারখার করবে আর দেশের যারা কর্ণধার তাঁরাও সে আগুন থেকে আত্মরক্ষা করতে পারবেন না।

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor has given this House an opportunity to discuss the overall condition prevailing within the State and the problems that confront the Government and the people. I thought, Sir, that the Opposition, augmented by the honourable members who have recently crossed the floor, would bring to bear on the problems their contributions from the point of view of a positive approach towards them. All those who expected a positive approach have been disappointed.

Sir, we have heard utterances, sometimes beyond all bounds of credibility or moderation. We have heard declamations; we have often witnessed ejaculations; but, unfortunately, Sir, the country has not been benefited by an alternative picture emanating from the Opposition, an alternative picture which might produce hope in the hearts of our countrymen, an alternative picture which might have shown the way whither we should proceed. It is nothing but barren, utter declamation and despair.

We know, Sir, at the present moment the country is faced with grave problems—want of food and clothing; the country is faced with problems of poverty. Sir, nobody expects that prosperity can descend on this land in a day, far less when the free Republic has inherited as its Eastern Frontier the truncated State of West Bengal. Steeped in abject misery it has not started with what it had, but with utter ruination of the people brought about by those to whom the homily of my friend Dr. R. Ahmed has been rightly addressed. So, whatever is happening is the legacy of the concentrated venom of communalism which was poured in politics and which has succeeded in dividing India and creating havoc in the life of our people. Sir, today we are asked to solve the problem of refugees all in a day. We have got to point out that the solution of the problem of refugees, —I say, Sir, personally speaking for myself,—the ultimate solution of the problem of refugees will be on that day when the so-called refugees or displaced persons can settle down in their own hearths and homes wherever they may be situated. Before that there can be no solution and if the refugee problem has been brought about, it has been brought about by the politics of those whose remnants are still in this House and let us not hear the old tune *ad nauseam*. Sir, at the same time some of my honourable friends opposite, who had been our valued friends on this side of the House only yesterday, have talked about only 14 crores of rupees having been spent in four years and nothing having been done. Sir, I may remind the House that it is not in course of four years, because not a pie was spent until the end of January, 1948. The problem of refugees had not been taken up at all, until the present Government came into office and its leader the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy had for the first time taken up the problem of refugees. Sir, it is a bit too late in the day to rise up to a realisation of the need for getting something done for the refugees, having loaded us with the initial acts of omission by neglecting the problem of the refugees and not impressing upon anybody that anything had to be done on that score. It is a bit too late in the day, relying perhaps a bit too much on the proverbial shortness of public memory, for the self-same gentlemen claiming to me friends of the refugees.

Sir, I do not wish to say more on that aspect of things, because, food, Sir, like First-Aid and Life Saving is a human issue and not a party issue. No country and no sane party would think of making the issue of food a party issue, as even in the battle fields, those who bear the stretcher are considered to be the First-Aid or Life Saving party. Therefore, Sir, in all humility I appeal through you to the honourable members opposite to refrain from the temptation of playing with the question of food, or with the problem of refugees, because they are dangerously playing with fire.

Far less it does lie in the mouth of those whose politics and whose politics alone has brought about this calamity and disaster, due to which India, instead of building herself, finds herself confronted with the problem of heaps of ruin, of broken homes, of lost lives, of tears and blood.

Sir, that has been the situation in which those people have displayed their passion in this House, hissing almost with the venom of a cobra against everything that this Government have been doing. For God's sake, Sir, a little more moderation of outlook, a little more sobriety of spirit, a little more accommodation of mind, accepting the other man, who does not belong to your community or religious persuasion, as your national and an equal citizen, and the disaster would not have come about. It has come about, because some people have declared that because some people belong to another religion, therefore, they were a different nation, they were not fit to live within this country as of one nation.

Sir, the Delhi Pact of 1950 has only sought partially to make good the damages of the Delhi rupture of 1947. If good sense had timely dawned on the mind of those honourable gentlemen, then the Delhi rupture of 1947 need not have taken place, India need not have been partitioned. Today, again, if the Delhi Pact succeed in letter and spirit, if it is acknowledged that it should be possible—and it must be made possible—for Hindus and Muslims to live together as common nationals of one motherland, either in India or in Pakistan, then the very validity or justification for the creation of Pakistan vanishes. Then we might have lived as one nation in the entire undivided country and there need not have been the problem of refugees. Sir, it is no good today trying to make use of the issue you created yesterday in order to browbeat and delude the masses, in order to show that you are very brave and generous and solicitous of their welfare. (Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: It is all irrelevant.) I know it goes home and the honourable member jumps up on his feet out of time.

Sir, I would also remind those, who have been talking very loud over the problems of procurement and giving us woeful tales,—some of the tales exceeded all bounds and reminded one of the tales we heard during the First Great War about Germans roasting alive Belgian babies for their breakfast—that it is the type of war propaganda one is used to hear. Theirs is the type of electioneering propaganda, about which we are told, of gross things happenning regarding procurement.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: I challenge this has happened. (Interruptions from both sides.)

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, those who are in the right can keep their temper; those who are in the wrong cannot afford to lose it and that is what I shall remind my honourable friends. There is no need to challenge me on the floor of the House. There is a more honourable course of challenge which we may accept. Any one of those honourable members who is convinced and confident of his facts may today have a test election. After having crossed the floor any honourable member can honourably resign his seat and go in for a by-election, take the vote of the electorate and show that his position is vindicated.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Why don't you have an election when there are vacancies. Have a by-election tomorrow. (At this stage there was great uproar.)

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I find untruth and barren declamation——(Loud noise from both sides.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: What about South Calcutta by-election?

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, I declare on the floor of this House that untruth and barren declamation shall tremble in their boots. If, Sir, there is a shred of truth in any of the allegations that we have heard it is enough material for a criminal prosecution, it is enough material to bring concrete cases to the notice of the responsible members of the Government, and action would be taken, I can assure this House, to that effect.

Sir, another honourable member—we are very glad to find him back in our midst—having realised his past mistakes and having made confessions of the past mistakes came back purified on the floor of the House.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I call him a traitor.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, may I ask if the word traitor is parliamentary?

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Sir, it is a description of the member himself. He was seeing his own image in the mirror.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: That honourable member is a traitor to the Communist Party of India and I said so. Let him deny. (Interruptions.)

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: The communists are illegitimate offsprings of the soil who had done a treachery to the country.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Behind your bayonet no good talking. Come to the people.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Reflection on a member is unparliamentary but the word "traitor" is parliamentary.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Through this parliamentary expression we have got the exact description of the member who uttered this word. The country will not forget that in 1943 when famine broke out and when Netaji Subhas was appealing to the Government of India for food ships to be transported to India, it is these gentlemen, these loyal, patriotic gentlemen at the behest of their British masters who had said,—"Let Subhas come back, he will get the reception he has not bargained for, not garlands but bullets", and it is these gentlemen, Sir, who ran as unofficial procurement officers after Sir John Herbert in order to do their procurement in the name of denial policy. It is, Sir, these gentlemen who had been denuding the homesteads of Bengal from one end of the province to another of all the grain stock and bringing about famine. It is these gentlemen—Mr. Jyoti Basu and his tribe—who are guilty of that crime of having brought about famine so that these gentlemen could get crumbs out of the profiteers in order to run their gruel kitchens as a mockery. Sir, the country will not forget that. After the war when the elections took place in the labour areas——

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of order——

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I do not yield.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Deputy Speaker, on a point of order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. What is the point of order?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: This gentleman speaking from the other side has said that it was I who brought about the famine. Is that parliamentary?

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Your tribe, I said.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He has said of a party, not of any particular member.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: If the cap fits him, I cannot help it. Sir, today he, in course of his speech, comes out with a very brave challenge that the Ministers here have armed guards in front of their houses. May I ask him if the Ministers here are to be denounced simply because armed guards are kept before their houses? If the security officers did not feel reassured after the vandalism, bomb throwing and such other misdeeds for which he repented in public, and I thought he was repentant, then I cannot help him. May I ask him, will he condemn Marshal Stalin for living under a veritable wall of machine-guns, and not mere solitary armed guards in front of his House? Does he find Comrade Stalin strolling along the banks of the river Makva in a leisurely fashion to parade his civil liberty in Russia? Sir, today he has also declared that detention is unknown in any other civilised country. I suppose, in his standard there is no other civilised country than Russia. I take it, Sir, that Russia is the only civilised country and for once I agree with him that there is no detention there, for there is only "liquidation". While he has got a law which can put him under detention he has also got a Constitution and a judiciary which could set him free in order to enjoy the fruits of liberty and come out with declarations and falsehoods on the floor of this House. That itself is a proof positive of the liberty and freedom of the new-born Indian Republic. If he is so much piqued about a few months' detention, not for patriotic action against foreign masters, but for trecherous action against his own country, may I remind him what happened to Leon Trotsky? Which court tried him before he was banished and detained at Alma Ata on the steppes of Siberia? You talk of the law of detention! There was no law of detention indeed, and we know, Sir, the pathetic, sad end of Leon Trotsky. Sj. Jyoti Basu remembers what was the fate of Bukharin, the author of ABC of Communism from whom perhaps he took his first lessons as a toddler in the school of Communism. What happened to Radek? Before the Soviet-German war 10,000 people were "liquidated" in course of a couple of years. Yes, Sir, it is true that there is no detention in a country which alone is considered civilised for his purpose. But, no thanks, we do not wish to emulate them. We would rather stick to the policies of the Republic of India and that policy will lead us ahead with the determination that we have. And, Sir, as you know that in warfare, if a foreign army invades our country, we send our soldiers and not our courts of law. We send our soldiers with the instruction that they shall shoot and shoot to kill, and it is only right that the enemy invading the country shall be killed. Against internal enemies of the country we use the law of detention. Sir, if in a communal conflagaration both Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Badrudduja, who supported the cry for Pakistan through their respective parties, are per chance victims of communal carnage, then they will be the first to come to Government and say that preventive detention is necessary. Government was denounced often enough for not taking more vigorous action in this direction. I should therefore remind them of these facts.

Lastly, Sir, before I conclude I shall say that this Government means to carry on the wishes of the people. This Government means, as the custodian of the people's right, to defend liberty; and if in defending that liberty internal enemies spring up, and if the Government is satisfied that they are internal enemies who can endanger the life of the community, then we would not hesitate to deprive one undesirable element of that liberty in order to ensure the liberty for our people. Sir, along with the task of mending the ruination and devastation, this Government has in view and this Government knows and is only too well aware of the fact that today

our people need food, clothing, shelter, health and education. These are the five things, these are the five requirements, these are the five pillars of life for every individual, every family, every society and every State. Sir, we mean to build up a mighty Republic of India on these five pillars of food, cloth, shelter, education and health, and that needs the unleashing of the entire human energy for creation, for production from village to village. These honourable gentlemen would do better if they came out for the fulfilment of that task and helped to build up that mighty Republic instead of pouring, on the floor of the House for the consumption of those who are specially deluded, the concentrated venom of communal hatred and passion which has ruined the country long enough. They wish to ruin this country again, but, Sir, the people and the Government stand in their way. (Applause.)

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thought after what Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji said about the function of the minority in the legislature, there would be no necessity to raise that question up again. He made it absolutely clear that the minority also is part of the administrative machinery. After that I did not like the speech that Mr. J. C. Gupta delivered. I know that he is a senior parliamentarian, but, Sir, still I am constrained to say so. It may be that on one point he differs from Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji—on one article on one section. Because he differs he calls him irresponsible. This, he will excuse me, is the height of irresponsibility. There may be differences. But to say that because there are differences, there is irresponsible functioning of the minorities, is wrong. I know that if the minority does not function in a responsible manner, the majority will never be deviating into senses.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: I did not call him irresponsible. Don't put something in my mouth which I did not say.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: All right; I accept the amendment.

(A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCHES: That is no amendment; that is correct English.)

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I want to tell you in all humility that if the minority becomes irresponsible, then democracy cannot function, but if the majority becomes authoritarian then there is an end of democracy, graveyard of democracy. Sir, I do not mind the speech of Mr. Abdullah, a new convert. He spoke with the exuberance, with the zeal of a convert, and it has reminded me of the famous Biblical phrase "my zeal for the Lord has eaten me up". I did not take seriously also the swash-buckling of Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar; and the authoritarian tendency that I saw I did not mind, because I have heard him many times in the past both outside and here. So I did not take him seriously either. But one thing which I must take note of is what my friend Mr. Iswar Chandra Mal said about Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari's speech. He said that in the past they shouted-together against the Muslim League Ministry and that was of no effect. And even if you shout now, there will be no effect. That means they will be as impervious as the late League Ministry was. In this world today we are thinking of communist imperialism, we are having a taste of it and of totalitarian democracy also. So we must guard against all these possibilities. Sir, I do not want to dilate on this question any further. I want to come to the subject proper.

Sir, with all the sense of responsibility I say about His Excellency's speech that it has failed to inspire us. It is an uninspiring speech both regarding the past achievements as well as regarding the future. I will explain, Sir, point by point why I say so. The first question he has raised

is the most important one about law and order. I deprecate violence in any shape or form—whether it is crude violence of the *goonda* or the sublime or subtle violence of the blackmarketers which latter I think is more devastating. A man who kills a snake may not be called a votary of non-violence but a man who takes away the last morsel of food from the mouth of a poor man but does not kill a snake may still be called a votary of non-violence. But this is perverted non-violence. These blackmarketeers may be sweet-tongued, well-dressed and well-mannered men but I do say that they are venomous snakes under the petals of a rose. If you do not take away the poisonous fangs of these venomous snakes, I do say that they will end democracy or totalitarianism or by whatever name you may call this Government. I am constrained to say that there has been no mention about what the Government propose to do about curbing these venomous snakes.

Then about corruption also, there is no mention. I must say that corruption is also violence. Corruption is exploitation just as black-merketing is exploitation and violence. While talking of violence, Sir, we must remember that State is also organised violence. But we are tolerating State-violence and not only we are tolerating it we are paying for it in the hope that the State will crush unjust and immoral violence committed by the individuals; not merely that the State will also use its violence in a just manner. These are the two conditions of the State-violence. I request you, Sir, to see whether this has been done and then and then only it will lie in our mouth to say that violence should not be tolerated under any circumstances. If the State behaves in that way then the State gets the authority to say that there should be no violence under any circumstances.

Then further about law and order. I mark page 9 of His Excellency's speech in which there are two sentences, namely, "The finding of the Law Courts has been that the detention of political prisoners as made under Security laws is repugnant to the Constitution and a large number of detained persons have been released." In the context of the whole thing unless there is some implied meaning in it, it makes no sense. Probably the implied meaning is that the judges were wrong in releasing these prisoners. If you feel so, if the Government feel so, let them say that straightaway but in this way it should not be mentioned. What I feel is that if the judgment of the law courts is mentioned in this way, in this manner, there will not be proper functioning of democracy.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of food, cloth and the refugee problem. Sir, the scarcity of cloth has become very acute in this province and the people are suffering great deal for this scarcity of cloth. There is no mention of it in the speech of His Excellency. I know, Sir, in the year 1949 there were 3,700 million yards of mill cloth produced in this country of which about 500 millions were exported. In 1950 3,100 million yards were produced and 1,100 million yards were exported and in the year 1951 we hear that 40 per cent. of production will be exported. In 1950 it was only 35 per cent. It means, Sir, that within the next 5 years we shall never come to the standard of 1949. Formerly we used to hear, "Produce or perish" but now it will come to this, "Produce and perish". If you ask us to co-operate in "Produce or perish" I am at one with you but if you ask us to co-operate in "Produce and perish" then I am not at one with you. As regards the cloth problem I do not know whether the State Government here has made any appeal to the Government of India that we want more quotas, that there should be no export unless you give sufficient cloth to your own people which should be the first charge on our production. In this connection the Central Minister referred to the States in Parliament

and said, "I shall not say blackmarketing but I say irregular distribution". I cannot make that distinction between tweedledom and tweedledee. There is very little difference between blackmarketing and irregular distribution. Even if it were irregular distribution our State should take a note of this and also should make a strong representation to the Government of India that if they exported in this manner and gave us less cloth there was bound to be blackmarketing and there was bound to be scope for the cloth going underground. If you make this representation we are one with you.

Then as regards food, Sir, first it was said that we would be self-sufficient in 1951 and then they say, "we have not been able to fulfil this condition because there were natural calamities, not only natural calamities but also destruction by some 5 crores of monkeys". They also give us statistics to the effect that 2½ crores of monkeys are in the villages and towns and 2½ crores in the forests. I do not know how many monkeys were employed to take the statistics of the monkeys in the forests. Surely monkeys have not grown overnight and the Minister knew it well that monkeys are there and that unless the monkeys that destroy the crops are destroyed food cannot be given to the masses in the required quantities. He ought to have said it then and there "I cannot give food unless the monkeys are destroyed". He would neither destroy the monkeys nor give us the required food. After that we now hear the question of birth control. We hear them say that they are producing more food but that so many additional mouths have to be fed everyday with the increase in population. Yesterday we heard of monkeys; today we hear of birth control and tomorrow we may hear that they cannot produce more because of a magnetic storm in the sun. If you ask us to co-operate with this sort of thing I do not know what is to be done. On the other hand, if you ask us the question, "In West Bengal production per *bigha* is only 5 to 6 maunds and if it is to be increased to 8 maunds how it can be done" we can of course co-operate in that effort to find out how it can be done. I hear that there is only 10 per cent. deficit and this 10 per cent. deficit can be met, I do believe, only if the Government will give them good seed and manure. It has been said that the initiative in this regard should come from the tiller of the soil. That means that the Government will give a plethora of advice and statistics and some patronage and some patting on the back. That won't do. If you make easily available to them good and tested seed and also manure everywhere in the countryside and also in time and at a cheap price then I think this 10 per cent. deficit can be met. Not merely that.

Another thing I shall refer to and I hope my friend Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen will listen to what I say. If he can answer without listening to me I shall not blame him! Only two years ago—I do not remember the month—when people were harvesting paddy, there was rain. It was in 1949, I think, and then I remember Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen said,—there has been so much destruction of paddy on account of the rains. The paddy harvested was still then lying on the field for such is the practice in West Bengal. I would in this connection make one concrete proposal. The Meteorological Department can give us notice two days before the coming in of the rains and Government can inform the peasantry that heavy rains are coming within two days. Sir, if that precaution can be taken then no paddy can be destroyed by rains. As I thought so, I met the Director-General of Observatories in Delhi as to whether this arrangement could be made. Sir, in these efforts you can get our co-operation. But you cannot get our co-operation simply because you dictate co-operation. Sir, I must say that food should not be a matter of political exploitation. So if you say that food should not form part of politics I do differ from you. It is a part of politics. It should not, however, be a matter of political exploitation whether by the Opposition or by the powers that be. But the fact is that

if we cannot but ditto what the Minister in charge says, then it is exploitation of food and it is the worst possible exploitation of politics and food. So I would point out that the food problem should be dealt with in that manner.

Now, Sir, I come to the refugees. About the refugees Mr. Gupta has said that only two lakhs of refugees can be rehabilitated in West Bengal.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Yes, only on the culturable waste lands.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: But Government says that it has rehabilitated 12 lakhs of refugees. So I do not know what to believe and what to disbelieve. I take it, however, that more people can be rehabilitated here. I have gone through the papers that have been supplied to us about the rehabilitation of refugees. In that it has been said that roughly about 4 lakh people in round figures consisting of seventy-nine thousand odd families have been rehabilitated on migrants' lands. Now these migrants have mostly come back and their lands have got to be given back to them. So these 4 lakh people have to be thrown out after rehabilitation in a month or two. Therefore out of 12 lakhs, 4 lakhs go out. Then I find sixty thousand odd families have been given six cottahs of land each. That is they have been provided with some land for habitation, and that does not mean rehabilitation. This accounts for another 3 lakhs people. Then about fifty-eight thousand families have been given five bighas of land each. No agriculturist can be rehabilitated on five bighas of land alone because cultivation of such a small piece of land is not a paying proposition. Even one pair of bullocks can cultivate fifteen bighas of land. If you give one-third of food to those two bullocks utilised on five bighas of land, then the bullocks would die in no time. Therefore it is not a practical proposition.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: That is why I have said that 2 lakhs of refugees can be rehabilitated (laughter).

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, all this calculation makes up a total of 10 lakhs and therefore out of 12 lakhs, 10 lakhs have not been really rehabilitated. You may call that rehabilitation but it is not so really. If you had said that something had been done for them, I would certainly have accepted that. I have never said that something has not been done. My friend Mr. Dutt-Mazumdar has said, what did you do? I do not want to answer his challenge because I am not in a challenging mood; otherwise, I would have given him an answer. But if he wants an answer from me I can give him privately, and I do not want to waste the time of the House over that.

Now I come to the question of procurement and control. My friend, Mr. Radha Nath Das, has said that the Congress President is very popular, but will he listen to what the Congress President has said? He has said repeatedly that he is against the present control system. I may tell him what Mahatma Gandhi once told me: "Once I went to a place where everybody was busy shouting 'Mahatma Gandhiki joy' but no one was willing to listen to me." Will he listen to the Congress President in that manner? I say that there is a difference of opinion, and I recognise this difference of opinion about control. But I do not see any possibility of India being self-sufficient in food within the next ten years, if this sort of things goes on. If work goes on in this manner I say not in ten years nor even in our lifetime self-sufficiency in food will be attained. I find that you want to make the control system a permanent feature, and I say that it will be an evil day for the country to have that.

As regards food production I must say that unless you make the tillers of the soil its owners you cannot have proper production and all our efforts will be useless. You may have cultivation on His Excellency the Governor's

20 or 23 acres of land but it would not produce the necessary amount of food. The cultivators must have some inspiration. Yesterday as I was listening to the debate my friend, Mr. Bhupati Majumdar, was speaking about the *kulaks*. When we say that the tillers of the soil should become the owners of the land, they would not give effect to that, that is, they would keep the *kulaks* and blame us. That is a very nice way of doing things. You mention of *kulaks* but what about the big capitalists—the vegetarian penitents of the desert? By their disinterested performance of duty what have you got? The price of sugar has been increased by 25 per cent. from 1947. It was ten annas and a half then and it is now about fifteen annas a seer. But you do not say anything about that. Then what about the price of cloth? The price of cloth is increasing every day but still you do not say anything because not the *kulaks* who have very little money or land but the big capitalists are concerned. Therefore you do not raise your voice. But you raise your voice to curb the activities of smaller persons. You cannot curb the activities of those vegetarian penitents for they can overwhelm your Government. I do feel also that they are sometimes more cunning than anybody else. We have heard about their disinterested performance of duty but the Tax Evasion Commission has shown how they can manage things.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Is it a matter, Sir, for discussion even in this House?

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: You have always discussed matters concerning Central subjects here. Dr. Ahmed did it and so I am doing it. The fundamental right is theirs but that fundamental right is not ours.

Sir, you make the tiller of the soil the owner of the land and take other suitable steps and you will have more food. About the refugee rehabilitation one Bill is coming to which Mr. Gupta referred. I must say he is too much of a legal man. There must be some distinction between a legal right and a moral right. I know, Sir, that two years before I did say that it is wrong to occupy somebody else's land, but at the same time don't you feel a moral compunction that a man should have ten rooms—a billiard room, a dance room, a drawing room, a dressing room and a dinner room—while other people have to sleep on the footpath. Do you think that is moral? That is certainly not moral. If the Government would have procured land for these refugees and would have given them land, probably they would not have occupied those lands forcibly. They were compelled to do so. I say they may not have the legal right, but they have the moral right. I have not the slightest compunction to say that they have not the legal right but they have the moral right. But they would not be morally right if in order to make shelter for themselves, they make somebody else shelterless. It is not a question of Hindu or Muslim even. I would take it from that point. If a refugee in order to shelter himself makes somebody else shelterless, there is no justification for it. I know, Sir, I have heard complaints—it has come to my notice also—that *mala fide* refugees have occupied the land. You may appoint a Judge and evict the *mala fide* people. I shall be one with you in evicting the *mala fide* people. But, I know, Sir, that people who have simply cut the jungles and converted the fallow land into a garden house, because it belongs to some zemindar, because it belongs to some people, if you go today and pounce upon them, that will be morally wrong and they will be right in resisting that—whether it comes from the Government or anybody else. I say this with a sense of responsibility.

There is another point. I want to draw the attention of Haren Babu to this because he is bringing in this Bill. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I shall deal with it in proper time.) I want to bring

to your notice that Mr. Gupta was speaking about alternative accommodation and you nodded your head in approbation and not in disapprobation. Now, it is the month of February. If a man is turned out of his house without previous alternative accommodation—house and everything—which you have not built—excuse my saying so—then in the month of March or April when the rains would begin, he would be shelterless and would suffer great discomfort. Therefore, I cannot accept the idea of even taking them away on the plea of giving them alternative accommodation. Therefore, Sir, everything must be treated on the humanitarian plane. Things cannot be done on any other plane. My friend Mr. Kanai Lal Das was telling us that the refugees should not be a part of the political game. I say both ways—they should not be a part of the political game on the other side also. They should be treated on a humanitarian plane. They are our brothers, bones of our bones and blood of our blood, as many on that side have also said. So, I think, Sir, that if you deal in this way, there will be no difficulty, but if you deal in any unsympathetic way, then it will bring in anarchy and chaos and I do not like any anarchy and chaos, but anarchy may come in spite of us. It may come over our ashes if we do not behave properly.

Then in the Governor's address—this portion will refer to Dr. Roy, I hope he will listen to me (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Of course, I will.)—in the solution of the food problem, there is talk of alternative food. He is a medical man, he knows what is the minimum necessity of vegetable and what is the minimum necessity of fish. So, this talk of alternative food is a loose talk. I do not know who drafted it. I shall congratulate any Government of West Bengal if within five years to come it can give sufficient vegetables to every man and sufficient animal protein to every man. So, let us not indulge in loose talks. When you cannot give the barest minimum, you talk of alternative food—it is all ridiculous, I must say so.

Then, Sir, about this catching of fish by trawlers, I want deep sea fishing—I am for it—but we do not know, I have seen some criticism in the press, we know nothing about it—what is the amount of fish that is being caught, what is the expenditure, whether you can give within two years fish at the rate of Re. 1 a seer or 8 annas a pound in Calcutta? Then it will be cheap fish and it may be an alternative food to a certain extent, but alternative for whom? Now the price of fish is Rs. 3 per seer, if not more. If it is Rs. 3 per seer it may be an alternative food for the rich people, but it cannot be an alternative food for the poor people. So, I say if the picture is not clear and if there is loose talk, it raises false hopes in the minds of the people and it recoils back on those people who talk in this loose manner.

I do not wish to go into any other thing except one thing. That refers to Dr. Roy's portfolio—health of the refugees. Very casually His Excellency the Governor said that the refugees are attacked with small-pox, cholera and other diseases and they lie in remote places and, therefore, proper arrangements cannot be made. But what about Calcutta? For the last three months we have been hearing that it is an epidemic area for small-pox. Will the epidemic continue for months together in Calcutta? There are eminent doctors in Calcutta. I do not know what is happening to us. So, the health problem is not merely bad in the remotest part of the country, but it is bad in Calcutta itself. Therefore, let us not talk like that.

Then we talk of sacrifice to the people and sacrifice must be all-round. You ask the cultivator to sacrifice and take even less and supply to the town. I know townspeople also must take food. There must be procurement so long as there is control. Townspeople must take food, you must

give them food, but townspeople also must sacrifice for the villagers, otherwise the villagers will say "No more, Sir. If you do not sacrifice, we cannot sacrifice". There are 3,000 doctors huddled together in Calcutta, but doctors do not go to the villages, they do not treat patients there and yet they want to have paddy at Rs. 7-8.

Now, Sir, about the price of procurement and I finish. The price of every little commodity has gone up—there has not been any inflation. When the price of sugar was increased by 25 per cent. there was no inflation. The price of cloth has been doubled, no inflation. But only when the price of paddy will be increased, there will be inflation. This is what I do not understand. I do say there must be parity price between industrial products and agricultural products. That is also envisaged in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on parity price and this year it has been said that on account of drought there has been less crop. Who has suffered? If there is less crop, who sustains loss? It is the cultivator. If the cultivators have sustained loss, may I know what you have done to see that the loss is at least partially recouped. What have you done? Have you given them any bounty? We have given Rs. 300 crores as protective duty to the sugar magnates, to the sugar industry, but still it cannot stand on its legs. But this year when you yourself admit that there has been drought, failure of crops and cultivators have suffered, you should give some bounty to the cultivators, not to the *kulaks* because *kulaks* are in the brains of the Ministers—not to the *kulaks* but to those people who have got less than 20 bighas of land. (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: *Kulaks* all round.) My friend Mr. Bhupati Majumdar says there are *kulaks* all round. Of course, all round him there are *kulaks*. Therefore I do say—give bounty to the people who have got 20 bighas and less. Then the question of *kulaks* will not come, but I do say that in the meantime you appoint a committee. I personally believe that the price of coarse paddy should be Rs. 9, and that Rs. 9 can be given without increasing the sale price, because on account of mismanagement there has been so much sale price. One mismanagement that I want to point out is that for what is called *basta* or gunny bag ten annas per maund is charged as the price of one new gunny bág is Rs. 1-4. Is it that after one use it becomes useless? That is wrong. I have asked many traders, and they have said that they use it at least five or seven times. Even so, therefore, that loss cannot be tolerated. Again the transit, there is provision for 5 to 7 per cent. wastage. So, I would request my friend Mr. P. C. Sen to go through all these things, and I do believe that a little more can be given without increasing the sale price. Then they can appoint an expert committee consisting of officials and non-officials, and I am willing to place my facts and figures and let the Government also place facts and figures; and whatever may be the decision of that committee we will abide by that decision. Otherwise if he says that he has the monopoly of wisdom and if I say that I have the monopoly of wisdom, then both are fit to go to the lunatic asylum. But, Sir, I do say what I believe to be correct. I have said so. Appoint an expert committee, and in the meantime you give bounty at least this year to those poor people who have suffered on account of drought, flood and all these things. If Government take this step then it will be all right.

Now coming to the Calcutta University, my friend Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhury has said about it. I do say, Sir, that I have read the reports. (A VOICE FROM GOVERNMENT BENCHES: How?) You cannot ask me how. During the British régime I used to take delight in reading proscribed books. (Laughter.) I tell you frankly. As a student I never read at night, but on proscribed books I used to spend the whole night. Here also I have read the report. Sir, the Chancellor set up the committee. He did not

consult any non-official. An able lawyer like Sir B. L. Mitter was the Chairman, and after his death the present day Advocate-General was the Chairman. If they have recommended certain things and it is again given to the vote of democracy, the Senate or the Syndicate, then it will be something like putting the decision of the Federal Court before the vote of the Assembly House. I hope and believe that their recommendations will be accepted *in toto*, whether they go against this individual or that individual. Individuals do not count, and unless we set that precedent, Sir, there is no hope for us. It will not inspire confidence in our people if after setting up a committee we sit over it for one year. So I request Haren Babu to see to it that it is implemented in full.

Then about the Calcutta Corporation. I know that for some time the Calcutta Corporation was the hotbed of corruption. Supersession might have been necessary, but supersession from year to year makes it a permanent affair. That is not right, Sir. Personally I would have tolerated it, just as we tolerate a cow when it gives milk. Even if the old house of the Calcutta Corporation functions till the election is held, then there will not be much material damage to the Corporation. Calcutta is the dirtiest town possible, and in this town we have rags and riches, we have *bustees* and palaces. If we cannot make any improvement, let us at least maintain democracy.

With these words, Sir, I do say again that His Excellency's speech has been uninspiring from the point of view of past achievement as of the future, and as His Excellency's speech is a constitutional speech it must be taken in the light that it is the Government speech. Sir, I have tried to offer suggestions. Somebody may call them not constructive but destructive, but I have my own idea of "constructive" and I cannot borrow the idea of "constructive" from Mr. Dutt-Majumdar or Mr. Dass. I hope they will bear with me and will not be authoritarian and will act in a manner so as to bring credit to democracy. (Applause from Opposition Benches.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe it is not expected of me to answer abuse by abuse, vilification by vilification, and slander by slander, for these are all that we have been hearing for the last three days.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Have I vilified?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: You may be an exception to the rule. Sir, my friend Sj. Haripada Chatterjee very easily earned the distinction of pouncing upon the mace of this House and carrying it away; and it took place in course of his work in the Opposition in the past which he said was for 13 years. But so far as I remember only for ten years he sat in the Opposition. I could not earn that distinction, Sir, although I sat in the Opposition for 18 long years.

Sir, it is for the Opposition as also for the Government to maintain the dignity of the House of which you are the custodian. If in the days of freedom and democracy we begin to function in the way we have been doing for the last three days it augurs ill for the success of the democratic constitution which we have given to ourselves after the departure of the British.

Now, Sir, I would congratulate the Opposition upon their failing to notice any failure so far as my Department of Education is concerned. In the amendments which have been tabled, only two points have been raised which affect the Department of Education. One is that though in the enquiries certain disclosures have been made regarding the Calcutta University and the Calcutta Corporation, no steps have been taken to have

fresh elections for the Calcutta Corporation and to hand over these institutions to popular representatives.

Now, Sir, so far as the Calcutta University is concerned, it may be easily understood that it cannot be handed over to popular representatives, unless you can enact a statute. I believe my friend Sj. Sibnath Banerjee did not care to notice the sentence in His Excellency's speech in which it was observed: "The legislation for the reorganization of the Calcutta University is also a matter which will be placed for your consideration." That disposes of the first point.

Now, as regards the other point which has been raised in the course of the debate, namely, whether Government has taken any action on the University Enquiry Report, I may say here, again, what I made perfectly clear before, that the committee was appointed by the Chancellor and not by the Governor in consultation with the Government and the report is there for the consideration of the Calcutta University. It is Calcutta University which is expected to take action on it. I think that disposes of the points that were raised in connection with the Calcutta University.

As regards the second point which has been raised by Janab Mudassir Hossain in his amendment before the House is the backwardness of the Muslims in education and the indifference of the Government to help the Muslim. I may say, Sir, that I do not want to stray into barren arguments but I shall place certain facts and figures before the Assembly. Sir, from the Backward Class Education Fund we are spending as much as Rs. 3½ lakhs for giving additional facilities to Muslims and for promoting Muslim education. We are spending for stipends to Muslim pupils in non-District School Board areas—Rs. 6,000, stipends to Muslim pupils in the secondary stage—Rs. 52,800, stipends to Muslim pupils in secondary schools—Rs. 22,500, stipends to Muslim pupils in the collegiate stage from intermediate to post-graduate—Rs. 48,600, stipends to Muslim pupils in collegiate stage to meet boarding charges—Rs. 9,000, stipends to Muslim pupils in professional and technical institutions—Rs. 35,900, grants to schools catering mainly for Muslim students—Madrasahs—Rs. 1,10,000—capital grant to Madrasahs—Rs. 28,000, provident fund contributions to Madrash teachers—Rs. 2,000, examination fees, book grants to poor meritorious Muslim students—Rs. 25,000, Madrasah scholarships—Rs. 2,000, miscellaneous expenditure—Rs. 2,000.

Prior to Partition, even during the Muslim League régime, there was no provision for stipends to help the educationally backward class students in medical schools and colleges and other vocational, industrial, veterinary and survey and other miscellaneous institutions out of the education funds, but the present Government is giving the following stipends to the Muslim students pursuing scientific and professional studies:—

For I.A. and I.Com.	70
For I.Sc.	91
For B.A. and B.Com.	65
For B.Sc.	4
For Post-graduate	15
For B.T.	4
For Bengal Engineering College ...	10
For Art School	2
For Medical College	29
For Medical School	24
For Miscellaneous institutions ...	8

That disposes of all the points that were raised against the Education Department.

Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN: Were they all awarded in the last year?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You may go and find them out.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: But, Sir, more points have been raised against the Land Revenue Department. Let me take them one by one. My friend Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji has raised three points first that no mention has been made in the Governor's speech of any proposal for the amendment of the Calcutta *Thika* Tenancy Act, 1949, in view of the various judgments of the Calcutta High Court. Perhaps my friend Dr. Banerji was speaking that night without acquainting himself with the points that were raised in the judgments and certainly without making any particular mention of the judgments themselves. All the same it was evident to me that he was referring to some of the recent judgments of the Calcutta High Court. On that very night I asked him for the references but he could not give me any reference that night. Only on the following day I was referred to 4 decisions of the Calcutta High Court. Now, Sir, those judgments did attract our notice before but I may say for the information of the House that none of the judgments has found any lacuna in the Act.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: They have questioned the *Thika* Tenancy Act itself, the very basis of the Act, namely, the definition. They have said that there is no such system as *thika* tenancy in Calcutta.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, that is not the case. The judgments are before me.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Will you please read out the relevant judgments?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes, I am going to quote the judgments. The first decision that was taken by the Calcutta High Court was in Haran Chandra Dey's case, 53 C. W. N. p. 553.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was telling the House, my friend Dr. Banerji did not take the trouble or have the opportunity, I am sure, to read even one of the decisions to which he referred, on the *Thika* Tenancy Act. Now, the first case that was decided by the Calcutta High Court was a case under the *Thika* Tenancy Ordinance—at that time the Bill was not enacted. That case was Haran Chandra Dey's case. In that case it was decided that where the particulars of the system under which a tenancy is held are not known and are not proved, it cannot be said that the tenant is a *thika* tenant or a tenant under any of the paricular systems mentioned in the *Thika* Tenancy Act. That is where the person who wanted protection under the *Thika* Tenancy Act could not prove that he was a *thika* tenant or even that he was holding under a system of *thika* tenancy, he was not entitled to protection under the Act.

Then the second case that came up under the Ordinance again was Surajjan Bibi's case. It was reported in 54 C.W.N. p. 281. Now, there it was held that a person seeking protection under the Calcutta *Thika*

Tenancy Ordinance, 1948, must show that his tenancy is under one of the various systems mentioned in the Ordinance. To be a *thika* tenant it must be established among other facts that the tenant has made certain erection upon the land under one of the systems. A monthly tenant is not necessarily a *thika* tenant, and all *thika* tenants do not come under the Ordinance. So it was no criticism of the *Thika* Tenancy Act and no lacuna in the Ordinance or the Act was pointed out in that judgment.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: The definition of the *thika* tenant is defective in the Act.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I am not going to yield to your argument. You have long ceased to be a lawyer, you do not read the reports at all.

Now, Sir, in the third case, that was decided I mean, Murari Mohan Mukherjee's case reported in 53 C.W.N. p. 640—this was the first case under the Act—it was held that a tenant could only be called a *thika* tenant when he was holding under any particular system referred to in the Act. Mr. Justice Mukherjee held that it was a matter of proof and evidence in every case. It is not a question of definition, but it is essential for the tenant to establish by evidence in every particular case that he is a *thika* tenant or holding under a similar system. And the fourth case referred to by Dr. Banerji is Abdul Matin's case 54, C.W.N. p. 287, which was also decided by Mr. Justice Mukherjee in which it was held that "when a tenant takes a vacant land and then builds a structure thereon, he does not *ipso facto* become a *thika* tenant under the *Thika* Tenancy Act. If that were so, every lessee could under ordinary lease take a land and build on it. But neither the expressed language nor the intention of the Act can justify such a conclusion." In that particular case advantage was taken by a person to pose as a *thika* tenant, and there is an observation in the judgment that it was not a genuine case at all, "it was rather an inspired defence" which was put up. Rather there was a reflection against the Act that it imported certain conceptions from the Bengal Tenancy Act to Calcutta which might not have been done. That was the only reflection against the Act. But it should be remembered that it was to give relief to the *thika* tenants in Calcutta and to prevent a large number of threatened eviction by suits that Government took action and the *Thika* Tenancy Ordinance and the Act were passed.

The next question regarding the Land Revenue Department which was referred to by Dr. Banerji was that in His Excellency's speech there was no mention of a feeling of resentment created in the minds of the refugees by the proposed Unauthorised Persons Eviction Bill. The Bill has not been published as yet and how can apprehensions and resentment arise without knowing even the contents of the Bill? In his anticipatory arguments Dr. Banerji pointed out two things: in the first place, he said that Government ought to accept moral responsibility for rehabilitating the refugees. Government agrees, and the Government is not only accepting that responsibility but acting upon that responsibility and in discharge of that responsibility has rehabilitated 12 lakhs of refugees. Government fully realises that responsibility and agrees to the proposition that the refugees should be rehabilitated as speedily as possible. When you will come to see the provisions of the Bill you will find that that responsibility has been taken by the Government in framing the provisions of the Bill.

Sir, another condition has been suggested by Dr. Banerji, namely, that Government must find alternative land or accommodation for the refugees

before they evict them. That is a reasonable proposition indeed, and that has also been provided for in the Bill, I may tell you in advance. Now, when these are the two conditions insisted upon by Dr. Banerji, I hope he will not stand in the way of passing a Bill which satisfies these conditions. If he is a man of truth and finds that by the provisions of the Bill these two conditions have been fulfilled, then he and his party should lend their full support to the Bill.

The last question affecting the Land Revenue Department to which reference has been made, is the big question of the abolition of the zemindary system. Now, Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister in the previous session very clearly told the House that, so far as his Government is concerned, it is prepared to abolish the zemindary system. It has accepted that question on principle, and the Government is also anxious to introduce a scheme for the abolition of zemindaries, in the first place, in the Sundarbans area. Sir, one must understand the difficulties in the way. I challenge Dr. Ghosh to tell us where is the State either in India or in Pakistan where effect has been given to the abolition of zemindaries. Nowhere that has been done.

It is very easy, rather it is the easiest thing, to pass a Bill for the abolition of zemindary saying "Whereas it is necessary, etc., etc., therefore this Bill is enacted". But the material question is how to implement the provisions of the Bill. Dr. Ghosh must be aware that in Eastern Pakistan, more than a year ago the Zemindary Abolition Bill was passed but in spite of the fact that the Bill was passed by the East Pakistan Government no effect as yet could be given to that Act. On the contrary, when after the passage of that Bill tenants were refusing to pay rent to the zemindars, the Collectors in East Bengal had to issue notification asking the tenants to pay rents duly and not to take it as a matter of fact that the zemindaries have been abolished. That notification had to be issued by the Collectors as the tenants were refusing to pay rents to the zemindars and the zemindars were unable to pay the revenue. It was just for that reason that the Collectors of East Bengal districts had to issue notifications directing the tenants not to withhold payment of rent, rather to continue payment of rent. (Dr. P. C. Ghosh: Then it means that this cannot be given effect to.) They have not been able to give effect to it as yet. What I was telling was that it was very easy to pass a Bill but it was extremely difficult to implement. Take for instance the Bihar Act. Bihar has passed an Act; all are aware of it but the legality of that Act is being fought out in the Patna High Court; that is also known today. Let us see whether the Bihar Act stands or falls. We are not going to ride for a fall, on the contrary we are exploring all the facts that are necessary to give effect to a well-considered measure of zemindary abolition. Take for instance in Sundarbans—(Dr. P. C. Ghosh: Then it cannot be done during the life time of this House.) (Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji: They have at least passed an Act.)

Mr. SPEAKER:: Order, please.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What are the difficulties in the way? The Land Revenue Commission about a decade ago clearly stated what are the particular difficulties in Bengal. The particular difficulties are: (1) that the density of agricultural population in Bengal, they found, was 430 per square mile as against 343 in Bihar and Orissa and 330 in United Provinces, (2) there is not enough land, they held, to go round, (3) in every generation the tenancy is more and more subdivided. Further, (4) most of the cultivated area, about four-fifth, is sown in Bengal with one crop, (5) want of organisation for the development of supplementary cottage industries. In Bengal, Sir, as you know, 62·5 per cent. of the

agricultural families have less than 4 acres a family or less than one acre of cultivated land per head of agricultural population and as population increases the available land per head decreases. These are the facts with regard to Bengal.

We, Sir, in pursuance of our scheme of abolition of zemindary, at least in the Sundarbans area to start with, instituted an enquiry in 15 villages. What was found? It was found that there if you have got to settle all the tillers of the soil you can give none of them sufficient land to make an economic holding. Enquiry was made in 15 villages and 13,000 acres were there to be distributed among the tillers of the soil, but if all the tillers of the soil have got to be given at least 5 acres of land, then not only 13,000 acres but 9,000 more acres will be required. So what is necessary to give effect to the abolition of zemindary is to explore further what organisation or provision can be made for supplementary or subsidiary industries on the one hand and on the other how the law of inheritance can be so amended as to prevent further subdivision of holding. These two questions have got to be solved before any scheme of zemindary abolition can be given effect to. We are investigating those questions and as soon as the investigation will be completed we shall not only bring forward a Bill but shall go forward with the implementation of our scheme of abolition of zemindary.

Now, Sir, there is another method, of course, of abolition of zemindary.

Mr. SPEAKER: We have got to close the debate. I think you will have enough time in the budget discussions and on other occasions. There are two more speakers.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I am going to finish, Sir, in one minute. There is another method, Sir, of abolition of zemindary and it is this. I am now quoting from one of the "Unpopular Essays" of Bertrand Russell where Russell says: "When I met Lenin I had much less impression of a great man than I had expected." "When I put a question to him about socialism in agriculture, he explained with glee how he had incited the poorer peasants against the richer ones, 'and they soon hanged them from the nearest tree—ha! ha! ha! His guffaw at the thought of those massacred made my blood run cold." That is, Sir, another way of abolition of zemindary. I do not know whether any group other than the group represented by Mr. Jyoti Basu will stand for abolition of zemindary in that way.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: মাননীয় সভাপাল মহাশয়, মহামান্য রাজ্যপালকে তাঁর উদ্বোধনী বক্তৃতার জন্য ধন্যবাদ দিয়ে বন্ধুবর শ্রীশ্যামাপদ ভটাচার্য্য মহাশয় যে প্রস্তাব এনেছিলেন, তার উপর বহু সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব এখানে উপস্থিত হয়েছে। সেই সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবগুলি এনেছেন আমার বন্ধু শ্রীহরিপদ চ্যাটার্জী, ডাঃ স্থরেশ চন্দ্র ব্যানার্জী, জনাব মুদাসির হোসেন, শ্রীযুক্ত চারুচন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারী, ডাঃ প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র ঘোষ, শ্রীযুত শিবনাথ ব্যানার্জী——(Dr. PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH: আমিত কোন amendment দিইনি)——শ্রীযুত দেবেন সেন, জনাব বদরুদ্দোজা, কানাইলাল দে, প্রভৃতি বক্তাগণও বলেছেন।

অনেক কথা আলোচনা হয়েছে, অনেকে আলোচনা করেছেন আমাদের খাদ্যনীতি সম্বন্ধে। খাদ্যনীতি সম্বন্ধে যে সমস্ত কথা এখানে বলা হয়েছে তার সংক্ষিপ্ত জবাব দেওয়া উচিত। আমি পরশু দিন যখন শ্রদ্ধেয় চারুবাবুর বক্তৃতা শুনি তখন ভেবেছিলাম যে চারুবাবু যে কয়মাস সরবরাহসচিব ছিলেন সেই কয়মাসের মধ্যে এই সমস্ত বিষয়ের কোন রকম আলোচনা করেছিলেন কি না। কোন যুক্তিযুক্ত সিদ্ধান্ত রেখে গিয়েছেন কি না, তা আমি দু-দিন খুঁজেও দেখতে পাইনি। হঠাৎ কাল সকালবেলা তাঁর অনেক সিদ্ধান্ত, তাঁর সুচিন্তিত অভিমত আমার হস্তগত হয়েছে। তার থেকে কয়েকটা line আমি মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয়ের আদেশ নিয়ে পড়ে শোনাব, এবং এইগুলি যদি আপনারা শোনেন তাহলে যে সমস্ত প্রশ্ন এখানে উত্থাপিত হয়েছে তা চারুবাবুর কথাতেই তার জবাব পাবেন।

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, where are they taken from?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : এটা আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলা গভর্ণমেন্টে Director of Publicity কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত—

"The prices as increased now are economic. It is up to you now to derive full benefit from these profitable prices. The more you sell of your surplus, the greater your gain."

"With the new procurement season about to set it, the necessity of stopping smuggling assumes prime importance."

আর একটা জায়গায় তিনি বলেছেন—এটা তিনি বলেছেন 24th December, 1947—

"This is imperative whether food is controlled or decontrolled—in fact, all the more vital if food is decontrolled. ——We cannot afford to have a further shrinkage through smuggling——. From Canning to Basirhat, I have visited in this border-belt all the locations at which vital supplies are continuously slipped across. This is a dangerous state of affairs."

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE : On a point of order, Sir, এখানে একটা নিয়ম আছে যে বক্তার relevant হওয়া দরকার। উনি যা বল্ছেন তার relevancy ত আমরা কিছু খুঁজে পাই না।

Mr. SPEAKER : That is no point of order.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : এখানে ওঁদের যে সব বক্তৃতা হয়েছে তার চেয়ে এগুলি অনেক relevant. তারপর আবো শুনুন—

আর এক জায়গায় তিনি বলেছেন—

"When I have to speak unpleasant things, I must begin with you, my friends, in my own constituency. But it applies to everybody else who acts similarly. For God's sake, stop this terrible "leak" in the form of smuggling across the border. ——Repeatedly, these days, I have been asked about control and decontrol. The only honest answer is: It is up to you to create conditions for a speedy return to normal trade channels. It is up to you to create faith in the public mind that you are going to feed them, not starve them."

আবার আর এক জায়গায় বলেছেন—

"The procurement drive has shown good results. The drive must continue—intensively, at an accelerated pace. We have more rice in the province and we must have it to be put into consumption."

আর একটা জায়গায় তিনি বলেছেন—

"I shall say only one thing: this is a time too serious, too pressing, almost too tragic for petty bickerings. This is time for firm and united action, with an eye only on the task in hand. That task is to step up procurement to provide food for everybody. Let there be no mistaking its urgency: Procure or perish."

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I would point out one thing to Mr. Sen. Whatever the Director of Publicity writes, the Civil Supplies Minister is not responsible for that. The Director of Publicity is under the Home Minister.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : এইগুলি আমার মুখের কথা বলে যে উনি বল্ছেন তার আগে আমাকে দেখতে দেওয়া উচিৎ ছিল।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : তারপর আর একটা জায়গায় তিনি বলেছেন— "People dislike control over food. To them, one word: Decontrol in simiiar circumstances created 1943. That should be lesson for us."

আমি তাঁকে কিছু আক্রমণ করে একটা কথাও বলছি না। আমি তাঁর কথাগুলিই শুধু উল্লেখ করছি। যদি control উঠে যায় decontrol হয় তাহলে কি অবস্থা হবে সেটা তিনি যেমন করে বলেছেন আমি হয়তো ততো ভাল করে বলতে পারতাম না।

"We cannot allow history to repeat itself on that pattern."

আর এক জায়গায় তিনি বলেছেন দাম সম্বন্ধে। এটা খুব মূল্যবান কথা আমার কাছে, আপনাদের কাছে কি না তা আমি জানি না—

"When I think of the deficit areas of the province, million-mouthed Calcutta comes to my mind at once. We have to feed these millions or they will starve you all. Calcutta has all the money needed to cause a price-famine. In helping us to feed Calcutta, you help us to keep prices down, you help us to send food to other deficit areas."

যে inflationএর কথা নিয়ে আমার বন্ধু হরিপদ বাবু অনেক কিছু বলেছেন সেটা সম্বন্ধে তিনি কি বলেছেন শুনুন—

"There is some discontent regarding the price paid by Government for paddy. Prices of other things are rising, goes the argument. But what sets the pace? Mainly, Food. Any attempt to boost up food prices will give a permanent foundation to inflation and perpetuate the high spiral." (Uproar.)

এর চেয়ে সত্য কথা আর কিছু হয় না।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Procurement সম্বন্ধে যা হচ্ছে তার উত্তর চাই, অন্য কথা শুনতে চাই না। ঐ লুটটা বন্ধ হওয়া চাই।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : আর একটা মূল্যবান কথা আপনারা শুনুন— "We cannot compete with the black-marketeer in offering high prices. He will offer prices higher still."

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : Publicity Departmentএর agentও আপনারা নন। তবে এত সব quotation কেন?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : হরিপদ বাবু বক্তৃতা করছিলেন যখন আমরা তখন কথা বলি নাই। তিনি জোর গলায় হাত ঘুরিয়ে অনেক কিছু বলেছেন; আমরা disturb করি নাই। উনি এখন এত disturb করছেন কেন? আর একটা কথা আমাদের চারুদা বক্তৃতায় বলেছেন—

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি স্পীকার মহাশয়ের কাছে জিজ্ঞাসা করছি উনি যেগুলি পড়ছেন সেগুলি আমার কোথায়, এবং কোন statementএ আছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: ১৯৪৭ সালে শ্রদ্ধেয় শ্রীযুত চারু ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয় যে বক্তৃতা দিয়েছিলেন তা থেকে পড়ছি। এই কাগজ পুরানো, আমি তৈরী করি নাই।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : এই বক্তৃতা কোথায় পেলেন?

Mr. SPEAKER : Order, order. I cannot allow cross questions. If you want to raise on a point of order or a point of information, let me know.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি স্পীকার মহোদয়ের মারফৎ জানতে চাই, এই যে বক্তৃতা এর report কে করেছে এবং এটা authentic কিনা?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই বক্তৃতাটা আমার তৈরী নয়। এটা তিন বৎসরের পুরানো জিনিষ,—Directorate of Publicity থেকে নেওয়া। ১৯৪৭ সালে মাননীয় চারু ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয় যখন সরবরাহ মন্ত্রী ছিলেন, তখনকার তাঁর মুখের কথা যা লিখিত হয়েছিল এটা তাই। এই কথাগুলি আপনারা শুনুন, খুব মূল্যবান কথা, চারুদা শুনিয়ে গিয়েছেন এবং আমি ইহা মহামূল্যবান মনে করছি।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: On a point of order, Sir. If the report prepared by the Publicity Department has something as having been said by give him an opportunity to say that it is wrong.

Mr. SPEAKER: Every member of the House has a right to offer a personal explanation, and if Mr. Bhandari thinks that it is misquoted I will give him an opportunity to say that it is wrong.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: It is not what I had said.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : এ আপনারই কথা আমার বানানো নয়।

Mr. SPEAKER (referring to Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari): If you have not said so you may say that you have not said so. If you think that that is not what you said that is an end of the matter; nothing more.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: By way of personal explanation. আমি কিছু বলতে চাই, এখান সেখান থেকে তিনি কি সব পড়ছেন সেগুলি ধরবার আমি কোন উপায় দেখছি না।

Sj. DEBENDRA NATH SEN: On a point of order, Sir. Can a report prepared by the Publicity Department be utilised here as an authentic document and used against an ex-Minister. (A VOICE FROM GOVERNMENT BENCHES: Surely, surely.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already told you that the Government Department has prepared this report from the speech of Mr. Bhandari when he was the Minister of Supplies. Now the gentleman to whom it is attributed was quite at liberty to say that he has been misquoted. He could have risen on a point of personal explanation and said so, but he did not say so. So far as the Hon'ble Minister is concerned I believe that he can refer to the official reports of the speeches made by honourable members who criticised him and to whose criticisms he is to reply.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of information, Sir. When the Publicity Department prepared the speech for the Hon'ble Minister was it shown to him for his approval?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, certainly. This speech has been prepared on the basis of the manuscript supplied by the then Supply Minister, Sri Bhandari.

এবং এইগুলি খুব মূল্যবান কথা—

"Moreover, Bengal prices are linked up with the all-India price structure and we cannot disturb ours without severing our economic relations with the country. Closer reflection will convince the advocates of price-raising that they are backing a wrong horse. For peaceful economy and return to normal inflation must be attacked root and branch, especially in food."

এইগুলি আমার কথা নয় চারুবাবুরই কথা। কাজে কাজেই বন্ধুগণ এই মূল্যবান কথাগুলি স্পীকার মহোদয়ের মারফৎ না শুনিয়ে পারছি না। সমস্ত কথাগুলিই,—যখন চারুবাবু খাদ্যমন্ত্রীরূপে মফঃস্বলে ভ্রমণে গিয়েছিলেন, তখন বলেছিলেন। আমরা ঠিক করছি চারুবাবুর এই মহামূল্য বক্তৃতাগুলি ছেপে প্রচার করবো (laughter). মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, অনেক বন্ধু বলেছেন যে সেই সময় আর এই সময় এক নয়। তখনকার অবস্থায় inflation হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা ছিল। তখন procurement করাটা ভাল, ছিল আর এখন বন্ধ হওয়া উচিৎ। তখন মূল্য বৃদ্ধি করা চল্‌ত না, আর এখন চল্‌বে। আজকে control যদি তুলে দিই তাহলে দেশের মঙ্গল হবে এবং জনসাধারণের উপকার হবে!!—স্পিকার মহোদয়, বিচার করে দেখুন ১৯৪৭ সালে, কি অবস্থা ছিল আর ১৯৫১ সালেই বা কি অবস্থা হয়েছে। আমি আর অধিক সময় নিয়ে আপনাদের ধৈর্য্য নষ্ট করবো না, সংক্ষেপেই বল্‌বো। সে সময় তাঁর আমলে (চারুবাবুর) পশ্চিমবঙ্গে লোকসংখ্যা ছিল ২ কোটি ৪০ লক্ষ, আর আজকে লোক সংখ্যা কত? আমাদের বিরোধী দলীয় refugeeদের বন্ধুগণের কথাতেই বলি—

আমরা যে এখানে ২০ লক্ষ আশ্রয়প্রার্থী আছি সে সংখ্যা একেবারেই ঠিক নয়। কেউ বলেছেন ৩৫ লক্ষ, কেউ বলেছেন ৪০ লক্ষ, আর একজন বলেছেন ৫০ লক্ষ। যদি ৫০ লক্ষই হয় তাহলে চারুবাবুদের মতেই লোক সংখ্যা বেড়ে হয়েছে ২ কোটি ৯০ লক্ষ। জন্ম মৃত্যু হিসাবে দেখা যাচেছ প্রত্যেক দিন পশ্চিমবঙ্গে দশ হাজার করে লোক বাড়ছে। প্রতিবছরে গিয়ে দাঁড়াচেছ প্রায় ৩$\frac{১}{২}$ লক্ষ। যদিও কিছু লোক পাকিস্থানে গিয়েছে কিন্তু বহু সংখ্যায় এসেছে এ রাজ্যে, তার ফলে লোকসংখ্যা বেড়েছে এবিষয়ে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। লোক গণনা আরম্ভ হয়েছে। কত আশ্রয়প্রার্থী এসেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে আমরা মোটামুটি জানতে পারব। যাই হোক দেশের চাষের অবস্থার আশানুরূপ উন্নতি করতে পারিনি। গত বছর যে সব ছোট ছোট সেচ পরিকল্পনা কার্য্যকরী হয়েছে তার ফলে আমরা কিছুটা লাভবান হয়েছি, এবং ১৯,৫০০ শত মন উন্নত ধরণের বীজ পেয়েছি। এবং এই বীজ দিয়ে খারিফ ফসল বেড়েছে ৮৫ হাজার টন ধান। এক টনে প্রায় ২৭ মন হয়। সুতরাং সমস্ত ব্যাপারটা সম্পূর্ণ নৈরাশ্যজনক নয়। আপনারা জানেন ঢাকা যখন আমাদের হাত থেকে চলে যায়, তখন এমন কোন সরকারী কৃষিক্ষেত্র ছিল না যেখানে কাজ আরম্ভ করতে পারা যায়।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: যথেষ্ট ছিল।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমাকে বলতে দিন, সময় খুব কম। আমি বলছি হতাশার কারণ নাই। হরিণঘাটায়ও কিছু উন্নত ধরণের ধান উৎপন্ন হয়েছে। হরিণঘাটা বেশী দূর নয়। ডাঃ ঘোষ যদি দয়া করে সেখানে যান তাহলে কি সুন্দর ব্যবস্থা সেখানে হয়েছে তিনি দেখে সত্যি খুব খুসী হবেন। কিংবা তিনি যদি বর্দ্ধমানে যান দয়া করে,—বলবেন আগে থেকে আমিও সঙ্গে যেতে রাজী আছি--সেখানে যেখানে মোটেই ফসল হত না ৮০০ মণ উন্নত ধরণের ধানের বীজ পেয়েছি। সেখানে গেলে তিনি খুসীই হবেন, আমি তাঁকে আমন্ত্রন জানাচিছ। আমাদের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে দুই কোটী সত্তর লক্ষ একর ধানের জমি--কোনটা আউস কোনটি বোরো আবার কোনটা আমন ধানের জমি। আমাদের দেশে চার হাজার রকমের ধান আছে। কোনটি এক ধরনের জমির উপযোগী আর কোনটা বা আর এক জমির উপযোগী কাজেই সমস্যা খুব জটিল। সমাধানের জন্য আপনাদের সহযোগিতা প্রয়োজন। আপনাদের সহযোগিতা পেলে আমরা অনেকখানি এগুঁতে পারব। গত বছর আমরা দুইশত registered firm করেছি--আপনারা শুনে খুব আনন্দিত হবেন যে পশ্চিমবাংলায় একজন ধান্য চাষী সমগ্র ভারতবর্ষে প্রথম পুরস্কার পেয়েছেন। মেদিনীপুর জেলায় গিডনী থানায় তিনি প্রতি একর জমিতে ৭৩ মন ধান করেছেন। আমরা এই কাজে competition চাই। আপনি শুনে আশ্চর্য্য হবেন স্পীকার মহোদয়, যে আমরা ৫ লক্ষ ৩৭ হাজার বিঘা জমিতে উন্নত ধরণের বীজ লাগিয়ে দিয়েছি এবং চেষ্টা করছি যাতে ধানের ফলন বেশী হয়। চাষীরা compete করছে--যে জমিতে চার মন হত সেখানে বার মনের কম হয়নি। এইভাবে আমরা আন্তরিকভাবে চেষ্টা করছি যাতে উৎপন্ন ধানের পরিমাণ বাড়ে। তারপর আর একটা কথা--যে দেশের জীবনযাত্রার মান যত উঁচু তারা cereal খায় তত কম। যেমন রাশিয়ায় যেখানে জীবনযাত্রার মান খুব নীচু—মাথা পিছু cereal খায় দৈনিক ১৯ আউন্স কিন্তু এমেরিকায় মাথা পিছু খায় মাত্র ৮·৬ আউন্স। আমাদের দেশের জীবনযাত্রার মান খুব নীচু তাই এখানে ধানের বা অন্য cerealএর এত প্রয়োজন। তারপর আপনারা জানেন এ বছরে যে রকম বৃষ্টি হওয়া উচিত ছিল প্রথম তেমন হয়নি। অনেক জায়গায় বীজ ধান সেজন্য নষ্ট হয়ে গিয়েছিল। তারপর হঠাৎ হল অতিবৃষ্টি। কাজেই সমস্ত দেশে অন্ন সংস্থানের সমস্যা খুব সহজ কথা নয়। তারপর ডাক্তার ঘোষ বল্লেন যে Meteorological Departmentএর report দেখে পূর্ব্ব হতে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করলে অনেক ধান ধ্বংসের হাত থেকে বেঁচে যেত। আমি তাঁকে জানাতে পারি যে ঐ departmentটি India Governmentএর হাতে। সেটি আমাদের হাতে নয়। কাজেই আগে থাকতে আমাদের জানবার উপায় নাই। একটি প্রচলিত প্রবাদ আছে--"যদি বৃষ্টি হয় আঘনে রাজা যায় মাঁগনে"—এই অতিবৃষ্টির ফলে কোথাও ১০।১২% আবার কোথাও ১৪% ভাগ শতকরা ধান নষ্ট হয়েছে। আর যে সমস্ত জমিতে ধান হতে পারত প্রায় ১১ লক্ষ মুসলমান পাকিস্থানে চলে যাওয়ায় অনাবাদী পড়ে ছিল।

কি করে এই সমস্ত জমি আবাদ করা যায়—এই খাদ্য সংকটের দিনে আষাঢ় শ্রাবণ মাসে এক মস্ত বড় সমস্যারূপে দেখা দিল। ১১ লক্ষ বিঘা জমির মধ্যে ৭॥০ লক্ষ বিঘা জমি চাষ হ'ল। বাকী ৩॥০ লক্ষ বিঘা জমিতে যদি চাষ হ'ত, তাহলে কমপক্ষে আরও অন্ততঃ ১৬।১৭ লক্ষ মন ধান পেতাম। সেটা আমরা পাই নাই। এছাড়া যে জমিতে চাষ করা হয়েছিল, তাতেও পুরা ফসল হয় নাই। হরিপদ বাবু জানেন কোথাও বিঘাপ্রতি

দু-মন হয়েছে, কোথাও বা বিঘাপ্রতি তিন মন হয়েছে নদীয়ায়। ১৯৪৭ সালে চারুচন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারী মাহশয় তাঁর অমূল্য উপদেশাবলীর মধ্যে যদি বলে গিয়ে থাকেন ধানের দর বাড়ালে inflation হবে, যদি বলে থাকেন control তুলে দিলে পর ১৯৪৩ সাল হবে, এবং এটা যদি তখন সত্য হয়, তাহলে আজকের দিনেও সেই কথা দ্বি-গুন সত্য, তিন গুন সত্য। (Hear, hear from the Government Benches.) আজকে সেইজন্য আপনাদের এবিষয়ে একটু চিন্তা করে দেখতে বলবো। একয়দিনে যে সমস্ত কথা শুনেছি, তাতে সহযোগিতার মনোভাব দেখি নাই। ডাঃ ঘোষ আজ সহযোগিতার কথা তুলেছেন। আমরা আনন্দ সহকারে তাঁর সেই সহযোগিতার হাত ধরছি। আজ যদি সকলে সহযোগিতা করেন এবং খাদ্যকে দলগত রাজনীতির উপরে রাখেন, তাহলে খাদ্যে স্বাবলম্বী ১৯৫২ সালের ৩১শে মার্চের মধ্যে না হতে পারি সেই স্বাবলম্বী হবার পথে অনেকখানি এগিয়ে যাবো। আজ ঠাট্টা-বিদ্রূপ করবার সময় নয়, আজ এই চরম খাদ্য-সঙ্কট নিয়ে দলগত রাজনীতি করার সময় নয়। শ্রদ্ধেয় চারুবাবু সত্যই বলেছেন ১৯৪৭ সালে, যে কণ্ট্রোল তুলে দিলে পর ১৯৪৩ সালের মত দুর্ভিক্ষ হবে,--আমি বলি ১৯৪৩ সালও হার মানবে। আজ যদি ২০ লক্ষ লোকও এসে থাকে, তাতে কয়েক মাসের মধ্যে ৭ বছরের population বেড়ে গেছে। কি করে তাদের আমরা খাওয়াব? আজ একথা সকলের ভাবতে হবে। এক বন্ধুবর বলেছেন তিনি নিয়ন্ত্রনের বিরুদ্ধে নন। তার প্রমাণও পেয়েছি। তবে ধান্য সংগ্রহ ব্যাপারে অনেক অভিযোগ করেছেন। সেগুলো সময়মত পেলে নিশ্চয়ই আমি তার তদন্ত করতাম। আমাদের খাদ্যনীতি এক, এবং সেই নীতি অনুসারে কাজ করবার জন্য আমাদের পন্থাও এক। আমি গ্রামে গ্রামে গিয়ে সমস্ত চাষীদের কাছ থেকে ধান সংগ্রহ করতে পারি না, আমার Director, Procurement and Supplyও তা করতে পারেন না। কত দুর দুব গ্রাম রাস্তা নাই, ঘাট নাই, অজানা জায়গা, অজানা পথ, সেখানে আমাদের কর্মচারীদের জীবন হাতে করে নিয়ে কাজ করতে হয়। শ্রদ্ধেয় অন্নদাবাবু বললেন, প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেন মহাশয় কত গ্রামে গ্রামে ঘুরেছেন, কত অভিনন্দন পেয়েছেন। কিন্তু আজ আর তিনি আরামবাগে সেইরকম অভিনন্দন পান না। মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয় আপনি বোধ হয় জানেন, আগে আরামবাগ মহকুমায় procurement হতো না। কিন্তু আমি ভাবলাম যদি আমি procurement ২৪-পরগণায় করি, বর্দ্ধমান, মেদিনীপুর ও বীরভূমে করি, তাহলে আরামবাগেও আমাকে procurement করতে হবে। আমরা সেখানে এক আশ্চর্য্যজনক ফল পেয়েছি। আরামবাগে আশাতীত সংগ্রহ হচ্ছে।

বিভিন্ন স্থানে কুলক আন্দোলনও খুব হচ্ছে। ধান যখন ওঠে, গরীব চাষীরা কিছু পরিমান ধান বিক্রী করে। সেই ধানের দর অল্প সময়ের জন্য খুব কমে যেতেও দেখা গেছে। আমি জানি গত বছর ধানের দাম কিছু সময়ের জন্য সংগ্রহ দরের চেয়েও কম হয়েছিল দিনাজপুরে। শ্রীযুক্ত ঈশ্বর চন্দ্র মাল মহাশয় জানেন কাঁথীতে ১৯৪৯ সালে কয়েক দিনের জন্য ধানের দর কম ছিল procurement price থেকেও। তার কারণ নিকটে কোন হাট-বাজার নাই; ভাল রাস্তা ঘাট নাই, চাহিদাও চৈত্র, বৈশাখে তেমন থাকে না। সুতরাং ধানের দর কম ছিল। কাজেই আমাদের দুটো জিনিষ ভাবতে হবে। প্রথমতঃ আমাদের যা খাদ্যনীতি,—সেটা সর্বভারতীয় খাদ্যনীতি। আমবা ইচ্ছে করলেই তা বদলাতে পারি না। আজ চারুবাবু যদি সরবরাহ বিভাগের ভাব পান তাহলে নিয়ন্ত্রন তাঁকেও রাখতে হবে। সর্বভারতীয় খাদ্যনীতি বজায় রাখতেই হবে। সেটা রদবদল করা যাবে না। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর আদর্শ আমরা জানি, মানি। কিন্তু মহাত্মা গান্ধী যে plane থেকে কথা বলতেন, যে স্তর থেকে বলতেন, সেই স্তরে আমরা নাই। চারুবাবু খদ্দর পরতেন, আজও পরছেন, তালেরও অনেক গুড় তিনি করেছেন। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর প্রদর্শিত পথে যদি চলতাম তাহলে আমাদের আজ বস্ত্রের অভাব টের পেতাম না, এত দামও হ'ত না। যেখানে ১৮ হাজার গাঁইট বস্ত্র বাংলার quota ছিল, আজ ৩০।৪০ লক্ষ লোকসংখ্যা বেড়ে যাওয়া সত্ত্বেও আজ সেই quota দাঁড়িয়েছে ৯ হাজার গাঁইটে। কিন্তু সত্যি সত্যি আসছে ৮ হাজার গাঁইট। অবশ্য এই সমস্ত সমস্যা তুলে লোককে বিভ্রান্ত করা উচিত নয় বা তাদের কুপথেও পরিচালনা করা অন্যায়। তা করলে দেশের অবস্থা ভাল হবে না, তাতে রামরাজ্যও প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে না—কৃষক-প্রজা-মজদুর-রাজও আনতে পারবো না। আমি বিশ্বাস করি ভারত সরকার যে নীতি গ্রহণ করেছেন, তা ঠিক নীতি, তা যথার্থ নীতি, তা দেশের জনগণের জনহিতকর নীতি। আমরা অনেক সময় বিপদে পড়লে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর দোহাই দেই। এমন কি—সোস্যালিষ্ট পার্টি, কমুনিষ্ট পার্টি—সকলেই মহাত্মা গান্ধীর দোহাই দিয়ে থাকেন। আজ যাঁরা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর নাম করেন, তাঁরা আসুন, সকলে মিলে আমরা চেষ্টা করি আমরা নিজেরা কি করতে পারি ভেবে দেখি। কিন্তু আমি দেখছি বর্ত্তমানে সবচেয়ে বড় কথা কারু কারু কাছে হচ্ছে ধানের মুল্য বাড়াতে হবে। ডাঃ ঘোষ বলেছেন যে একটা কমিটি নিয়োগ করতে হবে। তিনি এবিষয়ে আমাদের সাহায্যও করতে চেয়েছেন। ওঁর কাছে যে

facts ও figure আছে, তা দিতেও রাজী আছেন। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি কাদের ধানের দর? ১৯৪২ সালের আগে একমণ ধান বিক্রী করলে খাজনার টাকা হ'ত। আর আজ ১০সের কি ৫ সের ধান বিক্রী করেই সেই খাজনা দেওয়া যায়।

আমি আপনাদের আর বেশী সময় নেব না। একটা অঙ্ক আপনাদের শোনাব। আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলায় এখন ২৩৷৷০ লক্ষ কৃষক পরিবার আছে। তার মধ্যে ১৩ লক্ষ কৃষক পরিবারের জমির পরিমান শূন্য একর থেকে ৩ একর বা ৯ বিঘার মধ্যে। ন'লক্ষ কৃষক পরিবার কোন না কোন মাসে কিনে খায়—কারও ন'-মাসের ধান হয়—কারও বা দশ মাসের ধান হয়। দু-লক্ষ কৃষক পরিবার মোটামুটী self-sufficient,—তাদের উদ্বৃত্ত খুব সামান্য থাকে,—কখনও কখনও তাদেরও কিনে খেতে হয়। আর বাদ বাকী যে ৮।৯ লক্ষ কৃষক পরিবার, তাদের উদ্বৃত্ত বেশী থাকে। বর্দ্ধমান জেলায় এমন লোক আছেন যিনি হাজার বিঘা জমির মালিক—১০ হাজার মন ধান হয়,—ভাগে ৫ হাজার মন ধান পান। যদি সেটা procurement priceএ কণ্ট্রোল দরেও বিক্রয় করেন, তাহলে প্রায় ৩৭৷৷০ হাজার টাকা পান। খড়ের দাম বেড়ে গিয়েছে। হুগলী জেলায় কোন কোন জায়গায় খড়ের কাহন আশ্বিন মাসে ৭০৲ টাকা দর হয়েছিল। কারু কারু শুধু খড় বিক্রয় করেই চাষের খরচ উঠে যায়। ভাগে যিনি জমি দেন, তিনি অবশ্য সামান্য বীজ দেন, খাজনা যা দেন, তাও সামান্য। কেউ কেউ আবার মলমূত্র ও আবর্জনাকে সারে পরিণত করে বিঘা প্রতি ১৬।১৭ মন ধান করেছেন। আর সেই একই রকম জমিতে আলস্যপরায়ণ কৃষক—যে পরিশ্রম করতে চায় না—সে মাত্র বিঘাপ্রতি ৪ মণ ধান করেছে। তার দাম কি? তমলুকে ময়না থানার কৃষকদের এক বিঘা জমিতেও ধান হয় নাই। তাদের আজ কিনে খেতে হবে। কাজেই কাদের ধানের দর নির্দ্ধারিত করবো? কৃষকদের? ভাগচাষীদের? কাদের ধানের মূল্য নির্দ্ধারন করবেন বা বাড়াবেন? এটা একটু ভেবে দেখতে হবে। আজ লোককে বিভ্রান্ত করা যায়, কিন্তু ধানের দর ঠিক করা যায় না। ভারতীয় পার্লামেণ্টে ধানের দর ঠিক করবার জন্য অনেকবার আন্দোলন হয়েছে, ডা: রাজেন্দ্র প্রসাদ যখন খাদ্যমন্ত্রী, তখনও এ নিয়ে আলোচনা হয়েছিল এবং মাননীয় জয়রামদাস দৌলত-রামের আমলেও হয়েছিল। শ্রীচারু চন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয় ১৯৪৭ সালের ৬ই নভেম্বর তারিখে দিল্লীতে বলেছিলেন যে, এক বিঘা জমিতে ধান চাষ করতে ২৮৷৷০ টাকা খরচ পড়ে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : ১৯৪৭ সালে ২৮৷৷০ টাকা খরচ পড়েছে।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN*: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়, আমাদের চুঁচড়া ফার্মে আমরা রাসায়নিক সার দিয়ে যে ধান করেছি সেখানে হিসেব করে দেখা গেছে এক একর জমিতে ধানের চাষ করতে ১৩১৶০ আনা খরচ হয় অর্থাৎ বিঘাতে ৪৩৸০ এবং একর প্রতি ৩০।৪০ মন ধান পাচ্ছি। শ্রদ্ধেয় সাতকড়িবাবুকে অনেকে চেনেন—তিনি চাষী দরদী, চাষে তাঁর মন আছে, কিন্তু তাই বলে তিনি ত আর নিজে লাঙ্গল ধরতে পারেন না? অপরের শ্রমে কাজ করাতে হয় তাঁকে। সেই হিসেবে ১০৫ বিঘায় মাত্র ৬১৯ মন ৮০ সের ধান পেয়েছেন। তার খরচ হয়েছে সমস্ত খরচ ধরে ২,৪৩৪৲ টাকা। সেই ৬১৯ মন ধান ৬৲ টাকা দরে বিক্রয় করলেও বেশ কিছু লাভ হয়। যদিও প্রতিটা কাজ তাঁকে পয়সা দিয়েই করতে হয়েছিল। আর আপনাদের শোনাব না। কাল একটা হিসেব পেয়েছি ধান চাষের। আমাদের মহামান্য রাজ্যপাল মহাশয় আজ হুগলী জেলার ত্রিবেণী সঙ্গমে গিয়েছিলেন সেই অঞ্চলের কয়েকজন চাষীকে পুরস্কার দিয়েছেন। তাঁরা কেউ রাসায়নিক সার ব্যবহার করেন নাই।

কম্পোষ্ট সার দিয়ে তাঁরা প্রতি একরে উৎপন্ন করেছেন ৪৩$\frac{1}{2}$ মন, ৫৬ মন, ৫৭ মন ধান, একজন করেছেন ৫২$\frac{1}{2}$ মন ধান এবং এইগুলি তাঁরা করেছেন রাসায়নিক সার ব্যবহার না করেই। অনুগ্রহ করে ডা: ঘোষ বা চারুবাবু যদি আসেন এবং এইগুলি দেখেন তাহলে আমি আশা করি তাঁরা খুসি হবেন। বাংলা দেশের ভূমি সম্বন্ধে যাদের এতটুকু জ্ঞান আছে তারা কখনও ধানের দর ঠিক করে দাও এই কথা বলবেন না। ধানের দর বাড়াবার কথা যাঁরা বলেন তাঁরা বাংলা দেশকে চেনেন না। সুতরাং আপনারা ধানের দর বাড়াবার কথা বলবেন না। যদি ধানের দর বাড়ান হয় তাহলে দেশের সর্ব্বনাশ হবে। ধানের দর বাড়লে মজুরের দর বাড়বে, শ্রমিকের দর বাড়বে সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আরো অনেক কিছু জিনিষপত্রের দর বাড়বে। সরিষার তেল যেটার দর কমে আসছে, সেটা আবার বেড়ে যাবে। তারপর ম্যাঞ্চাসার, জাপান থেকে কাপড় আসছে না। বস্ত্র সমস্যার সমাধান হতে পারতো, আমরা যারা গান্ধিজীর আদর্শে চলেছি, সকলে মিলে যদি চরকা চালাতাম। কাপড়ের বাজারে সঙ্কট দেখা

দিয়েছে। অনেক চিন্তা ভাবনা করে পুনরায় control চালু করা হয়েছে। তবু কাপড়ের সমস্যা মেটে নাই। ৮,০০০ বেলের জায়গায় ৯,০০০ বেল পাওয়া গেলেও মিটবে কি না সন্দেহ। কাজেকাজেই যারা গান্ধিরাজ চায়, রাম রাজত্ব চায় এবং যারা যখন তখন গান্ধিজীর নাম নেয় তাদের উচিৎ গ্রামেগ্রামে গিয়ে চরকা করা। তাঁরা তা করছেন না, উলটো কুলোকের পিছনে ঘুরছেন। খুবই দুঃখ হয় ডাঃ ঘোষকে দেখে। তিনি বলেছেন সহযোগিতা করবেন, আমরা চাই তাঁর সহযোগিতা, আমরা চাই তাঁদের। শ্রদ্ধেয় বিমলবাবু সেদিন বলেছিলেন চাষীরা ধান চাষ করছেনা বেগুন চাষ করছে। হরিপদ বাবু অবশ্য আমার বন্ধু কিন্তু তাঁর সব কথাগুলি তিনি ভেবে বলেন না।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : আমার একটা প্রশ্নেরও উত্তর নাই এই বক্তৃতায়। একটার অন্ততঃ উত্তর দিন।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : আমার বক্তৃতা College Squareএর বক্তৃতা নয়। কত আর কথা কাটাকাটি করা যাবে। বন্ধুবর মোদাশের হোসেন সাহেবের খুঁটিনাটি কথার উত্তর দিয়ে লাভ নাই।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : আমরা এখানে দেশবাসীর প্রতিনিধি হয়ে এসেছি, তাদের হয়েই জবাব চেয়েছি, আমার প্রশ্নের একটা উত্তরও দিতে পারেন নাই।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I think the honourable member is suffering from high blood pressure. (Laughter.)

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : হরিপদ বাবু বারবার করে জবাবের কথা তুলে আমার বক্তৃতায় বাধা দিচ্ছেন। যদিও আমি হরিপদবাবুর বলার সময় কিছু বলি নাই। তিনি কতিপয় যায়গার নাম দিয়েছেন এবং বলেছেন সেখানে অত্যাচার হয়েছে। যাই হোক, আমি স্পীকার মহোদয়কে বলছি যে হরিপদবাবুর প্রত্যেকটা caseএর আমি তদন্ত করবো।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : Why they should Pay Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 for a maund of rice ?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : গ্রামের লোক ৪০৲ টাকা ৩৫৲ টাকা এখন দিচ্ছে কিন্তু যদি এই আংশিক control ও না রাখা যায় তাহলে ১৩৫৲ টাকা ধানের মন হবে। হরিপদ বাবুর বক্তৃতাব সময় আমি কিছুই বলি নাই এখন আমি যখন বলছি তখন তাঁর গায়ের জ্বালা কেন? আমি ভাল বলছি বলেই কি গায়ের এই জ্বালা ?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. I think the honourable members ought to remember that there is a limit to interruptions. As a matter of fact interruptions are not allowed generally and I have repeatedly requested the honourable members to remain quiet. The members of the Opposition had their say and there was then no interruptions and therefore they should now permit the other side to reply uninterruptedly. If you want to say anything more there would be enough time both during the general discussion of the Budget as well as during the cut motions to ventilate your grievances.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : On a point of privilege, আমি মনে করি Government পক্ষের লোকেরা যখন বলবেন তখন Oppositionএর পক্ষ থেকে যে সমস্ত প্রশ্ন তোলা হয় সেইগুলির যেন জবাব দেন। কিন্তু দুঃখের সঙ্গে দেখছি তাঁরা তা করছেন না। যেমন হরিপদবাবু বলেছেন, আমরা জনসাধারণের হয়ে তাদের কথাই বলছি। কিন্তু তার কোন উত্তর না দিয়ে যাঁরা খালি অন্য কথাই বলেন তাঁরা আমাদের প্রতি injustice করেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: It is left to the discretion of the Hon'ble Minister what reply he would give. He might reply to the point he thinks necessary and if it is a small point requiring a reply that can be allowed but interruptions should not be made with a view to ventilate one's grievances.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : আমি নীতি সম্বন্ধীয় বিষয়ের উত্তর দিয়েছি। চারুবাবুর বক্তৃতায় তার সম্বন্ধে অনেক কাজের কথাই ছিল, নীতির কথা ছিল। আমার বক্তৃতা ও তাঁর পুরানো কথাগুলি পড়লেই সব উত্তর পাওয়া যায়। তারপর শ্রদ্ধেয় কানাই বাবু বাঁকুড়া জেলার সেচের কথা তুলেছেন তিনি বলেছেন যে সেখানে মাত্র তিনটা সেচের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। সেখানে তিনটা নয় পাঁচটা করা হয়েছে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE : তিনটা আর পাঁচটা একই কথা।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : পাঁচটা হয়ে গিয়েছে আরো ১৬টা হচ্ছে। আর বাঁকুড়া জেলা——

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of privilege. We are being made to sit after 7 p.m. everyday. Today also it is already 7 o'clock. I would like to know from you, Sir, whether we shall still continue today or we shall continue tomorrow. It is impossible for us to sit here everyday after 7 p.m.

Mr. SPEAKER: The position is that we have already extended the debate by one day and therefore no further extension is possible and so we must finish today.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : কানাই বাবুকে আমি বলছি বাঁকুড়া জেলায় কৃষিবিভাগ থেকে যেসব কাজ করেছি, তারমধ্যে সবচেয়ে প্রধান কাজ হচ্ছে পুকুর সংস্কারের কাজ। সেখানে ছোট ছোট সেচের কাজ ভাল হয় না, যেমন একটা বাঁধ দেওয়া বা খাল কেটে দেওয়া ইত্যাদি। সেইজন্য পুকুরের কাজই ভাল করে করছি। ১৯৫০।৫১ সালে ৪৭টা পুকুরের কাজ সম্পন্ন করেছি এবং ৭৪টা পুকুরের কাজ এখনও হচ্ছে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of privilege, Sir. (Interruptions, continued interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. I may tell the honourable members that there is a rule of debate. I am now quoting from May's Parliamentary Practice for your guidance. "Members are not to disturb a member who is speaking by hissing, exclamations or other interruptions——

(While Mr. Speaker was on his legs Sj. Sibnath Banerjee rose and began to speak).

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of privilege, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you must know that when the Speaker is on his legs no members should rise to speak——

(When Sj. Sibnath Banerjee again rose to speak and there were interruptions.)

Well, it is a gross violation of the Rules of this House that when the Speaker is on his legs another member should rise and speak. This is the rule everywhere. Unless this rule is obeyed the debate cannot be conducted properly. In spite of my repeated requests, Mr. Banerjee, you did not take your seat. I take a very serious notice of it.

The Opposition has made all the charges against the Government that they wanted to make. Now is the turn of the Government to reply to those charges and criticisms and the Hon'ble Ministers concerned will reply according to their own light and judgment. If you are dissatisfied with their replies now, you will have an opportunity later on to say something which you may wish to say now. You may utilise that future occasion to say so as no second speech can be allowed on the same subject. When an Hon'ble Minister is replying I must say he is entitled to have a hearing from the House. Now with regard to the question raised by some honourable members that the sitting today has already been too long I must say that

much delay has been caused by some of the members of the Opposition group frequently interrupting the Hon'ble Ministers while replying. Otherwise the Hon'ble Mr. Prafulla Chandra Sen's speech, I believe, would have been finished by this time. The only other speaker is the Chief Minister and we shall finish his speech. I hope the House will listen with patience to their speeches and whatever arguments are there it will be for you to judge and for the public to judge. Now as regards interruptions, if any necessary interruption has to be made, the honourable member intending to do so will please rise in his seat and say, "I rise on a Point of Order or a Point of Privilege, etc.". This is the salutary rule.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I rose on a point of information and wanted to know how long was the Hon'ble Minister (Mr. Prafulla Chandra Sen) going to speak. It was a simple question addressed to you, Sir, but I have not got any reply as yet.

Mr. SPEAKER: I should say that it was no new point of information as the same point was raised by another honourable member and I had given the reply that the debate must conclude today. That was enough answer. When in his turn he is speaking what time would be taken by that Hon'ble Minister Mr. Sen will depend on what points he has to give in his reply. After all the reply must be exhaustive covering all the points and criticisms made by the honourable members. We had already extended the period of the debate on the Governor's address by one day and this was done in order to allow as many members as possible to participate in the debate. In former times for various reasons so many speeches from the same group or party were not allowed to be made which is the case now. I allowed the maximum possible time to each member of the opposite groups keeping an eye on the total period allowed for the entire debate. If there are too many speakers on a particular subject and if the time at our disposal is not too long naturally a limit has to be placed to the speech of each honourable member. Otherwise, it will be impossible for the Speaker to control the debate. All the members of the opposite parties and groups have already spoken and now we have got only two members to speak on this side, two Hon'ble Ministers from the Government side.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: When I wanted to speak for a longer time you prevented me, Sir, from speaking. (Congress Benches: That is a reflection on the Chair.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, if you think that enough of time was not given to members of this House, at least in this case, I repudiate it with all the emphasis that I command. I have been in this House since 1938 and I know what time was given to us the members of the Opposition to have our say. If you will please read the proceedings of this House for the last three days you will find that I have allowed even one hour to several members of the Opposition. What more do you want? I do not understand why you are charging like this. To do so, I should say, is most unfair.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: You seem to be irritated, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Certainly it pains me to find that an honourable member who was given sufficient time to deliver his speech should charge like this.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I rise again on a point of privilege in spite of your repudiation. I say I was given not more than 42 minutes although I asked for more.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you think that 42 minutes to a member is not enough when there are so many members to speak?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I wanted only to know how long he would speak and that information was not given.

Mr. SPEAKER: I consider that to be an interruption of the House. Here was a speaker speaking and it was for the Speaker to decide how long he would allow him to speak.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I have a right to put that question, Sir. You may say that I have not got that right but I say that I have got that right and I have exercised that right.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of concession and not a right.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : আমার যুক্তিপূর্ণ বক্তৃতায় অনেকেই বিচলিত হয়েছেন। অতএব একটা ছোট কথা বলেই শেষ করবো। জনাব খোদাবক্স সাহেব বলেছেন আসানসোলে যে সমস্ত rationএর দোকান আছে তাতে মুসলমানদের প্রতি অবিচার করা হয়েছে। আমি তার অবগতির জন্য জানাচ্ছি সেখানে মোট ৬৮টা দোকান আছে। তার মধ্যে মুসলমানদের ১৭টা আর অমুসলমানদের ৫১টা।

ডাক্তার ঘোষের অবগতির জন্য বলতে চাই—আমাদের দরকারের তুলনায় আমাদের দেশে মাছের অভাব আছে। তবে যে Danish trawler আমাদের এসেছে তাতে ৩৪ হাজার টন মাছ পেয়েছি। বর্ত্তমানে মাছের দর ৮০৲ হইতে ১০০৲ টাকা প্রতি মণ। Deep sea fish ধরার কাজ আমরা ভালভাবে আরম্ভ করেছি। আশা করি কলিকাতা সহরের লোকের মাছের চাহিদা ভালভাবেই মেটাতে পারব। আমার অনেক কথাই বলবার ছিল বিরুদ্ধদলের সদস্যরা ক্রুদ্ধ হয়েছেন। তারা অনেক সময় নিয়েছেন। কিন্তু বিরুদ্ধদলের অনেকেই বক্তৃতা করেছেন। আমি আর বেশী বলব না। আমি মাননীয় রাজ্যপালের বক্তৃতা সম্পূর্ণভাবে সমর্থন করি।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয় ১৯৪৭ সালে আমি যখন মন্ত্রী ছিলাম, তখন কোন কোন জনসভায় আমার বক্তৃতার একটা record বলে আমাদের খাদ্যমন্ত্রীমহাশয় যা বের করেছেন, আমি অতি দু:খের সঙ্গে বলবো যে এরকম বক্তৃতা আমি দেইনি।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : এত দিন বলেননি কেন?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি যে সমস্ত জনসভায় গিয়েছি আমি Government এর পক্ষ থেকে আর কাউকে নিয়ে যাইনি। আমি যখন যাই আমার যিনি Private Secretary ছিলেন তিনি আমার সঙ্গে যেতেন কিন্তু তিনি আমার কোন বক্তৃতা রেকর্ড করেননি। এই বক্তৃতা যদি office থেকে দিয়ে থাকে তবে আমি বলব কোন over jealous কর্ম্মচারী আমার মুখ দিয়ে নিজকে জাহির করতে চেয়েছিল। এটা মিথ্যা—concocted document—একথাই বলতে চাই। আমি যখন মন্ত্রী ছিলাম ধানের দর ছিল তখন ৬॥০ টাকা। এ ধানের দরের উপর এক টাকা বোনাস দিয়ে ৭॥০ টাকা করে দিয়েছিলাম।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, I wish to draw your attention to rule 15 of the Assembly Procedure Rules, viz., that "Notwithstanding anything contained in these rules, a member may, with the permission of the Speaker, make a personal explanation at any time, but in doing so no debatable matter may be brought forward and no debate can arise".

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : মি: স্পীকার মহাশয়, (interruption from the Ministerial Bench.) Mr. Speakerএর অনুমতি নিয়ে আমি বলতে চাই এই ৬॥০ টাকা ৭॥০ টাকা করা হয়। তার সঙ্গে godownএ পৌঁছানর খরচা দিয়ে খাদ্যশস্য সংগ্রহ করেছি।

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Is a fresh speech to be allowed, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: I regret I cannot at this stage allow a speech giving reasons for the same. Personal explanation lies in the utterance of the truth or otherwise of the statement made.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আর একটা কথা বলব। Control তুলবার কথা। Control উঠবে না একথা বলি নাই। আমরা ব্যবস্থা করেছিলাম ১৯৪৮ সালে—

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Is a supplementary speech to be allowed?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, you cannot put forth all the reasons in your speech. Personal explanation does not mean an opportunity to explain and in that connection to deliver a speech. A personal explanation is simply a short statement.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. Personal explanation is not only a personal contradiction. When he is entitled to give a personal explanation, he is entitled to explain what he had said and what he did not say and therefore he is entitled to make a statement by way of personal explanation in accordance with the rules laid down by yourself, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right. Mr. Bhandari, you go on.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : কাবণ এটুকু না বল্লে ঠিক explanation হয় না। এখানে যা বলা হচ্ছে তাতে ভুল ধারণার স্থষ্টি হবে। ১৯৪৭ সালে আমরা যখন শাসনভার গ্রহণ করেছিলাম তখনকার অবস্থায় তখনই কণ্ট্রোল উঠান যেত না। সেই সময় ধান, চালের খব অভাব ছিল, হাওড়ায় প্রায় দুর্ভিক্ষ দেখা দিয়েছিল সে সময়টা যে ব্যবস্থা চলেছিল সেইটাই যে চিরস্থায়ী ব্যবস্থা হবে তা বলা হয়নি। স্থতরাং control কখনও তোলা যাবে না একথা কখনও হতে পারে না। বক্তৃতার reportএর ভেতর যদি এই কথা থাকে তবে এমন absurd, কথা কোন দিন আমি বলিনি। এটা সম্পূর্ণ মিথ্যা report.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN : আমরা এইসব কথা লিখে একটা communique বের কবব।

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister on the other side has read out a document which has been categorically denied by Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari. After that, the Hon'ble Minister again wants to indulge in that gymnastic and bring out another record. If you allow the honourable member sufficient time to contradict the statement—false, untrue statement——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on the horns of dilemma. I have been asked a large number of questions from all parts of the House and yet it is nearly half past seven and I confess I am tired out and most members are also tired out listening to the debate of the House. I was oppressed by a sense of lack of perspective on the part of many of the members. This lack of perspective must necessarily lead to loss of self-restraint. Therefore, I find that the knight-errands of today are out to kill this Government and they like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are riding airy horses to crush the imaginary evil. I will give you two or three examples of what I have stated. One of them is about the University Commission's report. My friend the Hon'ble Minister of Education has already said that the University Commission's report is not a Government report. His Excellency the Chancellor happens to be the Governor—His Excellency the Governor as Chancellor had appointed a Committee which has submitted its report. I confess I did not myself see the report although my friend Dr. Ghosh says he has read the report. I did not get the report until it was circulated to every one of us—members of the Senate. The meeting of the Senate is going to take place on Saturday to consider this report and it would be very wrong for anybody even to discuss the

report until the Senate, which has got seisin of the report and to whom the Chancellor has sent the report for discussion, has had its say on the report. Therefore, nobody should blame Government because the University Enquiry Report has not been published. How can I publish the report which does not belong to me?

My friend Mr. Mudassir Hossain begins his speech by saying "I am not going to attack the Ministry", but he ends by saying "Every one of them is a murderer". (Laughter.)

Nawab Musharruff Hossain Saheb tells us that he was a Minister for the longest period in the history of the Bengal Legislative Council. He spoke with glee that in 1943 he asked the Government of India to give us food-grains which meant the death of 3 million people. That is the support which he got from the Government of India. We are much better off than those days. I can tell Nawab Musharruff Hossain that we have done our best to impress upon the Government of India the need for food so far as this province is concerned and I can quite realise their difficulty. Nawab Musharruff Hossain suffers from that lack of perspective. He forgets that the situation in 1943 is not the situation in 1949. There are at least three or four provinces of India where there has been either too much flood or lack of rain—Bihar suffered from flood and Madras and Bombay from drought. It is a peculiar situation. At the same time, Assam had an earthquake which also meant loss of foodgrains to that particular province. Therefore, to blame the Government because we did not go up to the Government of India is, I say, an instance of lack of perspective.

Mr. Mudassir Hossain has said that hard words do not break bones. I say to the members on the opposite side that if they think that by laying charges against the Government, the Government is going to sink down, they are entirely mistaken. I will tell you why. I have my conviction that a man who works is the man who has got the largest number of critics whereas a dead man has no critic. Therefore, the larger the number of charges made against the Government, the more I relish those charges because then I know I am doing something and against which some honourable gentlemen, some people outside, naturally criticise because they think they would be able to do things better.

First of all, I will refer to two important questions—two questions which have been practically in the mind of everybody, questions which have been made much of by members here as well as by the people outside. The first one is the refugee question. Sir, I felt, when I heard the speech of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh referring to this particular point, that probably there is a little confusion in the minds of some people as to who is a refugee and who is an evacuee. Sir, according to the definition which the Government of India has put down, a refugee is a person who is normally a resident of East Bengal and who on account of communal disturbances or fear of such disturbances left East Bengal after the 15th August, 1947, for any place in West Bengal and arrived here before the end of January, 1950. Sir, this is the definition of a refugee. The definition of an evacuee is a person ordinarily resident in West Bengal who on account of communal disturbances or fear of such disturbances leaves or has left after the 15th August, 1947, for any place in Pakistan. Therefore, Sir, there are two Bills which are placed before the House—one is the Evacuee Bill and the other is the Bill that would be sponsored by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, the Eviction Bill, concerning persons who have occupied unauthorised lands. I want to remind the House that the Evacuee Bill is practically a Bill which has been drawn up in consultation with East Bengal or, shall I say, the Pakistan Government and it was after a good deal of discussion between the Chief Secretaries and the Governments and the Central Ministers of Pakistan and

India that this Bill has been drafted. Their provisions are entirely similar, one side or the other, and they deal with certain classes of people who had been residents of West Bengal and who had to go away to East Bengal under cetrain circumstances, whereas the other one concerning refugees deals with those who had been in East Bengal and have come away to West Bengal. There is, therefore, a vast difference between these two and whenever any member thinks in terms of giving relief or affording measures of rehabilitation to these two types of people, he has to remember this that whereas in the case of an evacuee, he had been in West Bengal and had gone to East Bengal and his moorings were here, the roots were here, but a man who comes from East Bengal has left his everything there and he has got no moorings, no roots in West Bengal and therefore, the two have to be dealt with from different angles.

Sir, I was told the other day by Dr. Suresh Banerji and others that the figures that were given as regards the number of refugees are neither drawn up on a scientific basis nor are they correct. There again I say it is lack of perspective. We said definitely that it was after definite statistics taken by the Director of Statistics that we have given the figure that His Excellency has put forward before the House.

Sir, this report is signed by Mr. Chakrabarty of the State Statistical Bureau, Government of West Bengal. In order to make this clear that it was done on a scientific basis, I want to read out a few sentences from this report. According to the scheme, survey was conducted in three stages. During the first stage a complete enumeration of all refugee families in the State was to be undertaken with details about the name of the head of the family, his present occupation and date of migration, the total number of members in the family and the number of refugee members migrating after 15th October, 1946. A special count of displaced persons migrating after 31st December, 1949, was also taken to be made. It is obvious that all residential holdings in every town and village in the State of West Bengal were to be visited for the aforesaid purpose. Details regarding age, sex, education, profession, income and other facts relating to requirements and resources of the minority families were to be collected during the second stage. The third stage of the survey contemplated a quick sample survey of the refugee families for determining the movement factor of the refugee population during the course of the survey. It was considered necessary to undertake this work as the movements of people both ways were very large at the time of completing enumeration. The figures that were circulated to the members the other day were figures obtained by the Director of Statistics. He has completed the first stage and the second stage of enumeration and he is now going on with the third stage. For the convenience of field work the State of West Bengal was divided into following Divisions: The cities of Calcutta and Howrah, the Districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly excluding the Arambagh Subdivision and the Districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapore, Arambagh Subdivision in the Hooghly District and the Districts of Darjeeing, Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur, Malda and Cooch Behar. Each Division was divided into five charges and each charge was sub-divided into three or five circles within it. Sir, the Director gave us two figures. I have only to state that the figures given the other day and circulated to the members are a little increased by the second report, because of the first report he said that this report may have an error of two to three per cent. According to the new report a figure that was 20 lakhs and odd has now become 21 lakhs and odd so far as the whole of Bengal is concerned. Sir, he has given us figures not merely districtwise but—of every Union Board where migrant families are living—union by union in the whole record.

Therefore, I wish the members did not proceed to assume that the figures were wrong simply because they did not know the procedure adopted. Fortunately for us we have another means of testing the veracity and correctness of the statistics of the Director of Statistics. As you know we are having a census and we shall soon be able within a fortnight or so to get these figures corrected, and I hope they will be all right. A large number of workers were appointed and we spent about rupees two lakhs and a quarter, with the permission of the Government of India, in order to know not merely the number of families, not merely the number in each family, but also their occupation, their previous business, and so on. The reason is this: The method of rehabilitation is one which is closely associated with the life of the individual previous to his being uprooted from his original home. It is a truism to say that it is not merely the question of finding shelter but to give him a gainful living after he has been rehabilitated.

Dr. Prafulla Ghosh has said that rehabilitation is probably a mere eyewash as it were. If you take it from the point of view of providing each one of these refugee families with 10 *bighas* of land and assuming that everyone is a cultivator, Mr. J. C. Gupta's figure is entirely correct. I have here, Sir, the total statistics collected. Gladstone once said "statistics are always meant to delude the unwary" and while I was listening to my friend Mr. Annada Choudhury I thought within myself that the late great man was really correct. He gave some figures; I will give you some figures, and it may be that both are wrong or both are right, but in any case, you are aware that in West Bengal there are about 28,000 square miles of area including rivers or forests, hilly places which cannot be cultivated. Our figures amount to 1 crore 80 lakh acres. Of this, only 1 crore 66 lakh acres are available for all purposes. I mention this for this reason that a large amount of loose talk has taken place as if we have got lakhs and lakhs and millions of acres. I have heard somebody saying that millions of acres of cultivable lands are available in West Bengal. I do not think that estimate is correct. The total cultivable area is 1 crore 16 lakhs acres. We have about one crore including current fallow under cultivation. Therefore we have left over 16 lakh acres of cultivable land. We have got also to remember that Bengal probably is the only Province which lacks in forests. Afforestation is an important ingredient in the development of this State particularly if you want to prevent erosion. Therefore, we have got to think in terms of denuding the areas of the forest. We have got to think of pasture land and also it has been found that the areas have not been cultivated either because there was no irrigation facility or there was no drainage in those areas or because of some other factors, and we have found out that it is not possible to convert the whole of the 16 lakh acres of land for cultivation purpose, because the cost of improvement and development would be enormous. As my friend Hon'ble Sen has just now said we have actually put in about 60,000 acres under cultivation up to date. We have also put in a total area of, as has been circulated before, about 1 lakh 41 thousand acres for the purpose of providing the refugees. Sir, the way we have arranged for rehabilitation of refugees can be put down under different heads. First of all, there are some who have got lands—agricultural. It is perfectly true, as Dr. Ghosh has said, that any area less than 10 *bighas* or 15 *bighas*—15 *bighas* will be more correct—any area less than 15 *bighas* is not able to maintain a family. This is perfectly true. The fact remains, however, that the amount of land which is possible to be reclaimed and to be distributed amongst the cultivators or the refugee cultivators has been so little that it was not possible always to give a very large amount to each cultivator. Sir, Dr. Ghosh probably was surprised that some of these refugees have been given only 4 or 5 *cottahs* of land. It is perfectly true. But, Sir, these lands were not lands for cultivation purpose but merely they

are homestead. We have divided the lands available into two sections—homestead land and agricultural land. We have tried to convert these homestead lands into refugee settlement into small township. We have now about 95 such settlements in places where lands have been acquired by us and 11 settlements in the khas mahal lands. There are therefore 106 such small settlements besides Kanchrapara Scheme and Fulia Scheme which are of a different type. Now, in these settlements we cannot afford to give more than 4 *cottahs* of lands. Now you may ask, Sir, as to what are we going to do with these settlements. At the present moment these settlements are nearer town so that the people can try and get some means of livelihood in these towns. We are encouraging and we have been successful in certain cases in providing them with auxiliary means of livelihood, like weaving, carpentry or any other form of occupation. A group of 600 people—Sankaris—who came from Dacca have been provided with land in an area in which they are settled and there they are going on with their own profession. Similarly, there are a large number of fishermen—about 600 or 700 families who have got small piece of land and got some help from the Government and they have now become accustomed and adjusted to the economy of the province. My experience has been that in the case of any artisan or even a professional man it is very easy to put him into some groove. He fits into the economy of the province so also in the case of an agriculturist in which case it is fairly easy to put him into a place where he can earn his livelihood provided he can get some lands. But the real difficulty is with regard to the middle-class people who in East Bengal never put their hands to anything to earn their livelihood, who were generally owners of land probably on *bhagchas* system and used to maintain their family and probably were helping their relations in West Bengal also with food and money from time to time. It is with regard to these men that we are feeling the difficulty in rehabilitating them. Remember, Sir, that these middle-class men are ordinarily very sensitive as regards their status and position. We should also remember that these people had their something there, they have come away uprooted and they have lost both their material resources as well as their mental resources. Their rehabilitation requires delicate handling, human approach, a great deal of sympathy and individual treatment in each case. Although rehabilitation of such persons is essential I have found by experience that in their case it takes much time to appreciate their case. In their case each one has to be judged separately, namely, where he can be put in and all that. Now, Sir, there are two schemes which I feel should succeed. One is that we have got now into touch with the Union Board Presidents. We have asked them to put in artisans into the villages of the Unions with the object of making each village self-sufficient in every walk of life. Probably most of you are aware that many of the villages are not complete, namely, in every village you cannot find artisans, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters and so on and so forth. Therefore we are trying to get the villages to take in these men.

There is another movement which I think is a welcome one. There are many zeminders who are now offering small plots of lands as well as a cottage to be built at their own expense provided we can give them certain number of refugee families. These zeminders and landlords desire that these men should work. After all they cannot be fed on doles for all time to come. Therefore if they put their hands to the plough it will not be very difficult to make them self-supporting.

There is also another scheme which has already been started although it has not long been in operation as to give you any figure about it. This is our horticultural scheme. Now, Sir, when I talked about alternative food, Dr. Ghosh probably felt inclined to scoff at it, but I do feel that greater

Calcutta with its population of nearly 75 lakhs is now being supplied with vegetables from this scheme. I generally do not go very far out of Calcutta but I think that 1/3rd of the quantity that would be required is being supplied by these refugees alone. Therefore if you allow 6 annas to 8 annas vegetables per adult person in this area there will be a check in the rise of prices of vegetables and the refugees will also earn a living. It was, therefore, felt that a middle-class man even if he is not able to put his hand to the plough, cannot do the actual paddy cultivation, may not find it difficult for him to raise 100 maunds of vegetables, such as, gourd, pumpkin, etc., according to our agricultural experts. My Agriculture Department had prepared an actual distribution of the different types of vegetables that have been put in at different times. We are giving these people seeds, lands and we are also giving them Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 to help them to try and grow vegetables so that it might be easy for them to earn their livelihood. Now, Sir, if you take the price of 4,000 maunds of vegetables even at the rate of 4 annas per maund it would be Rs. 1,000 or so. I am informed by the Agriculture Department that the recurring cost would not be more than Rs. 150 for each *bigha* of land.

Now, Sir, again coming back to the problem of the middle-class refugee rehabilitation, I may say that they feel that they cannot go back to East Bengal. Conditions in East Bengal are such even now that it is not possible for them to go back. The people who have gone back there belong mostly to the cultivator class and artisan group and as far as I have heard the East Bengal people, the masses, are not inclined to be inimical to the return of these people. I doubt very much whether the newly-formed Muslim middle-class in East Bengal would even tolerate the presence of a Hindu middle-class for the very simple reason that they want to establish themselves in East Bengal—a very desirable object from their point of view. Therefore, it is not possible perhaps to feel that at any time it would be possible for these men to go back to East Pakistan. They complain to me that they do not find the social conditions or the environments in East Bengal such that middle-class sensitive family can maintain themselves with honour and dignity and remain there although they recognise that if they went back they would be more comfortable there than they would be here but they prefer to stay back here.

This leads me, Sir, to the next point, namely, the question of the squatters. It so happens that these middle-class people have to depend for their livelihood on some employment, some profession or some service in a town and it is not very unusual to think that a very large number of them will come and squat round about Calcutta. Statistics show that 141,000 people are squatting all round Calcutta. Now, the question therefore is what is to be done with them. Dr. Ghosh has made a distinction between moral right and legal right, but the refugees are anxious that unless they have a legal right the moral right cannot be inherited. Therefore they want something more substantial than mere moral right over the land they have squatted upon. Now when you talk of the land on which they have squatted, we have got to think in terms of those lands that are too costly. I know some of the lands squatted upon are worth Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 3,500 per *cottah* according to the rates prevalent today. If they are so costly, Government cannot afford to pay such large amount of money as compensation, and if they do not pay the High Court would come in under section 31(*1*) of the Constitution and say that compensation has not been paid. If there are lands which are either fallow or not very costly, Government has proceeded in many such cases to acquire them. In fact, in some of those cases where the refugees have squatted upon such land, although the owner of the land is not very inclined to let the squatters have it, we have acquired that land and given it to the squatters.

Then there is the land which is a means of livelihood to any particular individual. I think, Dr. Ghosh will say, if you take away that land, you practically create another class of refugees here. Therefore that land has to be evacuated. Sir, here is a letter which I have received today which shows exactly what the position is. The letter is addressed to Mrs. Leela Roy, Dr. Banerji and Sj. Vivekananda Mukherji. I do not know if Dr. Banerji has got it here, but I am sure he will get it on his return home. The gentleman's name is Mr. Satish Chandra Chakravarty of 113/4, Hazra Road. He says in this letter: "I have seen in the newspapers reports of your various speeches delivered in public meetings and your statements supporting the unauthorised possession by refugees from East Bengal of vacant lands in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It does not appear you make any distinction between vast plots of land owned by the rich and small plots of a few *cottahs* lawfully acquired by timid refugees and others for building residential houses and forcibly taken possession of by other refugees; nor does it appear that your brief includes the cases of real refugees alone and not the cases of so-called refugees. I give below a concrete case in this category.

I live at 113/4, Hazra Road, and I have a small plot of land in Prince Ghulm Hossain Shah Road, and it is now under the possession of two families of refugees by trespass.

Then there is a certificate by another gentleman that "Satish Babu is a great patriot, having been in Barisal Jail in connection with the Barisal Conspiracy Case: he is one of the worst sufferers in the Noakhali riots and his house was burnt to ashes. I personally visited his residence at Srirampur in Noakhali and saw the devastation. Mahatma Gandhi also visited his house during his Noakhali tour and saw the devastation himself."

Sj. Satish Chakravarty then goes on to say to these three gentlemen and the lady to whom the letter is addressed, "Like me as you all hail from East Bengal you know how many of your relations and friends and acquaintances who are not real refugees have become refugees for the purpose of occupying valuable lands around Calcutta without paying anything, far less fair and proper prices. If you know anything about that, pray honestly condemn them publicly in unequivocal terms in the best interest of the real refugees. I am sending this letter to various persons."

Sir, there is another question of one group of refugees being driven out by another group of refugees. In these cases, unfortunately the first group of refugees had no title to the land, neither had the second group. Therefore, these are cases of obstructing another set of unauthorised persons.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: One word, Sir.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not give way, Sir. Please do no interrupt me. As I was saying, it, therefore, comes to this that he may be a *bona fide* refugee according to the definition of the term or he may not be.

Then there is another problem which I must bring forward here. These refugees have got non-official advisers of various types. Some of them are honest and help the refugees. On the other hand complaints have come to me that some of them have taken money from these refugees—Rs. 20, 25, 40, or 64—for registration purposes and what they do is that they go and show a plot of land in a particular area and say, that is the promised land, go on and squat there. If anybody comes and disputes, the gentleman who has taken money walks off.

Then there is the third group of men who are politically inclined. The other day some men came from the Ghayespur colony to the Sealdah station with a gentleman—I understand a crowd of three or four hundred. It came

to place some grievances before me. The gentleman telephoned to me at Writers' Buildings from the station at about 10 o'clock in the morning and said that he was a socialist leader. I asked him how he came to be mixed up with the Ghayespur people and suggested to him to bring three or four refugees with him to the Secretariat and assured him that I would see what I could do. But nothing happened. Then afterwards I heard from the Railway Magistrate that he had convicted 30 or 40 of them for travelling without ticket. Perhaps the leaders were not satisfied, the people who were leading or misleading the refugees, about their coming to the Secretariat I was in the Secretariat to meet them but heard that a crowd of three or four hundred had gathered before my house and my man from my house telephoned to me what was to be done. I asked him to tell them that I would see them the next day at 10 o'clock if four of them would come to the Secretariat. It seemed to me from my talk with them next morning that bereft of those leaders they could listen to reason. They gave me their whole story. First of all they told me about their grievances and then they said, "What can we do? There are the Forward Block, Socialist Party, the R. S. P. I., and they all give advice and what are we to do and where may we go? Each man outbids the other in tendering advice. The refugee rehabilitation problem has become a competition in giving advice as to who outbids whom.

Then on the other hand there is another problem of a large number of these people whose houses and lands have been occupied. They have been applying to the courts asking for protection. It is obvious, it is the canon of every civilised Government that the sanctity of property and life are to be assured to every citizen. Therefore we have to take some action at some time. Under these circumstances, Government feels that the time has now come when they should share their ideas with the members of the Legislature. There is no hide and seek about it. A Bill will be before you and you can consider what are the best methods of testing the claims on the one hand of those whose lands are being squatted upon and the moral right, to use the expression, of those who squat on. I have my own plan but this Bill is an enabling Bill and the fundamental point of the Bill is—and I again repeat what Mr. Rai Chaudhuri has said—that we have made it a point that whatever procedure may be adopted, no eviction will be done unless Government is able to give an alternative site for the refugees.

Sir, I appreciate the fact that there are differences of opinion as regards the method by which you can solve this problem of refugee rehabilitation. I have heard a great deal about the cost. There are two criticisms made, one is that the cost is too little. Sir, you will be surprised to know that when I went to Delhi in the first instance in March, 1948, I put before the Prime Minister and the Refugee Rehabilitation Minister then the problem of the refugees and the need for relief for Bengal refugees. The answer was that the Government of West Bengal in November or December, 1947, had written officially to the Government of India that there was no refugee problem in West Bengal. It was so impressed on the mind of the higher authorities in Delhi that in June or July—I think July—there was a meeting called of all the Relief Rehabilitation Ministries or authorities in different provinces. I happened to be in Delhi at that time on some other business and I was surprised to find while every other province had been invited, Bengal had not been invited. I forced myself on to the Committee and I told the Committee of the injustice that the Central Government and the Relief Rehabilitation Department were making in not listening to or watching the course of events so far as East Pakistan was concerned. Under these circumstances, if anybody now comes and says that we have not spent enough, we have not done enough, it may be a good criticism, but if anybody is prepared to listen to reason, I am prepared to say that the Central

Government was not prepared to accept the desirability of giving any aid to West Bengal for relief and rehabilitation till about the latter part of 1948. In 1949 the problem was not so bad; there was not so much disturbance and refugee exodus. But in 1950, as you all know, for nearly five months every attempt at rehabilitation had to be suspended because of the disturbances and we were all too busy with other matters than the question of rehabilitation. Therefore, if you talk in terms of months, I can say whatever we have been able to do has been within the period of about 22 or 23 months.

Sir, one thing I did not mention and that is that apart from the question of rehabilitating men for different purposes we have also with the help of the Government of India allowed admission of about 8 to 9 thousand student refugees to different colleges. They gave us about 70 lakhs of rupees for that purpose. We have also during this year about 900 students who in different technical schools which were opened for the refugees are learning subjects such as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, welders, moulders, radio mechanics, laboratory helpers, electric wiremen, automobile engineers, boiler attendants, etc. One centre is in Sibpur, one centre is in Jadavpur, one is in Jalpaiguri, one is in Ramkrishna Mission, Belur Math, one in Dum Dum—college of Aeronautical Services. Then under the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, there are about eight other centres. So, we are going on. We feel that the students who form the future of this country, must be integrated in the economic system of this province and they must be taken in into the province itself.

Similarly, we found just after the partition the number of people who were available for running inland steamers were very few, because most of them happened to be Pakistani Muslims who had gone away soon after partition. We have trained 300 of them and have got everybody employed. We have still got another hundred in training.

Now, there is one question that has been asked, I think, by Mr. Jyoti Basu, about the franchise. Sir, the position about franchise is this that in the Constitution it is laid down that any person who comes from East Pakistan six months before the 26th January, 1950, will be automatically put in the register. Therefore, those who came to West Bengal before the 25th July, 1949, have been and will be on the register. I reckon that about 8 to 10 lakhs of people would be on the register out of those that have come. With regard to the rest I have made repeated representations to the Central Government to allow every one of these refugees who have come here and are agreed to settle in Bengal to be taken into the electoral roll and getting franchise.

Sir, the other question that was asked is about electoral roll—that there was no advertisement issued and therefore people did not know what was happening. Sir, I have here a large number of advertisements that have been issued from time to time with regard to the electoral roll, with regard to the date of supplementary electoral roll and with regard to the changes of the date of the supplementary electoral roll—12, 13, 14 papers. Advertisements were made in them—*Statesman*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Hindusthan Standard*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, *Jugantar*, *Lok Sevak*, *Satyajug*, *Biswamitra*, *Rosana Hind*, *Al Huq*, *Desh Darpan*, and so on. So, it is not correct to say that the people were not given sufficient notice, so far as franchise question is concerned.

Sir, as regards food, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sen has said enough and I do not want to dilate upon that, particularly at this late hour. There is a suggestion made by one of the gentlemen that we may give bonus to small growers. This is a suggestion which I have asked my honourable

friend to consider and it would be a good thing to see whether it can be implemented. As regards increasing cultivation of fallow lands, I have already told you that it is not possible to do so.

As regards procurement of food, a lot has been said and I do not want to bother the members on that. One thing I may remind Dr. Banerji—probably he has seen in the press already. He has been very much worried about the food that is allotted to hard manual labourers. We have seen that they have already restored the ration to the original size to hard manual labourers and you all must have seen that there is a very good chance of our getting foodgrains from America, and if that be so it would not be very difficult for us, if they do come, to restore the cut that has been made.

Now, as regards the price of food I want to make one suggestion after hearing the Hon'ble Mr. Sen and Dr. P. C. Ghosh and others that instead of raising the price of paddy if we could join our hands and raise the amount of yield from each *bigha* then each cultivator owning 5 *bighas* gets a larger quantity of paddy and even if you allow the same price it would give some more money in the pockets of the cultivator. Sir, as regards price of food and control, those are matters really for economists to consider. If, however, Dr. Ghosh and his party are prepared to discuss this matter, I for one would be very glad to discuss this and find out where the truth lies.

Sir, one point I want to impress upon you and that is this, the geography of this particular province. You all know what has happened. The top area, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, has no connection with Malda and Dinajpur. Malda and Dinajpur have no connection except by a roundabout method with Lower Bengal. Therefore, even if there be food grown in Bengal, lack of measures of distribution is a great handicap to our movement of food and which again produces a great deal of difficulty. Sir, the obvious thing is that difficulties regarding food and rehabilitation—what I mentioned up till now—are so immense, the problem so complex that I renew the offer made by my friend Mr. Sen that it is necessary for all of us to join hands in order to find out a solution and leave it above party politics. It is a painful thing to find that these so-called refugees are made the pawn of political game. They are tossed about like bagatelle from one place to another, at a time when the refugees are sensitive, when the refugees are not able to stand the strain; I have had pitiful, woeful tales from some of the refugees as regards the vagaries of political parties, which have misled them from time to time.

I shall now try to finish as quickly as possible. I know that you are all tired. I won't say anything about the abolition of zemindary. My friend Mr. Jyoti Basu has said that the Disturbances Enquiry Commission was not necessary. Who did not know, he says, that riots were created by police officials and the Ministers helped them. I say God help him! Of all the types of corruption about which I have heard, intellectual corruption is the worst kind of corruption. If you do not face facts, if you are not prepared to see things in their true perspective, it is not possible to come to the truth. In fact, this suggestion of his alone would make it necessary for an enquiry. If Ministers are responsible, if police officials are responsible, an enquiry commission is the only thing that you can employ, presided as it was, by a High Court Judge and two other non-officials to find out as to who were responsible for the riots. I have heard a great deal about corruption among Ministers and officers. I have written down the exact words which Mr. Jyoti Basu has said, namely, that the Ministry was corrupt. I hope he did not mean that the Ministers were corrupt.

I now come to another point, and that is this. Mr. Jyoti Basu said, and it is a matter which has been referred to by my friend Sri Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar, that there is no place in the world where there is detention without trial. In 1937 I met Monsieur Maisky who was the then Ambassador for Russia in London, and I asked him a simple question. It was just after the murder of 22 or 24 of the associates of Zinoviev. I asked him: "Mr. Maisky, could you tell me how is it that this thing was done? Was it possible for you to imagine that it would be necessary for you to remove them?" He gave me a very characteristic reply. He said: "Look at Spain. What happened there? There were a large number of men of one mind and a large number of another mind. The Captains and the men who were at the helm of the groups, remained in safety; and 50,000 people on this side or the other were killed. Here also if these people had been let alone, what would have happened? There would have been a civil war in Russia; and therefore instead of killing 50,000 people of Russia it is much better to kill 22 or 24 and finish with them."

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of order, Sir.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am on my legs. I won't yield.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, Dr. Banerji had said——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I won't yield. I cannot be interrupted.

Mr. SPEAKER: Parliamentary rules must be observed. He has risen on a point of order. Mr. Basu, what is your point of order?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, my point of order is that the Chief Minister is quoting history, but he cannot quote it wrongly, because these people were tried in open court.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I am not quoting history. I am only quoting a conversation which I had with Mr. Maisky. My friend Dr. Banerji has said something about Mao Tse Tung, and he said something about nationalisation of industries. May I, in all humility following Dr. Ghosh, give you some extracts from the People's Democratic Dictatorship established in China. It says that the tripartite pattern proposed for China's new democratic party is made up of three elements in Mao Tse Tung's Report on the present situation and our task, Part IV, Articles 26 to 40. The three elements are briefly a nationalist sector comprising transport, power and large-scale producing and trading concerns, a co-operatively organised sector largely but not exclusively rural and agricultural; and a private enterprise sector made of small commercial businessmen. It is an interesting testimony to the determination of communists to make haste slowly that although a year and half have now passed since their victory in North China the vitally important Kwilon mining industry has not still been taken over and remains a private mixed Anglo-Chinese concern. Private capitalism is the third element which marks the new China's democratic system. The communist party before the Japanese war and, especially, in the early thirties pursued economic policies in the then liberated areas, which made it almost impossible for private manufacturing and trading concerns to exist at all. These policies were later denounced as *ultra*-left division. Mao Tse Tung has laid down the programme of production of national industries and commerce. A distinction is drawn between monopoly and bureaucratic capital which is the name of capitalism in general, and which includes middle and *petit* bourgeoise. The latter, the small-scale industrialists and capitalists who hire

workers, shop employees—are an indispensable part of the economy of China. Mao Tse Tung says that we must not by any means allow a recurrence of such *ultra*-left erroneous policies as were adopted towards the *petit* and middle bourgeoise from 1931 to 1934, *viz.*, the taking of a short-sighted or one-sided view of the so-called welfare of the toilers. Instead of making our objection to development of production and prosperity of our economy, we should take account of both public and private interests and benefit to both labour and capital. If this kind of mistake is repeated, it will certainly injure the interest of the labouring masses under the new democratic basis. I hope Dr. Banerji and his labour group will consider this.

Sir, with regard to the next point which has been raised by my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, he raised a question about medicine and drugs. Medicine and drugs belong to four or five different categories. One of those is derived from mineral group and they are very rarely produced in India. The other one is the plant group. A large number of these medicinal plants are available in India and we have appointed a committee which is now working to try and exploit the medicinal plant resources of India. Then there are vaccine and serum of which a very large quantity are now being produced in India. Then there are synthetic drugs and sulphur drugs. But there are two drugs in which West Bengal is very much interested. One is the production of penicillin for which plan is almost complete and we have obtained permission from the Government of India, and the other is D. D. T.

My friends talk of "civil liberty"; have they ever heard the words "criminal liberty"? Have they ever realised that sometimes liberty becomes transformed into "licence"? They have said that nowhere in the world are persons detained without trial. Facts are otherwise. Even the leader of the New Republic of China, describes his State as People's Democratic Dictatorship. He has, in his statement of 1st July, 1949, "Document III" writing to Commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Communist Party of China, said this: "I am told, 'you are dictorial'." My dear Sirs, what you say is correct. This is just what we are. This means the "reactionaries" must be deprived of the right to voice their opinions; only the "people" have the right. Who are the "people"? At the present stage in China they are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgouise and the national bourgouise. (A VOICE: to which category do you belong?) I belong to national bourgeoise. All others are "reactionaries". The People's Government will suppress them. It will only permit them to behave themselves properly. It will not allow them to speak. Should they do so, they will be instantly curbed and punished. The right to vote is only given to the "people", not to the "reactionaries". "These two things", he said, "democracy for the 'people' and dictatorship for the 'reactionaries' when combined, constitute the People's Democratic Dictatorship. We definitely have no benevolent policies towards the "reactionaries".

I am told that it was not correct for us to promulgate section 144 on the 8th of February for protecting His Excelelncy the Governor. I belong to a profession where it is a dictum, "Prevention is better than cure". If people intent on creating noise and destruction were likely to come near the Assembly House, scenes of 1948 might have been repeated. The protection is against those subversive elements of society who revel in violence and anarchy. I do not say that these elements exist in only one group and not in others. But wherever they are—whenever they try to suppress real liberty of the peace-loving people, it is the responsibility and it is the duty of the State to suppress it with a firm hand, resolutely and deliberately.

My friends opposite have indulged in cheap jibes in reference to us—they have called us names. They have even laid down the proposition that everything is corrupt in this Government because the Ministers are corrupt. Hard words do not break any bones (says Jonab Mudassir Hossain). I agree. I am not distressed by this because I know that when logic and reason fail, when facts are against you, you resort to abuses. I and my Ministers can well look after ourselves as we have entrenched ourselves behind solid achievements in spite of many drawbacks and difficulties. Let me tell my friends opposite candidly that the place I occupy was not of my seeking and that, while I have been here, I relied on work and not on talk. History alone will judge whether I and my Ministers have succeeded or failed. In spite of the piteous appeals of frustrated friends opposite, for us to resign, I am afraid we cannot oblige them because we are serious in our work, because we feel that we have tried to do and have done our job to the best of our abilities, and because we feel that we have used our last ounce of strength in solving the varied and complicated issues of this Problem State. If, by the same token by which we were called upon to serve here, the time comes for us to quit, I can assure my friends that we shall do so without regret or remorse, and with a feeling that we have done our jobs to the best of our abilities and strength.

My friend Mr. Jyoti Basu has asked us a pertinent question, "What are you afraid of?". Sir, I reply I am afraid of no one, not even of the devil; my strength is the strength of ten because my heart is pure. (Loud cheers from Congress Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I put the motions to vote I wish to dispel, when the heat has subsided, all doubts from the minds of the members of this House that anybody has not given proper time or sufficient time to speak. I asked my Secretary to find out the exact time which was given to the Opposition and to the Government and I find that the time given to the Opposition is 8 hours 33 minutes and to the Government 4 hours 54 minutes. On the Opposition side 13 speakers have been allowed to speak each for more than 20 minutes whereas on the Government side only 4 speakers spoke for more than 20 minutes. When such is the case, whenever any reflection is made upon the Chair, that is to be taken notice of very seriously because the duties of the Speaker are very onerous and cannot be discharged properly unless the members realize their responsibilities and do not show the slightest disrespect to the Chair. Unless and until full co-operation is given by the members and unless the Rules of this House are observed strictly, order in the House cannot be maintained.

Now there is one other thing on which I wish to say something for the guidance of the members in future and that thing is that a certain amount of acrimony has been generated on account of the reading out of certain extracts from certain speechehs. The Parliamentary Rule is that a Minister of the Crown is not at liberty to read or quote from a Despatch or other State Paper not before the House unless he be prepared to lay it on the table. The next thing is that—it has also been admitted—a document which has been cited ought to be laid upon the table of the House if it can be done without injury to the public interest. The next point is that if a document is laid, the objection on this score should be raised by the member affected. If he does not take any objection it means that he acquiesces in the reading out of the paper. An objection was not raised by Mr. Bhandari on this score that the report had not been laid on the table though I did give a hint that I can consider the matter if other grounds are raised. Now this is for the future information of the honourable members of this House.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. From your observations, Sir, it seems that you have misunderstood me as you said that there was reflection on the Chair. There was no reflection on the Chair, Sir. As a matter of fact when I was speaking it was the Deputy Speaker, Sir, who was in the Chair, not yourself. There was no reflection on him either. I only mentioned the state of facts that I was given 42 minutes. I was satisfied with it and sat down. But when somebody else was getting more time I only wanted to know for how long he would speak. Unfortunately on that simple question all the heat arose and you, Sir, when I did not cause any reflection on the Chair, got a little irritated perhaps because of the overwork today. I only exercised my ordinary right to enquire from you, Sir, how long that friend of mine was going to give us that beautiful speech, as to how long our patience will be taxed. To that question, Sir, I never got a reply. It is my right, Sir, to ask questions and it is your right, Sir, to give us a reply. You may even say, "No" to my question, Sir. It depends on you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I observed that your observations amounted to a reflection on the Chair. Anyhow I do not want you to withdraw. After all you are an old and responsible member of this House and you know that the House expects of the Hon'ble Minister concerned to give a detailed reply to all the charges and to all the criticisms made by the different members and whatever time is necessary to give such a reply should be given to him within the total time for a particular debate at our disposal.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: As far as I remember I have cast no reflection on the Chair and if there has been any reflection I withdraw. I again say, Sir, I did not get a reply to that question which it was my right to get through you.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is all right. I do not want to discuss that point any further. I think what I have said is enough. Now I shall take up the motions, I mean the amendments, and put them to vote first.

The motion of Sj. Haripada Chatterjee that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret that no effective measures are contemplated for—

(*a*) stopping harassment of innocent cultivators in connection with procurement of foodgrains and assuring them a fair price;

(*b*) preventing general lawlessness in many parts of the country in spite of mounting cost of police budget;

(*c*) tackling the problem of refugee rehabilitation;

(*d*) eradictating corruption in administration; and

(*e*) protecting the minorities."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret the omission of—

(*1*) any mention of the recent shooting in Jadabgarh refugee colony at Dhakuria, resulting in the death of Binapani Mitra and injury to 60 persons including 2 children and 13 other women;

(*2*) any mention of cases of eviction by the Government of squatter refugees without finding alternative accommodation for them;

(3) any mention of the feeling of resentment that has been created in the mind of the refugees due to the intention of the Government of introducing the West Bengal Unauthorised Persons (Eviction) Bill, 1951, during the present session of the Assembly;

(4) any mention of any definite policy of rehabilitation of the refugees now lodged in various Government camps;

(5) any mention of the suffering that has been caused to the people as a result of recent 25 per cent. cut in cereal ration;

(6) any mention of incidents that has been taking place almost daily in various parts of the State as a result of the procurement policy of the Government;

(7) any mention of any policy about the abolition of the zemindary system and making the tillers the proprietors of the soil;

(8) any mention of the suffering to the people as a result of short supply and faulty distribution of cloth;

(9) any mention of any housing scheme in urban area specially for industrial workers;

(10) any mention of any policy as to nationalisation of basic industries and Government control of others;

(11) any mention of any scheme of checking blackmarketing and corruption; and

(12) any mention of any proposal for the amendment of the Calcutta *Thika* Tenancy Act of 1949, in view of the various judgments of the different Judges of the Calcutta High Court."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret the omission of—

(a) indication of any step being taken or contemplated by the Government for the early abolition of the present system of control;

(b) mention of any change of policy for improving, for the benefit of the peasants, the present system of procurement of paddy and rice in the State;

(c) indication of any action being taken by the Government for increasing the procurement price of paddy and rice;

(d) indication of any Government action towards the abolition of the zemindary system; and

(e) indication of any action being taken by the Government for total prohibition of intoxicants in the State,"

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Sibnath Banerjee that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret—

(1) that instead of indicating a definite scheme and a programme of rehabilitation of the refugees, there is a threat of evicting those who have set up some sort of dwelling by their own efforts unaided by the Government;

(2) that the serious situation due to ration-cut has not been appreciated nor immediate measures suggested;

(3) that the failure of 'Grow More Food Campaign' and the misuse of the procurement policy have not been tackled;

(4) that there is no attempt to check rise in prices and blackmarketing and to punish the blackmarketeers;

(5) that there is no attempt to compensate the wage-earners by increasing the rate of dearness allowance commensurate with rise in prices;

(6) that there is no mention of abolition of zemindary system without compensation and redistribution of land to peasants and refugees for meeting food deficiency in the country;

(7) that there is no attempt to minimise unemployment by starting more industries;

(8) that there is no attempt to replace the *bustees* by habitable quarters for workers and middle-class people in Calcutta, Howrah and suburbs;

(9) that though the date of enrolment as voters has been extended, no steps have been taken to publicise the extension of time through newspapers and other agencies and to give proper facilities for enlistment of refugees and illiterate people;

(10) that though in the enquiries certain disclosures were made regarding the Calcutta University and the Calcutta Corporation, no steps have been taken to have fresh elections for the Calcutta Corporation and to hand over these institutions to popular representatives;

(11) that the Bengal Municipal Act has not been amended to give adult franchise in Howrah and other municipalities and symbol voting and appointment of polling officers by authorities independent of the chairman and commissioners have not been introduced in spite of insistent demand by citizens;

(12) that though the co-operatives have been mentioned, no encouragement to co-operatives is given and on the other hand their registration is being opposed by Government and no scheme has been placed; and

(13) that the employers are encouraged and workers suppressed due to the Government's labour policy in not enforcing the awards and allowing the employers to lock-out the workers,"

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Kanai Lal De that the following be added at the end of the address, viz.:—

"But regret that it does not contain any reference to the abolition of zemindary system and about the labour policy of the Government,"

was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret that the speech makes no reference to any comprehensive scheme for production of foodstuffs in the State; that it omits any mention about the procurement policy of the State Government and its repercussion on the people; that it is silent about the curtailment of civil liberties; that it fails to refer to the grim

unemployment among all sections of people particularly among members of the Minority Community; that it does not refer to any financial provisions hitherto made for members of the Minority Community affected by the communal unrest last year,"

was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Mudassir Hossain that the following be added at the end of the address in reply, viz.:—

"But regret to say—

(*1*) that the so-called vigorous procurement drive launched for food-grains in areas which are said to be surplus where Muslim population predominate has led to the extensive issue of directives by the procurement staff for the wholesale seizure of stocks which are exaggerated without taking care to ascertain the quantity of the same by customary and realistic method;

(*2*) that the above method of procurement may result in famine, scarcity, distress, unrest and unemployment, and increased rate of crime in the locality and its immediate neighbourhood;

(*3*) that nothing has been said or done in spite of repeated representation and petition to remove the grievances and allay the apprehension of the people in regard to the apprehended distress and trouble;

(*4*) that the policy with regard to procurement is a menace to the 'Grow More Food Campaign' and will retard the growth of intensive cultivation for increasing the productiveness;

(*5*) that nothing has been said or done to remove the grievances of Muslims in the matter of their appointments in all branches of public service and also in the matter of trade and educational facilities;

(*6*) that nothing has been said or done to remove the educational and economic backwardness of the Muslims and bring them on the same level as other communities of West Bengal or India as laid down in the Constitution;

(*7*) that nothing has been said or done to remove the feeling among the Muslims that they are discriminated against, whether in public or private life;

(*8*) that nothing has been said or done to take the Muslims in adequate number in the security or other services, or in political or other committees as laid down in the Delhi Pact; and

(*9*) that nothing has been said or done to infuse in the minds of Muslims that they have equal rights or responsibilities,"

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Shyamapada Bhattacharyya that—

"A respectful address in reply be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows:—

'Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled in this session, beg to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the most excellent speech which Your Excellency has delivered to this House'."

was then put and a division called.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: I rise on a point of order, Sir. The honourable members had tabled amendments to add something after the original motion. They were entitled to vote on those amendments. But they having not voted on the amendments, there ought not to be any voting on the main motion as this portion is common to all the motions concerned.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, no. I rule it out. Now let the bell be rung.

The motion of Sj. Shyamapada Bhattacharyya that—

"A respectful address in reply be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows:—

'Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled in this session, beg to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the most excellent speech which Your Excellency has delivered to this House'.",

was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—48.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar
Golam Hamidur Rahman, Janab
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra
Mahtab, Sj. Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan.
Maity, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada
Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed
Mukherji, Sj. Dhirendra Narayan
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pentony, Mr. L. R.
Platel, Mr. R. E.
Poddar, Sj. Anandilal
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Rafiuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Dr.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Shamsul Huq, Janab
Wilks, Mr. G. C. D.

NOES—17.

Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Bandyopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Basu, Sj. Jyoti
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra
Brahmin, Sj. Ratanlal
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Ghosh, Dr. P. C.
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab
Musharruff Hossain, Janab
Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath

The Ayes being 48 and the Noes 17, the motion was carried.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I adjourn the House I wish to inform the members that there will be no sitting tomorrow. The House will stand adjourned till the 19th instant when the budget will be presented and the business fixed for today—the Bills—will be taken up on the 28th. I wish also to point out that because tomorrow is a non-official day and there was

only one motion tabled by Dr. Banerji, it was agreed that instead of having a sitting of the House only for one motion, that motion might be discussed along with the non-official Bills on the 23rd. The House stands adjourned till 3-30 p.m. on the 19th.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 8-54 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Monday, the 19th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 19th February, 1951, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 13 Hon'ble Ministers and 58 members.

Obituary.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before we take up the business of the House it is my painful duty to refer to the death of Sri Khurshed Lall, Deputy Minister of Communications, who unfortunately died yesterday due to heart attack. He died at a very early age of 48 at a time when he was rendering great service to the nation. He was being mentioned for being appointed as the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, a very responsible post which could be occupied by a first-class man in the present stage of the relationship between the two countries. He was a Congressman since 1931 and suffered for the cause of the country several times in 1931, 1940 and 1942. He remained President of the State Congress Committee of Dehra Dun and also Chairman of the Dehra Dun Municipality for some time. As Deputy Minister of Communications he was responsible for the success of the night air service and he also represented a certain conference in London in 1949. Every member will agree with me that we deplore his loss at this juncture very much, and I hope that all of you will rise in your seats and pass this resolution.

(Members rose in their seats.)

Please take your seat. The Secretary will do the needful.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Annual requirement of rice in the State

***1. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Food Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what is the total annual requirement of rice in the State;

(*b*) what is the quantity that had been actually produced in 1948 and 1949;

(*c*) whether the State is self-sufficient in food production; and

(*d*) if not, what schemes have been so far taken up by Government to reach the target of self-sufficiency?

MINISTER in charge of the FOOD DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*) The total annual requirement of cereals at 15 ozs. *per capita* per day on the basis of the present population of 286 lakhs comes to 4·4 million tons. Out of this the wheat requirement is about 3 lakh tons and the production and consumption of cereals other than rice and wheat is about one lakh tons so the rice requirement comes to 4 million tons.

(*b*) The total annual gross production of rice in this State during the years 1948 and 1949 were 3,452 and 3,275 thousand tons, respectively, which means net yields of 3,107 and 2,948 thousand tons, respectively, in 1948 and 1949.

(*c*) No.

(*d*) Government have undertaken the following schemes:—

(*i*) Irrigation and drainage schemes.

(*ii*) Land improvement schemes.

(*iii*) Distribution of improved seeds.

(*iv*) Distribution of manures and fertilisers.

The target of extra production expected to be achieved by 1951-52 from the various schemes is given below—

Schemes.	Rice. (Tons.)
(*i*) Irrigation and drainage schemes	128,500
(*ii*) Land improvement schemes	9,000
(*iii*) Distribution of improved seeds	6,000
(*iv*) Distribution of manures and fertilisers ..	10,000
Total ..	154,000

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: With reference to answers (*b*) and (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if in his estimate the shortage is one million tons between supply and requirement?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I do not follow.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the shortage in relation to requirement judged by supply is only one million tons?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It is a matter of calculation. I will find it out.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: The requirement is 4 million tons and the supply is near 3 million tons. So it comes to one million tons. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what would be the shortage if the requirement was calculated on the 12 oz. basis and not 15 oz. basis which is not the amount which is usually given?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: If the requirement was calculated on 12 oz. basis, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware from the statistics he has provided that this supply is almost equal to our requirement?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I don't think so.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that from the statistics given the shortage is only about less than half million tons?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: That is a matter of calculation.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: If the calculation comes up to that and the shortage is less than half million, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he agrees with that figure?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: That is a problematical question.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: If the shortage is less than 1·5 lakh tons, I will consider that.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he considers is the actual shortage of our requirement of rice in relation to supply?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I do not want to deal with a hypothetical matter.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has no figure of shortage of the rice requirement of this State?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: It depends upon the amount of allowance we give per day to be distributed to each individual.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It is a matter for calculation. As I have said, I want notice.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the publication of these figures may cause some misunderstanding as to the actual requirement of food at this stage?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Facts never cause misunderstandings.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: There is no cause for any misunderstanding whatsoever.

Acquisition of lands for road construction

***2. Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) what is the total area of private lands acquired by the Government under the Land Acquisition Act (Act I of 1894) for the construction of new roads and the improvement or extension of the existing roads since the 15th August, 1947, in the State of West Bengal;

(*ii*) what is the total area so acquired for the said purpose in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24-Parganas district;

(*iii*) whether any lands so acquired were taken possession of by the Government before the award of compensation was made under sections 11 and 12 of the Land Acquisition Act and/or before any payment of compensation to the owners, etc., of the lands was made;

(*iv*) if so, how much lands were so taken possession of in West Bengal and how much in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24-Parganas district since the 15th August, 1947; and

(*v*) whether want of grant of adequate funds and want of adequate efficient staff in the district for working out amount of compensation are reasons thereof?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*)(*v*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of—

(*i*) making adequate grant of funds for the purpose to expedite payments of compensation in those cases; and

(*ii*) increasing the staff for the purpose to expedite payments of compensation in those cases?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any payment of compensation for the acquisition has since been made in respect of lands taken possession of by the Government as referred to in (*a*)(*iii*)?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the loss of income, if any, incurred by the owners and others interested in the lands during the period from the taking possession of the land and the payment of compensation thereof were taken into consideration for determining the amount of compensation and are included therein; and

(*ii*) if not, the reasons why the loss of income during the said period was not included in the amount of compensation?

(*e*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government consider the desirability of including such loss of income in the amount of compensation paid or to be paid in such cases?

MINISTER in charge of the LAND and LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (*a*)(*i*) 4,693·23 acres.

(*ii*) 1,078·74 acres.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) 4,317·23 acres in West Bengal and 1,078·74 acres in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the district of 24-Parganas.

(*v*) No. In view of the urgency of the projects, possession was taken before award under section 17 of the Land Acquisition Act, I of 1894.

(*b*)(*i*) and (*ii*) Do not arise.

(*c*) Yes.

(*d*)(*i*) No.

(*ii*) and (*e*) Because there is provision under the Land Acquisition Act for payment of due compensation including interest for deferred payment of compensation money.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন সার, মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে জানাবেন কি যে এই urgencyর প্রকৃত অর্থ কি? কারণ যে ডায়মণ্ড হারবার মহকুমা সম্পর্কে এই প্রশ্ন করা হয়েছে, সেই ডায়মণ্ড হারবার-কাক দ্বীপ রাস্তাটা পাঁচ বৎসর আরম্ভ হয়েছে। এখনও শেষ হয় নাই, এক্ষেত্রে এই urgencyর প্রকৃত অর্থ কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Urgencyর অর্থ কি তা প্রশ্নকর্তা নিশ্চয়ই জানেন। Urgency department বিশেষের প্রয়োজনের কথা যে বিভাগের কাজের জন্য requisition করা হয়েছে সেই department বলতে পারে আমি বলতে পারি না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Department কি জানেন যে অর্থ না দিয়ে acquire করতে পারে না? তাহলে কি অর্থে তারা urgency করে?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Urgency থাকলেই তাড়াতাড়ি possession নেওয়া হয় এবং possession নিয়েই টাকা মিটিয়ে দেওয়া হয়, তবে বিলম্বে ক্ষতি যা হয় সে ক্ষতিও Land Acquisition Actএর বিধানমতে পূরণ করা হয়।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি এই অবস্থায় urgencyর মানেটা কি? অর্থাৎ এক বৎসরের মধ্যে রাস্তাটা শেষ হওয়ার প্রয়োজন কিম্বা দুই বৎসরের মধ্যে বা ছয় মাসের মধ্যে একটা সময় নির্দ্দেশ করে দেবেন কি? যাতে বলে দেবেন যে এই ক্ষেত্রে urgency রয়েছে, টাকা না দিয়েও acquire করে নেওয়া যাবে।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: আইনে এমন কোন ধারা নাই, সময় নির্দ্দিষ্ট করাও সম্ভব নহে সুতরাং এমন বিধান করা যেতে পারে না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানেন কি এই রকম কোন নিয়ম যদি না হয় তাহলে একবার যে জমি acquire করে নেওয়া হয়—বহু জমি--পাঁচ বৎসর পূর্ব্বে যা acquire করা হয়েছে যার টাকা দেওয়া হয় নাই।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: একথা আমার জানা নাই।

আর আপনার questionটাও hypothetical; আপনি যে প্রশ্ন করেছিলেন তার উত্তরেই জেনেছেন যে প্রায় সমগ্র টাকাই দেওয়া হয়েছে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি, এই যে (*d*) (*ii*) and (*e*)তে বলা হয়েছে "For payment of due compensation including interest for deferred payment of compensation money."—এক্ষেত্রে এমন কোন বিধান আছে কি যে সেই জমির যে ক্ষতি হয়েছে সেই ক্ষতিটা পূরণ করে দেওয়া অর্থাৎ ফসলের যে ক্ষতি হয়েছে acquirement করার পর হতে paymentএর মধ্যবর্ত্তীকাল পর্য্যন্ত সেই যে ক্ষতি সেটা পূরণ করে দেওয়ার কোন বিধান এ আইনে আছে কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: আইনের যে বিধান চারুবাবু তা জানেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Deferred payment সম্বন্ধে কিসের দরুণ কত interest দেবেন?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Notice পেলে দেখে বলতে পারবো।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আপনার department থেকেই compensation দেওয়া হয় অথচ আপনি জানেন না?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: আইনের বিধান অনুসারেই compensation দেওয়া হয়ে থাকে, আমি এইমাত্র জানি।

Requisition of lands in Diamond Harbour subdivision for road development during war

***3. Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) what is the total quantity of private lands taken possession of by the Government for military purposes, particularly for construction or improvement of roads during the world war No. 2—

(A) by requisition or acquisition, and

(B) without formal requisition or acquisition in the Diamond Harbour subdivision of the 24-Parganas district; and

(ii) whether payment of compensation for all such lands has been completed?

(b) If the answer to (a)(ii) be in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) the reasons thereof;

(ii) the date by which all payments of compensation are expected to be completed; and

(iii) the quantity of such lands for which no payments of compensation have yet been made?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) whether the loss of income, if any, incurred by the owners during the period from the taking possession of the lands by the Government and the payment of compensation is being taken into consideration for determining the amount of compensation and is included therein; and

(ii) if not, the reasons why such loss of income was not included in the amount of compensation?

(d) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government consider the desirability of adding the amount of such loss of income to the amount of compensation otherwise calculated?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: (a)(i) Total area 3,317·32 acres.

(A) The entire area was requisitioned. Out of the above, 94·83 acres were subsequently acquired for the construction of road under the Defence of India Rules.

(B) Nil.

(ii) Payments have been made as follows:—

Compensation for *requisitioned* lands—

	Amount due.			Amount paid.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Recurring	16,58,950	3	7	16,55,822	12	7
Non-recurring	8,30,270	4	0	8,28,681	4	0

Compensation for *acquired* lands—

Amount paid .. .. Nil, because no land was acquired.

(b)(i) *Compensation for requisition.*—The small balance due could not be paid owing to disputes relating to claims and non-appearance of parties.

Compensation for acquisition.—The delay is due to the fact that the surface of the land was greatly changed during occupation by the military authorities and consequently difficulties were experienced in identifying the different plots. Award notice is, however, under preparation.

(ii) The work is being given topmost priority and all possible steps are being taken to expedite payment.

(*iii*) 94·83 acres.

(*c*)(*i*) and (*d*) Yes.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি, তার উত্তরের (*b*)এ দেওয়া আছে compensation of acquisition headingএ তিনি বলেছেন যে জমির আকার পরিবর্ত্তন হওয়ায় জমি identify করা যাবে না বলে awardএর দেরী হচ্ছে। শুধু এই কারণ না অন্য কোন কারণ আছে?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: বলাইতো হয়েছে যে এই কারণে দেরী হচ্ছে এর পর আর আপনি কি কারণ শুনতে চান?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে সমস্ত case দেখান হয়েছে এমন শত শত case আছে যেখানে জমি acquire করার নীতি কোনরূপ পরিবর্ত্তন বা উন্নতি হয়নি, সেখানে তাড়াতাড়ি compensationএর ব্যবস্থা করবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: পুর্ব্বেই বলা হয়েছে—সত্বর টাকা দেওয়ার জন্য সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হয়েছে। এর বেশি কিছু বলার নাই।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: সত্বর কথাটার মানে কি? ছয় মাস বলে ধরে নিতে পারি কিনা?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: মানে অভিধান দেখলেই জানতে পারবেন।

Election to Nadia District Board

***4. Sj. SATISH CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) how many times the election of the Nadia District Board has been postponed;

(*b*) whether election of the District Board was postponed after receiving nomination deposits on the 1st September, 1950;

(*c*) the reasons for such postponement;

(*d*) whether any representation was received or made by the Chairman of the Nadia District Board for postponing elections; and

(*e*) the financial loss, if any, Government has incurred by postponing elections?

MINISTER in charge of the LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja): (*a*) Election to the Nadia District Board was postponed once after the date of election was notified.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) Members of the minority community migrated in very large numbers to Pakistan at the time of the last communal disturbances and several lakhs of refugees started pouring into this district at the same time. The situation was very fluid and most unfavourable for holding the election; time was required for return of normalcy which was necessary for holding of a fair and free election. Another important consideration was that after the Delhi Pact the Muslims who migrated from this district started coming back. It was expected therefore that by the time gained by the postponement of the election all the Muslim voters who had left for Pakistan would return

and be in a position to take part in the election. Had the election not been postponed, a large number of voters would have been deprived of their right to participate in the election.

(*d*) No.

(*e*) Nil.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Supplementary question, Sir,—এই যে মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বল্লেন—election to the Nadia District Board was postponed once after the date of election was notified—এইটা notification করে postponement হয়েছে কি?

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Provisionally electionএর যে date fix করা হয়েছিল, নূতন করে সেটা reconsider করতে হয়েছিল। যারা চলে গেছল তাদের অনেকে ফিরে আসছিল, তাই তাদেরকে fair electionএর সুযোগ দিবার জন্যই এই reconsider করতে হয়েছিল—দিল্লী Pact এবং New Constitutionএর পর।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: এই যে বলা হল Nadia District Boardএর Chairman কর্ত্তৃক কোন representation receive করা হয়নি অথবা দেওয়া হয়নি। Unofficially কোন representation পেয়েছেন কি?

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: আমার কাছে কিছু আসেনি।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মন্ত্রীদের মধ্যে আর কারও কাছে এসেছে কি?

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: না।

Grant for repair of mosques damaged during August disturbances, 1946

***5. Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Co-operation, Credit, Relief and Rehabilitation Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) if it is a fact that the then Government granted money to the Wakf Board for repairs of mosques damaged during the August disturbances, 1946;

(*b*) if so, what is the amount;

(*c*) whether Commissioner of Wakfs has taken any steps to repair those mosques;

(*d*) whether the entire amount referred to in (*b*) was spent; and

(*e*) if not, whether the unspent amount has been returned to Government?

MINISTER in charge of the CO-OPERATIVE, CREDIT, RELIEF and REHABILITATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Rafiuddin Ahmed): (*a*), (*c*) and (*e*) Yes.

(*b*) Rs.1,08,000.

(*d*) No.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the actual amount that has been spent on the repair of mosques?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: The actual amount spent was Rs. 60,247-13-3 pies.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many mosques were repaired?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: About forty.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister says, about forty. Is he not very sure as to the exact number?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Yes, forty, I have said. It may be more.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister stated, he knows about forty mosques being repaired out of the funds allotted and he says it may be more. Has he any subsequent information in regard to that?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: I have no subsequent information.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how in that event does he say that it may be more?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: The answer to that is the lists that I have in hand. There are three lists which come to forty. And there may be more subsequently.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he would be pleased to submit a list of these mosques before the House?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Yes.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the beautiful mosque in front of the Hon'ble Chief Minister's house has been repaired or not?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Sir, this question refers to the riots of 1946 and the mosques that were damaged at that time.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether his Government proposes to allot any money for repairs of the mosques damaged during the last riots?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: It is under consideration.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has seen some of the damaged mosques in Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Yes, I have.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has seen the one in front of the Hon'ble Chief Minister's house?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Yes, I have.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he proposes to do in regard to that particular mosque?

The Hon'ble Dr. RAFIUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I think this question does not arise, because we are referring to the damages caused to the mosques during the riots of 1946.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister chose to reply to the effect that pending allotment of money the repair of these mosques was under their consideration, and out of that I have raised this question as to whether he has seen the mosque in front of the Hon'ble Chief Minister's house to which he said, "Yes". Now he says that the question refers to the riots of 1946. Plainly speaking, I cannot make any head or tail out of the Hon'ble Minister's reply.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am glad that you cannot distinguish between head and tail. (Laughter.)

Buxa Jail

***6. Sj. JYOTI BASU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state whether the Government is aware of—

(*i*) the difficulty of interviews on the part of relations of detenus with those who have been transferred to Buxa Jail; and

(*ii*) the unhealthy and snake-infested condition of Buxa Jail?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, do the Government consider the desirability of closing down the Buxa Jail and bringing back the detenus to places where they may be more easily interviewed by relations and live in healthy conditions?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME (JAILS) DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) The jail is not unhealthy. The incidence of sickness among the detenus at Buxa Jail has not been heavier than in any other jails. The sanitary and medical arrangements in the jail are satisfactory. It is not a fact that the jail is a snake-infested one though some snakes may have been found due to the barracks being unused for a long time before the jail was reopened.

(*b*) For administrative reasons the jail cannot be closed at present.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister has said that due to the non-use of barracks some snakes may have crept in. Has he any specific information on this point?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I have not seen the snakes, nor have I noticed that snakes have come in.

Scope of authority of the Public Service Commission, West Bengal

***7. Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the scope of the authority of the Public Service Commission has been restricted in any manner;

(*b*) if so, in what ways;

(*c*) how many appointments carrying a salary of over Rs.250 per month have been made since January, 1948—

(*i*) by reference to the Public Service Commission, and

(*ii*) without reference to the Public Service Commission; and

(*d*) what are the appointments, if any, mentioning the names of the incumbents, made under (*c*)(*ii*) above?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY on behalf of the Minister in charge of the Finance Department (the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) By the framing of the Bengal Public Service Commission Regulations, 1937, and by making amendments thereto from time to time in exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor by clause (*3*) of section 266 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

(*c*) The honourable member presumably wants the information in respect of cases where reference to the Public Service Commission is required under the Regulations. Accordingly, a statement has been prepared and is laid on the Table classifying appointments carrying a salary of over Rs.250 per month, and made since the 1st January, 1948, into two categories, viz.—

(*i*) appointments made by reference to the Public Service Commission; and

(*ii*) appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission.

(*d*) The information will be found in column 4 of the statement referred to in answer to question (*c*).

Statement referred to in answer to clause (*c*) *of starred question No. 7.*

APPOINTMENTS CARRYING A SALARY OF OVER Rs.250 PER MONTH MADE SINCE 1ST JANUARY, 1948, AND REQUIRING REFERENCE TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION UNDER THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION REGULATIONS.

Names of Departments.	Appointments made by reference to the Public Service Commission.	Appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission.	Particulars regarding appointments in column 3— (*i*) Names of incumbents and posts. (*ii*) Pay of posts. (*iii*) Periods for which posts are sanctioned. (*iv*) Periods from which incumbents are holding the posts.	Reasons for not consulting the Public Service Commission.
1	2	3	4	5
	Nos.	Nos.		
Civil Supplies ..	15	4	(1) (*i*) Sri S. N. Sen Gupta, Assistant Controller of Finance. (*ii*) Rs. 300. (*iii*) Up to 28-2-50. (*iv*) 1-9-48. (2) (*i*) Sri B. Ghosh, Assistant Controller of Finance. (*ii*) Rs. 300. (*iii*) Up to 28-2-50. (*iv*) 4-2-49.	The incumbents were holding comparable gazetted posts under the Government of Burma.
			(3) (*i*) Sri N. N. Roy, Rationing Officer (*ii*) Rs.300. (*iii*) Up to 28-2-50. (*iv*) 18-1-49.	The case was referred to Public Service Commission in due course and on the Public Service Commission not recommending him for appointment the usual one month's notice of discharge has been served upon him.

Names of Departments.	Appointments made by reference to the Public Service Commission.	Appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission.	Particulars regarding appointments in column 3— (i) Names of incumbents and posts. (ii) Pay of posts. (iii) Periods for which posts are sanctioned. (iv) Periods from which incumbents are holding the posts.	Reasons for not consulting the Public Service Commission.
1	2	3	4	5
	Nos.	Nos.		
			(4) (i) Sri J. K. Banerjee, Deputy Controller of Civil Supplies. (ii) Rs.600. (iii) Up to 28-2-50. (iv) 27-12-48.	Appointed temporarily pending selection by the Public Service Commission. The candidate recommended by the Public Service Commission not being found suitable by Government, the Public Service Commission has been requested to re-advertise the post.
Commerce and Industries (Industries).	5	1	(1) (i) Sri A. C. Dutt, Superintendent of Sericulture, Malda. (ii) Rs.150—650. (iii) Permanent. (iv) 15-10-47.	Public Service Commission is being consulted.
Home (Jails) ..	Nil	1	(1) (i) Dr. P. K. Biswas (a member of West Bengal Medical Service), Inspector-General of Prisons. (ii) Rs.700+Rs.200 special pay. (iii) Permanent. (iv) 1-4-49.	Appointed temporarily pending selection of a candidate under Regulation 35A of the Public Service Commission Regulations.
Home (Transport).	Nil	4	(1) (i) Sri N. C. Ghosh, Director-General of Transportation. (ii) Rs.3,500. (iii) Contract for 3 years. (iv) 1-2-49.	He was Director-General of Civil Aviation, Government of India, at the time of appointment and his services were very necessary to organise the new State Transport Service.
			(2) (i) Sri H. D. Choudhury, Special Officer, State Transport. (ii) Rs.1,000. (iii) 28-2-50. (iv) 12-4-48.	Has got lien on a permanent post under the Government of India.

Names of Departments.	Appointments made by reference to the Public Service Commission.	Appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission.	Particulars regarding appointments in column 3— (*i*) Names of incumbents and posts. (*ii*) Pay of posts. (*iii*) Periods for which posts are sanctioned. (*iv*) Periods from which incumbents are holding the posts.	Reasons for not consulting the Public Service Commission.
1	2	3	4	5
	Nos.	Nos.		
			(3) (*i*) Sri Adhip Ch. Mukherjee, Special Officer, State Transport. (*ii*) Rs.1,000. (*iii*) 28-2-50. (*iv*) 1-12-48.	Public Service Commission is being consulted.
			(4) (*i*) Sri Lal Behari Majumder, Depôt Superintendent, State Transport. (*ii*) Rs.650. (*iii*) 28-2-50. (*iv*) 30-3-49.	The post is proposed to be filled up through Public Service Commission terminating the service of the present incumbent.
Medical and Public Health (Medical).	26	8	(1) (*i*) Dr. Dinabandhu Sett, Drug Licence and Quinine Rationing Officer. (*ii*) Rs.140—380 *plus* Rs.100 special pay. (*iii*) Temporary up to 28-2-50. (Retained permanently in the set-up.) (*iv*) 18-2-48.	Temporary arrangement pending selection of a suitable candidate through Public Service Commission. [Public Service Commission has been apprised of the facts.]
			(2) (*i*) Dr. B. K. Das Gupta, Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery, Medical College. (*ii*) Rs.550—75/2—1,000. (*iii*) Permanent. (*iv*) 13-7-48.	Ditto.
			(3) (*i*) Dr. J. C. Banerjee, Professor of Medicine, Medical College. (*ii*) Rs.550—75/2—1,000. (*iii*) Permanent. (*iv*) 16-1-49.	Ditto.
			(4) (*i*) Dr. Amalananda Das, Professor of Clinical Medicine, Medical College. (*ii*) Rs.550—75/2—1,000. (*iii*) Permanent. (*iv*) 16-1-49.	Ditto.
			(5) (*i*) Dr. M. L. Chakrabarty, Professor of Physiology, Medical College. (*ii*) Rs.550—75/2—1,000. (*iii*) Permanent.	Ditto.

Names of Departments.	Appointments made by reference to the Public Service Commission.	Appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission.	Particulars regarding appointments in column 3— (i) Names of incumbents and posts. (ii) Pay of posts. (iii) Periods for which posts are sanctioned. (iv) Periods from which incumbents are holding the posts.	Reasons for not consulting the Public Service Commission.
1	2	3	4	5
Medical and Public Health (Medical).	26	8	(6) (i) Dr. Sambhu Nath Mukherjee, Assistant Professor of Radiology and First Assistant Radiologist. (ii) Rs.300—25/2—550. (iii) Permanent. (iv) 16-2-49.	Temporary arrangement pending selection of a suitable candidate through Public Service Commission. [Public Service Commission has been apprised of the facts.]
			(7) (i) Dr. S. N. Ghosh, Professor of Entomology, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta. (ii) Rs.550—75/2—1,000 *plus* Rs.400 non-practising allowance. (iii) Permanent. (iv) 25-12-48.	Ditto.
			(8) (i) Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Assistant Director of Health Services (North-East Circle.) (ii) Rs.450—75/2—900. (iii) Permanent. (iv) 3-3-49.	Ditto.
Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries.	2	1	(1) (i) Sri S. B. Chatterjee, Assistant Mycologist. (ii) Rs.150—650. (iii) Temporary up to 28-2-50. (iv) 8-6-48.	The Public Service Commission is being consulted.
Labour ..	3	Nil	Does not arise.	
Works and Buildings.	4	Nil	Ditto.	
Home (General Administration).	16	Nil	Ditto.	
Local Self-Government.	1	Nil	Ditto.	
Commerce and Industries (Commerce).	8	Nil	Ditto.	
Irrigation and Waterways.	4	Nil	Ditto.	
Finance Department.	14	1	(1) (i) Sri S. Lahiri, Financial Adviser, Relief and Rehabilitation and *ex-officio* Deputy Secretary, Finance Department. (ii) (iii) Temporary up to 28-7-50. (iv) 29-7-48.	He is a retired Deputy Accountant-General, Bengal, and appointed temporarily to advise the Department of Relief and Rehabilitation.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble the Chief Minister be pleased to state if appointments made under the amendments to the Bengal Public Service Commission Regulations have or have not been included in the statement referred to in the answer?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not know what the honourable member means by the amendments to the Regulations.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Shall I explain? In answer (*c*) the Hon'ble Minister says—the honourable member presumably wants the information in respect of cases where reference to the Public Service Commission is required under the Regulations. Now the Regulations have been amended from time to time. As a matter of fact my purpose in sending this question was to know what appointments were made under these amendments but I presume those appointments are not included in this list.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I really do not know which amendments the honourable member has in mind.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: The amendments to the Public Service Commission Regulations, 1937, are referred to in the answer.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: There is no knowing to which one of the amendments the honourable member is referring.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: I want to know if there were any amendments recently made by this Ministry and not by any Ministry beforehand.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: If you will kindly formulate a question I will be prepared to answer that.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Whatever the amendments may be, I am afraid many appointments are not listed in this answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: Such a vague question cannot be answered. As a matter of fact there is no mention of amendments in your question at all.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Sir, it arises from answer (*a*) and thereafter the Chief Minister says: there have been amendments. My question was whether there have been any appointments made under those amendments, by whomsoever they might have been made, and if I am correct in my presumption there are two things.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I think my friend is confusing. There are two things. One is that he wants to know about the amendments and the other is about the appointments made thereunder. His question is if the scope of authority of the Public Service Commission has been restricted in any manner, and if so, in what ways. I have given my answer and if he has any further question to ask, he may put in his question in a concrete form and I will be prepared to answer that.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: Sir, this Government may have made certain amendments and appointments made under those amendments, I presume, have not been included in the statement.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: There is no question of presumption.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR CHOSE: I am not clear in my mind as to what this answer relates to. Certain appointments have been listed in the statement

and I want to know if the appointments shown thereunder also include appointments made under the amendments to the Public Service Commission Regulations. The answer to that, Sir, would be either "Yes" or "No". I am very clear.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, the question you have asked is:

Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the scope of the authority of the Public Service Commission has been restricted in any manner;

(*b*) if so, in what ways;

(*c*) how many appointments carrying a salary of over Rs. 250 per month have been made since January, 1948—

(*i*) by reference to the Public Service Commission, and

(*ii*) without reference to the Public Service Commission; and

(*d*) what are the appointments, if any, mentioning the names of the incumbents, made under (*c*)(*ii*) above?

Therefore, the whole purport of your question was to enquire as to what appointments have been made without reference to the Public Service Commission. That was the main object of your question. Now, you wanted information on the point as to what appointments were made since January, 1948, and the Hon'ble Minister has given the information. Incidentally, the Hon'ble Minister has stated that by the framing of the Bengal Public Service Commission Regulations, 1937, and by making amendments thereto from time to time in exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor, it has been made and I think unless and until you can elicit from the Hon'ble Minister that these appointments were not made in that period, your question has no relevancy.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: The relevancy is that in answer (*c*) the Hon'ble Minister says—let me explain—"The honourable member presumably wants the information in respect of cases where reference to the Public Service Commission is required under the Regulations" and then he details. I am probably confounded by this answer—it is probably my mistake—what I want you to realise is that the answer says "appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission" and I want to know if it means whether those cases which should have been referred to the Public Service Commission have not been so referred or these appointments were made under the amendments. That is my question.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Hon'ble Minister has not mentioned as to when amendments were made and what amendments were made. He simply says that since 1937 amendments have been made. Now, with regard to the question as to what appointments have been made since January, 1948, the answer is contained in the statement. What more is there to answer I do not understand myself.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: He says "appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission". Does that mean that they should have been referred to but they were not referred to or that they were not to be referred to at all?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is obvious.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am afraid, he himself said that he made a mistake and that he was not clear in his question. How can anybody answer him if he is not himself clear in his own mind?

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Let me formally put my question. Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*c*)(*ii*), whether these appointments were to have been referred to the Public Service Commission?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not know whether he has understood his question. I have not.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: I have understood my question.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, if you refer to the statement, you will find the heading "appointments made without reference to the Public Service Commission". I think that is enough.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: That is all right, but my question has not been answered. Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister be pleased to state if in respect of appointments which have to be made through the Public Service Commission, Government have any authority to appoint persons either temporarily or for any period without reference to the Public Service Commission?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I will ask my honourable friend to see section 226(*3*) of the Government of India Act.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister be pleased to state if, in respect of the appointments listed here as not made with reference to the Public Service Commission, it was necessary under the Regulations to refer them to the Public Service Commission?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not know whether my honourable friend has ever read the answer. You will find the reasons given there. Wherever there is an appointment made without reference to the Commission, the reasons are given in column 4. If he has got any specific question to ask, he will kindly give us notice so that I can give specific answer to a specific and clear question that he may put.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: My question is whether it is necessary for these appointments to be referred to the Public Service Commission at all.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: That is a matter of opinion.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: That cannot be a matter of opinion—whether under the Regulations they are necessary to be referred to the Public Service Commission.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I do not understand this question.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: My question is very simple. Sir, do I make myself clear to you?

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite understand. You mean to say whether it was necessary, in the case of those appointments which were made without reference to the Public Service Commission, to refer to the Public Service Commission.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Whether under the Regulations they have to be referred to the Public Service Commission?

Mr. SPEAKER: He has referred to section 266 of the Government of India Act for the necessary answer.

Presentation of the Budget of the Government of West Bengal for 1951-52.

The Hon'ble NALINI RANJAN SARKER: Sir, I rise to present the Budget Estimates of the State of West Bengal for the financial year 1951-52. I have had the honour and privilege of preparing and presenting the first three financial plans of the State after freedom. These years, paradoxical as it may seem, had to bear the first great stresses of independence. Freedom came to us clothed in trial and travail; death and disaster dimmed its utility. We may have faltered at times but have not failed. If, in spite of the somewhat gloomy picture against which the Budget is set, I have still a note of cautious optimism to strike, it is because I have complete faith in the resiliency of our people who have breasted wave after wave of major disasters with exemplary and unquestioned fortitude. The sustaining power of the people has been ably backed by wise leadership which has earned for India international recognition.

(At this stage the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen rose to read the Budget Statement with the permission of the Chair.)

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, I think some other Minister could read it. Why trouble the Finance Minister?

Mr. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Mr. Sen is just going to read.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Personally I feel a sense of pride that it was given to me to play in my own humble way some part in the task of laying the foundation of a happy and prosperous State of West Bengal. It has not been an easy task. The prospect was dismal wherever you looked. Events—dire events—came pouring thick and fast and we were all but overwhelmed by their impact. Events at home and abroad, confused political developments in the neighbouring States, persisting unhappy relationship with the sister State of Pakistan, the spectre of a global war looming perilously over the horizon, and, above all, the mounting economic hardships of the people, despite the best efforts on the part of the Government, have all added up to a formidable score against us. If we have borne the handicap with grace, we deserve a place in the running.

In the midst of all this, the cruel hand of Death struck unmercifully. During the closing months of the year two dominant personalities, each in his own way, passed away—Sri Aurobindo and Sardar Patel. We in West Bengal have lived and grown in the political tradition set by Sri Aurobindo; for, in the beginning of this century, it was Sri Aurobindo who gave our nascent spirit of nationalism a new force and content and lifted it from the sphere of polemics to the lofty height of philosophy. The Swadeshi Movement, which, in fact, was the beginning of our fight for emancipation, claimed him as its master-mind and prophet. A person belonging to the class of seers and prophets could not remain confined within the narrow limits of politics, and later years saw him as a recluse deep in quiet meditation at his sanctum at Pondicherry, in quest of Life Divine. In his life and message we have witnessed the highest expression of the spiritual vitality of India, and I fervently hope that it may not take humanity long to realise that if the world were to be reclaimed from the slump in which it finds itself today, the message which Sri Aurobindo has left for mankind may yet serve as a pointer to a new approach.

The passing away of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was another stunning blow to the country. He was one of the main architects of our freedom, and after freedom was achieved, he held in his firm grip the main burden of administration, consolidating the loose structure which was India of the

past. His statesmanship, firmness, strength of character and a fearless sense of realism made him an unfailing friend and counsellor to the whole nation. He was the greatest steadying and stabilising force in the country whose courage and imperturbability stood as a rock amid stresses of all kinds. In his death we, in West Bengal, have lost a valuable friend and guide who always stood by us in our needs with sympathy and understanding.

The year in retrospect does not unfold a cheerful story. Before the year was far advanced, the communal feeling in East Bengal, patched up but never really composed, again became seriously strained. Widespread disturbances took place across the border, which, as streams of refugees poured in, had their natural repercussion on this side also. Uprooting of a vast mass of population from one region to another is inevitably followed by tremendous social and psychological consequences; and at one time it looked as if the calamity would prove beyond repair. It was just in the nick of time that sober statesmanship on the part of the Prime Ministers of the two States called a halt, if it could not put a finish to this communal passion, hatred and madness. The Delhi Pact, signed on the 8th April, 1950, marks a new chapter in the relationship between the two sister States, The Pact has certainly created a congenial mental climate in both the countries where distrust, suspicion and lack of goodwill so long made any constructive approach extremely difficult. The atmosphere of goodwill created by the Pact has engendered a psychology of understanding and it is now being increasingly realised that both the countries can solve many of their outstanding problems by means of negotiations, discussions and a friendly approach. The Pact has undoubtedly come as a relief to the distracted minorities of both the countries; and the crisis of confidence which so ominously cast its shadow over a vast number of fear-stricken people seems to be slowly but gradually passing away. It will be a marvel if the Pact can succeed in bringing erring humanity to the right path; it will still remain a testimony to sober statesmanship, if it cannot.

The inauguration of the Planning Commission early last year was a step forward towards the co-ordination of various developmental projects, both immediate and long-term, of which quite a handful was under consideration of the Government of India. The Commission has for its task the formulation of an order of priorities according to the needs of the country and her resources, an objective study of the various schemes and fixing targets in different sectors of our economy. This is also expected to canalise properly the endeavours of Government and to avoid the risk of unplanned enterprise on a hit-or-miss basis. We have to remember that the task is to achieve the highest good from the lowest resources—by no means an easy problem. On the political front the appointment of Sir Owen Dixon as the mediator in the Kashmir dispute and the subsequent failure of his mission, as reported on the 31st August last, together with his practically naming of Pakistan as the aggressor, put a new complexion on that vexed problem.

On the international stage events moved fast. In the middle of the year, war broke out in Korea, and the United Nations got bogged in a war with perilous potentiality of extending beyond the borders of Korea and assuming global proportions. By October, Communist China was found to be deeply involved in the conflict on the side of North Korea and fortunes of war took such an ominous turn that the third world war seemed imminent; the Chinese invasion of Tibet and internal troubles in Nepal also caused serious anxiety to our leaders as both the countries are very close to our borders. The far-sighted and determined policy of our sagacious Prime Minister on the side of peace seems to be the only green patch in this otherwise grey picture. Under his leadership and inspiration the peace-front is gaining

strength, and by his deft handling he has not only kept India out of international entanglements but also raised her prestige in the counsels of the world. He is now recognised by a large section of world opinion as the last hope of a war-weary world, and the only person who can keep the temper of peace in the midst of a mad war-psychosis. It is a singular good fortune for us that as a compensation against the very heavy burden that the nation has been called upon to bear since freedom, we have had the privilege of having at the helm of our affairs a person of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's stature.

India's economy continues to bear the scars of war and of the sweeping events of the post-war period. Of these, unquestionably, the partition of the country was the most outstanding, throwing, as it did, the entire economy of the country seriously out of joint. The disequilibrium thus caused called for far-reaching adjustments which must necessarily take time; but our progress towards such adjustments has been made all the more difficult, being sometimes slowed down and sometimes halted, by new stresses and strains, both internal and external. The sudden worsening in the communal situation in the two Bengals in the early part of 1950, followed by a spurt of large-scale trans-border migration and the complete deadlock in the trade relations between India and Pakistan almost throughout the year re-activised the manifold maladjustments created by partition. These caused new set-backs to our economy, especially in jute and cotton textile industries. While the influx of refugees created fresh problems of relief and rehabilitation, the state of uncertainty which prevailed near the Pakistan border affected our food production in these areas. It also created a psychological distemper which only added to the general confusion. The Korean war that followed, with its ups and downs and varying fortunes, the emergence of the Chinese Communists as active participants in the drama, the entanglements of United Nations forces—all added up to the looming spectre of the third world war. All this has in some respects reversed post-war economic trends and replaced buyers' by sellers' markets in certain commodities, *e.g.*, essential raw materials. The work of rehabilitation and reconstruction has thereby been rendered more difficult in countries like India and other backward countries which lack the economic resources and resilience of advanced countries like the United States of America and depend for development almost entirely upon conditions of peace. As the Second World War and particularly the post-war events have demonstrated, our economy is rather rigid and inelastic, and it does not respond to price changes through increase in employment and output. In such a condition war and high prices might again release forces of inflation in our country and our gain through increased production would, in such a case, tend heavily to be outweighted by the many dislocations and setbacks which such inflation would bring in its train.

In a backward country the most important limiting factors in economic progress are capital and trained personnel. Growth of capital depends upon the volume of new savings which the economy can provide, and forced savings through inflationary methods must be held out of court; for, the less developed a country is, the less is its capacity to absorb the dislocating effects of inflation. In the absence of a sufficient volume of internal savings, foreign capital may, of course, be of help, reducing the austerity burdens which would otherwise be thrown upon the home investors; but, as is well known, foreign capital, for various reasons, is rather a difficult proposition nowadays, and the larger military commitments of the United States of America and other advanced countries on account of the Korean conflict and its sinister future possibilities will set even narrower limits to the external help we could otherwise look forward to. The uncertainties inherent in a transitional economy reinforced by various unfavourable

influences communicated to our system from outside have thus generated some very powerful influences which have impeded our progress towards normalcy. Not an insignificant part in this drama has been played by such natural calamities as drought, flood, cyclone and earthquake which have not only taken a toll of precious human lives, but have upset many of our expectations, especially in the matter of food.

The past year affords another apt illustration of the inelastic nature of our economy which has failed once again to adjust itself by any bold leap forward to a new position of higher employment and output to meet the crying needs of an ill-nourished and ill-clad people. The net investment of capital in our industries in the past few years having been quite negligible, particularly in the major industries, and production continuing to be expressed in terms of old installed capacities, there has been no big increase in any field to justify hopes of a higher standard of living for the people on a stable basis. According to the statistics of industrial production for the first half of 1950, 17 out of 26 major industries showed improvement on the corresponding figures for the previous year. These include coal which showed an increase of 4 per cent.; finished steel showing an increase of 4·1 per cent.; cement 32·5 per cent.; paper 3·9 per cent. and aluminium 13 per cent. Among lines of production in which there was a set-back were cotton yarn which declined by 14·2 per cent.; cloth declining by 4·3 per cent.; jute manufactures by 22·8 per cent.; sugar by 4·5 per cent.; matches by 4·1 per cent. and machine tools by 60·2 per cent. The general index of industrial production for the first 9 months of 1950 worked out to 104 approximately as compared with 106·3 in 1949 and 108·9 in 1948. An improvement in any field of production is no doubt highly welcome and a set-back, in the prevailing conditions of scarcity, is to be specially deplored; for, it accentuates suffering and frustration which are already great. From a long-period point of view, however, less significance attaches to these ups and downs in production within given installed capacities, which are almost inevitable, than to increases or decreases, such as through failure to replace worn out or obsolete machinery, in the installed capacities themselves. What is of larger moment, therefore, is the fact that we have till now failed to stimulate our production on the basis of a higher installed capacity. In certain fields, such as iron and steel, new capacity is being installed; but its effect on production is not yet perceptible and we still continue to move in the old rut. Any satisfaction that one might derive from the little increases here and there in any given year would be hardly well-grounded; and to know where we stand and what leeway we have to make up in production, so that a decent standard of living for the people might be sustained, we have but to look at the levels of output in other advanced countries and compare them with our own achievements.

Take, for example, the outposts of coal, steel and electricity, which are the basic requirements of all industrial development. We have an annual output of about 30 million tons in coal, 1·2 million tons in steel and 4·58 billions of k.w. hours in electricity. The position of England which has a population of roughly 5 crores as compared with ours of 34 crores, is as follows:—coal, 219 million tons; steel, 15·8 million tons; and electrical energy, 49·10 billion k.w. hours of energy. The United States of America, with a population of about 15 crores, *i.e.*, less than half our own population, produces an annual output of 590 million tons of coal, 80 million tons of steel and 344 billion k.w. hours of electrical energy. Of course, it might not be possible for us to attain the output levels of these countries in the near future—firstly, because the difference is too great and, secondly, because our resources per head of the population are much less than those of these countries. But poor as our resources are, they are not being exploited to

the extent that would be necessary to give us even a minimum standard of living. And this is what must set all of us thinking and emphasise the need for corrective action.

In all schemes of expansion of production, labour must play a big part. It is therefore necessary that those who occupy positions of leadership in the labour organisations of the country, must consider the responsibility they carry in the matter, particularly in view of the fact that our labour population is mostly ignorant and illiterate. It is up to them to refrain from short-sighted policies or actions which might have the effect of reducing the productive power of industry, at least for the reason that such courses of action would sooner or later recoil upon labourers themselves. From this point of view, the labour situation in the country in the last year cannot but be viewed with concern. For, while the improvement in the labour situation noticed in the two earlier years continued during the first six or seven months of 1950, this favourable trend was interrupted by the biggest industrial strife in India's history which commenced on 14th August, 1950 in Bombay city and lasted for 2 months. The strike involved 95 per cent. of the city's 225,000 cotton textile workers and rendered 62 mills idle. By this ill-advised step the country is estimated to have lost at least 192·3 million yards of cloth, and 54·9 million pounds of yarn, while the workers lost Rs. 3·5 crores in wages. The strike also hit hard wholesale and retail traders who depended for their supplies on the affected mills, and the repercussions of the strike, direct as well as indirect, on consumers and producers, were felt far and wide.

Turning now from the industrial to the agricultural and raw material situation, the year under review brought us one of our greatest disappointments on the food front. The country's integrated programme for self-sufficiency in food, jute, cotton and sugar envisages complete self-sufficiency in food, cotton and sugar by the end of March, 1952, and achievement of self-sufficiency in jute to the extent of 82 per cent. of the target by that date. On the basis of the increased output of foodgrains expected under the self-sufficiency plan during 1950-51, the import target for foodgrains for 1950 was fixed at a low figure of 1·5 million tons, it being confidently hoped that imports of foodgrains would entirely stop after March, 1952, except for meeting any possible calamity, or for providing for any transference of land made in the national interest to other crops or for the building of a central reserve. A series of natural calamities and disasters, affecting large parts of the country, including Assam, Bihar, West Bengal, Madras, Uttar Pradesh and other States, upset the plans and brought the country face to face with a serious food situation. Ripening harvests were destroyed by floods in many States and even stores of foodgrains were washed away. Severe drought in Bihar, of a magnitude not known in living memory, affected also the coming harvest. The Assam earthquake converted the State having a sizeable surplus into a deficit State requiring considerable help from the Centre. Nearer home, the food situation became difficult, specially after June, in Birbhum, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Nadia and the Government had to cut cereal rations temporarily in order to rush supplies to these areas. The *aus* crop was badly affected and those generally dependent on this crop for their requirements between July and October had to fall back on the *aman* crop resulting in reduced procurement by Government. Further, some 2 lakh acres of *aus* land had been diverted to jute cultivation, in accordance with the country's integrated agricultural plan, resulting in a loss of some 74,000 tons of rice. The influx of a large number of refugees from East Bengal further reduced Government stocks. Over and above all this, large blocks of paddy land, mostly *aus*, were lying uncultivated near the Pakistan border due to the state of uncertainty prevailing there during the best part of the cultivating

season. The loss of foodgrains due to this factor was estimated at several thousand tons. Much of this land was, however, later brought under cultivation. The over-all position was that while the Government's commitments increased during the year, their total resources declined. The estimated total loss of *kharif* and *rabi* crops in 1950-51 in India as a whole on account of floods, drought, earthquake, etc., was nearly 6 million tons which represents nearly 14 per cent. of the annual production of the country and food for 46 million people. All these disastrous events naturally reduced contribution to the central pool from the surplus States which in turn meant raising of the import target. From July onward the target had to be raised again and again and it had reached in November the neighbourhood of 3·1 million tons.

The basic fact in the food situation is the uneven race between requirements and supply. While India's food position was difficult enough before partition, it was made more difficult by it as we were left with relatively more people than food-growing lands. Subsequent events have further accentuated the situation, as growth of internal food resources has not kept pace with growth in population. The yield from short-term "Grow More Food" projects, inadequate as it has been, has been largely neutralised by losses due to drought or flood or some other unfavourable circumstances and our total production being less than total requirements, such increased production has hardly made itself felt.

From the long-term point of view, however, there is ample justification for a feeling of reassurance regarding our food position. The country has already 257 irrigation schemes, likely to cost a total sum of 1,900 crores, which are expected to be completed in the next 15 years. Of these, 135 schemes, estimated to cost about 590 crores, are under construction in different parts of the country including 12 major projects costing over 10 crores each and 439 crores in all. It has been estimated that a period of 6 to 10 years will be necessary to complete these projects and a few more years for irrigation to be developed fully. It is expected that by 1959-60, these schemes will irrigate 9·2 million acres of land yielding 3·1 million tons of additional food and 910,000 k.w. of power. Ultimately these figures will rise to 12·9 million acres, 4·3 million tons of food and 1,996,000 k.w. of power.

The last year saw one of the severest crises in cotton and raw jute. Our trouble in respect of both these commodities goes back to the partition of the country which gave Pakistan nearly 78 per cent. of the total acreage under jute and 30 per cent. under raw cotton—60 per cent. if long and medium staple varieties alone are considered. The jute industry was left in a particularly unhappy position not only because the extent of dependence on Pakistan was larger but also because of the absence of any alternative source of supply. Pakistan took full advantage of her position. A heavy duty was imposed on jute exported to India. The despatches to India were also most inadequate and irregular. This had compelled the Indian mills even before devaluation to work short hours and seal off a certain percentage of their looms. After devaluation the position fast developed into a crisis, and arrivals of jute from Pakistan practically ceased. Even such jute as India had purchased in Pakistan before devaluation and had fully paid for, as well as Indian jute in transit through East Bengal from Assam, were held up on one pretext or the other. A Trade Agreement concluded between the two countries on April 21, 1950, providing for a balanced exchange of commodities, eased the position somewhat temporarily, but the scope of the Agreement was very limited as it was to last only until the 31st July, 1950,

and the amount of raw jute India was to get under it was only 8 lakh bales. The Agreement was extended to the 30th September, 1950, in order to enable Pakistan to complete her delivery of jute.

To meet the crisis in the supply of raw jute the Government both at the Centre and in the State took a number of measures including the fixation of minimum price of raw jute as well as the export price of jute manufactures, while the export of raw jute was banned altogether. These measures had an immediate salutary effect. Competitive buying of raw jute which was in short supply relatively to demand was sought to be eliminated by the setting up of a new purchase machinery under the auspices of the Indian Jute Mills Association, viz., the Central Jute Disposals Section, which was to collect all available jute in central pool and distribute it therefrom among the mills according to requirements. Individual mills were forbidden to buy jute independently under a penalty of Rs. 3 per maund of jute. The scheme however did not work as well as was expected and there were several cases of ignoring of the authority of the Central Jute Disposals Section. The outbreak of the Korean war in June last further complicated the situation and entirely changed the perspective. The possibility of a widening of the arena of conflict started a scramble in many parts of the world, specially in the United States of America, for essential raw materials and also for some finished products, including jute goods, and there was a growing divergence between the prices at which jute goods were being actually taken up by the American buyers and the landed cost of these goods on the basis of the controlled selling price. This led to a widespread speculation both in raw material and in finished goods and loss of valuable dollar exchange to the country. The Government of India had therefore to raise the export duty on hessian, which is the variety mainly consumed in America, at first from Rs. 350 to Rs. 750 per ton in October last and then again from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,500 per ton in November last. The export duty on sacking was also raised to some extent. The West Bengal Government set up a Central Jute Board in December last as the earlier attempt of the Indian Jute Mills Association in this direction had proved unsuccessful and this has had the effect of restoring some sort of stability in this important sector of our industry, and stopping clandestine dealings in both the raw material and the finished product. A favourable Indian jute crop has been of no little assistance to us in this critical situation and it is hoped that a system of efficient procurement and distribution of the current Indian crop will enable the industry to carry on on the present basis of output until a satisfactory solution of the Indo-Pakistan deadlock is reached or India goes nearer self-sufficiency in jute next year. It may be mentioned in this connection that India's drive for self-sufficiency in jute is making steady headway. The total Indian output of about 15 lakh bales in 1947-48 rose to 20·55 lakh bales in 1948-49. The final forecast for the 1949-50 crop placed the area under the jute crop at 11·58 lakhs acres and the yield at 31·17 lakh bales. The latest official estimates put Indian jute production in 1950-51 at 4·15 million bales, showing an increase of 1 million bales over last year's figures. The production of mesta and other fibres is expected to yield 350,000 bales.

Last year, import of raw cotton from Pakistan was completely cut off as a result of the deadlock over devaluation. It may be mentioned that in the pre-partition days Pakistan cotton accounted for 30 per cent. of the total East Indian cotton consumed by the Indian mills. Under the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement of 1948-49, India secured from Pakistan 650,000 bales of raw cotton, against her requirements of 900,000 bales. The Trade Agreement of 1949-50 provided for a supply of 450,000 bales. Under the circumstances the entire stoppage of the supply of Pakistan cotton created a very serious situation for the Indian mills many of which were forced to work

short hours while some closed down temporarily. India had therefore to go in for more costly overseas cotton and the Government of India, at the cost of valuable foreign exchange, licensed freely import of such cotton from most soft currency areas and also certain categories of United States cotton. Goods manufactured from such high-priced cotton would hit the consumers at home very hard, and would meet with considerable resistance from markets abroad. It is therefore a matter of vital importance to us to attain self-sufficiency in respect of this important raw material, at least in respect of those varieties which we used to import from Pakistan. Similar arguments apply to jute as well. It is against such a background of wider economic interest that we should view the recent Government policy of diverting some amount of land from foodgrains to either jute or cotton. By such diversion of food-growing land either to jute or cotton, a certain amount of foodgrain is no doubt lost to the country, but if the earnings from increased cotton or jute are much greater than the loss due to food, such diversion would stand well justified. The objective of self-sufficiency in food is not to be side-tracked, however, in any case, but one should not over-stress what is good for the nation in one sector of the economy to the neglect of what is good in other sectors. The right course for us would be to pursue a policy which would achieve self-sufficiency in food, jute and cotton on an integrated basis within the shortest possible time, and some variations of emphasis from one of these commodities to the other, for a temporary period, are not incompatible with the over-all objective itself, provided that there are good economic advantages to be derived from such variations. This is what we are doing at present, and, I think, we are moving along right lines.

The importance of attaining self-sufficiency in raw materials has been once again underlined by events following the outbreak of the Korean hostilities. Stock-piling of strategic materials by the United States of America and other nations has seriously affected a number of our industries which have faced an almost complete stoppage during the last six or eight months of supplies of a variety of industrial raw materials including non-ferrous metals and chemicals. India's quota of steel imports has also been affected by mounting prices and non-availability of the commodity in supplying countries like Britain, the United States of America and Belgium due to their rearmament programmes after the Korean war.

In the above setting of a more or less stationary industrial production, huge food losses as well as scarcity of important raw materials, not much improvement could in any case be expected in the price situation. The general price index rose from 384·7 to 410·9 between January, 1950, and November, 1950, thus registering an increase of nearly 7 per cent. The largest increases were recorded in miscellaneous, industrial raw materials and food groups. In these sectors the increases of price between September, 1949, and September, 1950, *i.e.*, over a period of one year since devaluation, were as follows:—food articles, 6·8 per cent.; industrial raw materials, 10·4 per cent.; and miscellaneous group of articles, 39·0 per cent. The increase in the general price index was 5·8 per cent. The Bombay cost of living index moved up from 294 in January, 1950, to 308 in September, 1950, *i.e.*, by nearly 5 per cent. In West Bengal the working class cost of living index rose from 134 to 141 between January and August, 1950, *i.e.*, by about 5 per cent. Of the total price increase during the last year, the larger part has occurred since July, 1950, that is, after the outbreak of the Korean war when the price index rose by a sudden spurt from 395·6 to 405·2 in course of one month. In view of the uncertain situation created by the Korean war, and the increasing trend of the price-level, the Parliament vested in the Centre on August 12, 1950, powers to make laws, for a

period of one year, on two subjects falling in the States' list, *viz.*, (*i*) trade and commerce within a State, and (*ii*) production, supply and distribution of goods. This was followed up on August 14, 1950, by the enactment of the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Act, which prescribed heavy penalties for hoarding essential goods including food-grains and textiles. The Central Government also took powers to fix the maximum prices of essential commodities on the basis of the prices prevailing on the 15th June, 1950, under the Supply and Prices of Goods Ordinance, 1950. The Ordinance was replaced by an Act in December last in view of the continuing high trend of prices. Two other measures which helped Government in tackling the price and supply problems were the Preventive Detention Act and the liberalisation of imports of selected commodities.

Rise in the price-level in the last year was thus mainly the result of the difficult supply position in respect of various commodities and the inflationary forces released by the Korean war. Deficit financing which used to be the most important single factor in this respect in the earlier period continues to play a part, though, happily, a minor part nowadays, thanks to the various rigorous measures of economy adopted by Central and State Governments.

The striking improvement in the balance of payments position was a notable feature of the financial situation during the year. The improvement has been due largely to the devaluation of the Indian rupee effective from 18th September, 1949, but the new policy of import restriction introduced in May, 1949, which was further tightened up in conformity with the decisions taken at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in July, 1949, contributed not a little to the change. The result has been that in place of a deficit of 248·8 crores in India's balance of payments in relation to all countries except Pakistan during the period of one year from October, 1948, to September, 1949, there was a credit balance in India's favour of 65·9 crores in the corresponding period in 1949-50, that is, between October, 1949, and September, 1950. The sterling holdings of the Reserve Bank of India which had been falling continuously for three years prior to devaluation started on a positive trend and the net gain of foreign assets to the Bank totalled 29·98 crores in the twelve months ended September, 1950. This favourable balance in our trade position is no doubt a very welcome sign of returning health to our economy; but a surplus trade balance has also a certain amount of inflationary significance which should not be overlooked.

A reference may be made in this connection to the recently announced Six-Year Development Plan of India for integrated development in Agriculture, Transport and Communications, Fuel and Power, Industry and Mining, and lastly, Social Capital. The Plan is estimated to cost 1,840 crores over the entire period of six years. Of the total cost, 1,030 crores is expected to become available from internal sources and 810 crores is the order of the external finance that is needed. The internal sources include current revenues of Central and State Governments, surpluses of State-owned enterprises, proceeds of railway depreciation fund and public loans. The estimates are largely based upon expectations of economy in public expenditure which can be true, if at all, only within margins of error. This underlines the fact that apart from foreign capital, the limiting factor in our economic development is going to be the growth of genuine savings within the country itself. The evil effects of development through inflation, even if such a thing were possible, greatly outweigh its benefits. As the Colombo Plan points out, the present rate of home-financed investment is about 2½ per cent. of the national income. In some advanced countries, this figure is as high as 20 per cent., and in most advanced

countries it is as much as five times the Indian figure. The Six-Year Development Plan envisages that at the end of the six-year period, internal savings available for investment will amount to 4 to 4½ per cent. of the national income. Even this rate would be much below what is necessary for a substantial rise in the standard of living. This brings in the question of foreign capital; for, to the extent that we are able to secure capital from abroad the deficiency in internal savings would be mitigated. Foreign capital is not, however, as already stated, as easily available nowadays as it used to be previously. Even the moderate Six-Year Development Plan, as we have seen, involves the use of foreign capital to the extent of 810 crores. India has already received a few loans from the World Bank and the Monetary Fund, and some assistance under Point Four Programme of President Truman now seems assured. Even if the requirements of foreign capital under the Six-Year Development Plan which relates to the public sector only are fully met, there will remain the not less extensive demands for development in the vast private sector. For the requirements in this sector, we must secure the co-operation of private individuals and bodies.

Our present situation in some respects presents the aspect of a vicious circle. Economic development is hindered by the lack of capital and growth of capital is hindered by the lack of economic development. Once, however, the vicious circle is broken, and development is given a great forward push, whether with the help of increased internal savings or with the help of foreign capital, the movement will gather momentum and further development will be easier. Because, the more we develop the more will be the volume of internal savings.

To encourage internal savings the Government at the Centre has already offered a number of incentives, such as relief in direct taxation. It takes some time, however, for any new policy to bear fruit, and a full mobilisation of internal savings at an early date may be confidently looked forward to. Even assuming, however, that internal savings will take place at the full rate compatible with our present economic position, they will still fall short of our requirement; and to this extent we require the help of foreign capital.

In spite of several important concessions offered to foreign investors, the flow of foreign investments into India has been extremely meagre. It may be pointed out that some of the concessions, such as the one with regard to repatriation, does not obtain in many other countries. The full current earnings of all foreign enterprises may be freely remitted abroad under the existing exchange control regulations. Even investments from hard currency areas are treated in much the same way as investments from the sterling areas, and investors from these areas are allowed to repatriate in full not only the original capital invested in approved projects after 1st January, 1950, but also profits ploughed back into business. The full response to all these concessions cannot yet be visualised. From July, 1948, to December, 1949, however, British businessmen invested in India only 611 lakhs of new capital and a further 23 lakhs only during the next six months, *i.e.*, from January to June, 1950. Remittances to the extent of only 17 lakhs were received from Canada, 1 lakh from the United States of America and 1 lakh from Hongkong. One reason for this lack of response may be the existence of more profitable channels of investment in the home countries themselves. Whatever the reason, if adequate amount of foreign capital is not forthcoming, the burden of our economic development must greatly increase, and in that case the pattern of our trade relations with other countries must change. This will neither promote the objectives of multi-lateral trade which the International Trade Organisation has in view nor further the interests of those countries which seek stable and growing

trade contacts with us. We shall also be losers; for, not only will the burden of development increase, but the time taken for such development will be longer.

Capital, whether indigenous or foreign, is not, however, an end in itself, but a means to an end. Available capital resources, internal as well as external, have to be employed in the production of greater wealth in accordance with an over-all plan which takes adequate account of both short-term and long-term requirements of the country. The basic fact in our present economic situation is the lack of a proper balance between agriculture and industry. So long as 70 per cent. or so of the people remain tied to a stationary agriculture, it would be futile to look forward to any improvement in the general standard of living of the people. It is a fairly established generalisation that the smaller the relative importance of agriculture as a field of employment, the higher is the living standard. As agriculture is more and more rationalised, fewer hands are needed to produce the same or even larger output, thus releasing man-power for industrial production or other gainful pursuits. Backward agriculture ties down too many people, and too much land, to the production of basic food cereals; more rational methods will release both man-power and land for production of more remunerative commercial crops.

Economic planning in India and the task of raising the standard of living of the masses must be broad-based upon a rationalised and efficient agriculture. Such an improved agriculture will, however, require simultaneous development of industries, both large and small, for altogether fewer people being required on land, opportunities must be created beforehand for the absorption of these people in industries. In the absence of such a co-ordinated development of both agriculture and industry, development of the one without the development of the other will only create new problems for the country.

The backwardness of our agriculture is reflected in the extremely low yields of our cultivated land. Thus one acre of land in India produces only a third of the rice produced in Japan, or a third of the cotton in the United States of America or a third of the wheat in England. To put the problem pithily in the language of a recent shrewd observer: "If land could be made as productive as in Japan or England, there would be no more risk of revolution, no more difficulties with balance of payments, no more grinding poverty. If India's annual 60 million tons of food could become 74, if its 3,000,000 bales of cotton and of jute could each become five, rationing, budgetary limitations upon development and the susceptibility to economic pressure from Pakistan would be all swept away in a great economic renaissance."

One of the bright patches in the economic situation last year was the condition of the capital markets, which maintained the strength they have steadily gained since July, 1949. In part, this reflected the upward trend noticeable in most countries. The fact that the American recession of early 1949 proved to be much milder and of much shorter duration than had been feared has been largely responsible for injecting a better sentiment in stock markets all over the world. Among other factors which helped the improved tone in India may be mentioned the devaluation of the currency, the concessions in the matter, of income-tax, the withdrawal of statutory limitation of dividends, a steady increase in the country's export trade, leading to an increase in the Reserve Bank of India's holdings of sterling assets, and last but not the least, the outbreak of the Korean war with all its inflationary implications. The abolition of paper control on June 25, 1950, the removal from next month of the ban on the export of

coarse and medium cloth, and the upward revision of the prices of steel and cloth also acted as bullish factors. The result has been that the Reserve Bank of India's Index of Variable Dividend Industrial Securities moved up from 117·9 in December, 1949, to 125·1 in the last week of November, 1950.

Another notable feature of the capital markets last year has been the firmer tone of the equities as compared with the gilt-edged. While equities steadily appreciated, the gilt-edged securities remained more or less quiet, and there was a small rise in the yield of the 3 per cent. Paper from 3·06 per cent. in December, 1949, to 3·16 per cent. in November, 1950. One reason for the easier tone of gilt-edged securities has been the lack of buying support from the Reserve Bank of India, possibly as a part of its anti-inflationary policy.

The better tone of the capital market is, however, not yet fully established on a stable basis, and professional activity still remains the mainstay of the market. Moreover, recent trends have to be viewed against the background of the rather surcharged international situation, and one must not overlook the inflationary potential of such a situation. Under the circumstances, the behaviour of the stock exchanges need careful watching so that speculative activity does not again get out of control as it did a few years ago.

Not only in India, but also elsewhere in Asia, Europe, America and Australia post-war economic systems have had unprecedented calls upon them to provide more and better food for the people, as well as more cloth, shelter, medicines, educational facilities and amenities of various other types. All this is quite reasonable, and it should be the goal of every enlightened economic policy to meet these calls. But the best and the most enduring way of doing so is to broaden the basic capital equipment of the country from which all these benefits are eventually to follow. In consumers' democracies, the claims of immediate consumption often get priority over the need for creating new savings which are necessary for ensuring future consumption, whether at the same or at an increased rate. Increased demands upon national wealth for consumption purposes, or at least for purposes which do not lead to the creation of capital, have also come in recent years, as never before, from the State itself, through expansion of its welfare activities. In a poor economy like ours, more money for purposes of consumption must mean less money for saving and capital formation. Only a highly developed and progressive economy like that of the United States of America, which works through a constant increase in the productivity of labour and capital and other technological improvements in production, can possibly meet both the ends of increased consumption and increased capital creation simultaneously. Taking the democratic world as a whole, there has been in recent years a large shift of income from saving to consumption so that the democracies as a whole are possibly creating at present less new capital than would be necessary to maintain their economic positions, not to speak of effecting improvement in the same. If this process goes on, the whole democratic way of life will be sooner or later in danger. In totalitarian countries where consumers have no voice in the Government, a dictator at the head of the nation decides the necessary proportion between saving and consumption, and the economy can thus always maintain itself, whatever be its cost to the community in the way of loss of consumer preference and of civil and political liberties. In democratic countries, on the other hand, as already pointed out, claims on consumption often get priority and even minimum savings for maintaining capital intact are sometimes neglected. This brings us to the real dilemma of the welfare state which seeks to provide more and more amenities to

the people but starves the sources from which the amenities are to come. This is a policy which contradicts itself and must sooner or later end in frustration. Only that welfare state would endure in the long run which supports its welfare activities upon the increased saving of the community.

The need for creating new savings brings us to the question as to wherefrom these savings are to come. There are, as a matter of fact, three groups of savers: the Government, the institutional savers like the joint-stock companies and the public. The savings of the Government have been quite insufficient, as past experience shows, even for the purpose of development in the public sector, and have had to be supplemented by the issue of public loan, that is, by recourse to the savings of the other groups. Institutional savers also are more or less in the same position and they cannot finance all their new schemes of development out of their reserves, and have occasionally to float new capital issues for the purpose. All this shows that any substantial economic development, and specially development along new lines, must depend predominantly upon the savings of the third group, that is, the individual savers. This fact has an important lesson for us all, which is that the springs of savings in the country must be kept free, otherwise enough savings will not be forthcoming which would be necessary to finance new developments in industry and agriculture, in trade and commerce.

As the total employment in a country depends upon the opportunities that exist, or are created, for wealth production, it is no wonder that our backwardness in economic development is accompanied by a large volume of unemployment. While no exact statistics are available about the number of the unemployed in the country, some idea can be formed about the unhappy state of affairs in this respect from the registrations in the various employment exchanges, which show that the number of people seeking jobs through these exchanges has been steadily increasing. A partial explanation for this may lie in the fact that perhaps more people think it worthwhile nowadays to utilise the services of these exchanges than used to be the case previously but this can hardly be the whole explanation. There can be little doubt that in the last two years or so, the over-all employment position in the country has worsened. One important contributory factor towards this, in so far as our own State is concerned, has been the influx of a large number of refugees from East Bengal who have joined the others in the State searching for jobs. What makes the problem all the more difficult, and gives it a more tragic aspect, is the extent of unemployment among the middle-class educated youth, that is among people who find that the long years they had spent in the schools or in the colleges have not after all fitted them for earning their living. In the city of Calcutta alone it will be found that at any given time there are far more young men seeking jobs, specially clerical jobs, than the offices are able to provide. For, jobs, whether clerical or otherwise, can increase in number only when there is more work for the offices or the firms to do. The huge waste of national wealth which is involved in all these idle human resources is often overlooked because the waste is of potential wealth, and not of wealth already created; but that does not make the loss less real or less grievous. In a country in which mineral, agricultural and power resources are yet largely unexploited, unemployment can only mean that the people as a whole are not taking the full advantage of the opportunities that lie before them. Creation of wealth through the development of large-scale industries or the execution of big projects like the multi-purpose projects depends upon the decision of industrialists or of Government, and this in turn depends upon a number of factors such as the investment outlook, the state of public finances, taxation policy and so forth. While development along these lines must be pressed forward with full vigour,

and is, indeed, a condition of maximising employment and standard of living, there is a large field in which even small people, including the unemployed, can help themselves and others and engage in useful productive work. The effect of such individual efforts on employment and output would be also quicker. Moreover, in view of our known deficiency in capital resources, the employment potential of such development, as is envisaged in the next few years in the sphere of large-scale enterprise including the execution of the multi-purpose projects, would not be so great as to absorb all our surplus labour. For this reason also greater attention must be paid than before to creation of wealth on individual, family or small-scale basis. In the field of scientific farming, cottage industries and processing of raw materials, opportunities await the small man which must be fully utilised. Young men of our country often show a strong aversion to trades or callings involving manual work or hard labour, and are too easily attracted to clerical or white-collar jobs. This attitude of mind is unhealthy; and it does good neither to them nor to the country. The number of jobs in Government or in mercantile offices must in any case be limited; and although they may have special attraction for some, the opportunities they offer for betterment of one's economic position cannot be so many nor so great as the opportunities which await enterprising and intelligent people in the field of direct production. The field of individual or small-scale enterprise in production, as just stated, is quite extensive, and the opportunities that lie in this field should be neither overlooked nor minimised. The Government, both at the Centre and in the States, has in recent years paid increasing attention to the provision of facilities whereby young men may learn a craft or a technical process and has established for the purpose training centres at various places. All these facilities are there for enterprising young men to make the most of them. These training centres also help the young men to discover their latent aptitudes, so that they may later on take up that job for which their temperament and background make them most suitable. This would eliminate or minimise the chances of wastage of man-power through misdirected applications of energy and skill. In western countries various techniques and methods are used for this sort of vocational guidance, which can be emulated here with much benefit to ourselves. Vocational guidance does not, however, create new employment; new opportunities for employment must come, as already stated, from creation of wealth. The same remark applies to employment exchanges which, by rationalising methods of recruitment, equate the demand for and the supply of labour. The training facilities about which I have spoken would not only enable young men, if they so desired, to set up in life on their own account, but increase their suitability for employment in industries. They constitute, therefore, an important step towards the solution of our problem of unemployment.

ESTIMATES.

I will now discuss the Budget Estimates for the coming year together with the Revised Estimates for the current year.

THE YEAR 1950-51.

The opening balance of the year 1950-51 which according to the estimates presented last year was 3 crores 54 lakhs actually improved to 11 crores 9 lakhs. This improvement of 7 crores 55 lakhs represents improvements in the financial results of the year 1949-50 and is due to increase in that year of 2 crores 29 lakhs in net receipts under civil and other deposits, saving in capital expediture in that year of 4 crores 10 lakhs and to an actual revenue surplus in that year of 2 crores 63 lakhs as against 1 crore

47 lakhs as anticipated in the Revised. The saving in capital expenditure is composed of a saving of 1 crore 21 lakhs under state trading, a saving of 96 lakhs under rehabilitation of displaced persons, a saving of 95 lakhs under Kanchrapara area development scheme, a saving of 43 lakhs under development of provincial roads, a saving of 33 lakhs under road transport scheme, a saving of 5 lakhs under Mayurakshi project, and a saving of 17 lakhs under other schemes.

REVENUE RECEIPTS.

According to the Revised Estimates, the year 1950-51 shows a revenue deficit of 4 crores 99 lakhs as against a revenue deficit of 1 crore 33 lakhs anticipated in the Budget Estimates.

The total revenue receipts have improved from 33 crores 90 lakhs to 34 crores 68 lakhs. There is an improvement of 1 crore 17 lakhs under three principal heads of revenue, *viz*., 75 lakhs under Sales Tax, 15 lakhs under Motor Spirit Sales Tax and 27 lakhs under Stamps. The other heads under which there has been appreciable rise are Education, 7 lakhs; and Industries, 34 lakhs. The increase under Education is due to a donation of 6 lakhs for the Commercial Institute and sale of Government primer "*Kishalaya*" and that under Industries is due to sale of accumulated stock of quinine to the public and to two London firms.

The increases are partly offset by a decrease of 15 lakhs under Betting Tax, the rate of which has recently been reduced to counteract illegal gambling, 5 lakhs under Raw Jute Tax, 7 lakhs under Civil Works on account of transfer of a smaller sum from Central Road Fund Account and 25 lakhs under Miscellaneous on account of adjustment of an item under another head. Smaller receipts of 16 lakhs on account of Food Procurement Bonus and of 10 lakhs under Miscellaneous Receipts further offset the increases.

Jute Duty which now represents a fixed grant of 105 lakhs from the Centre has been included under the head Grants-in-aid from Central Government by transfer from Customs. 12 lakhs on account of grant payable by the Government of India to abridge the revenue gap in respect of the merged state of Cooch Behar has also been included under the said head.

REVENUE EXPENDITURE.

The total revenue expenditure for the current year is 39 crores 67 lakhs according to the Revised Estimates as against 35 crores 23 lakhs according to the Budget Estimates. Thus the revenue expenditure has increased by 4 crores 44 lakhs. The largest increase is under Extraordinary Charges in India amounting to 92 lakhs. This is mainly on account of contribution from revenues to meet an unanticipated loss on the sale of wheat and wheat-products in the trading accounts of the Food Department and on account of arrear loss for supply of foodstuff to Government servants at concession rates for the year 1949-50 which was not adjusted in the accounts of that year.

There is an increase of 65 lakhs under the head Miscellaneous mainly due to adjustment under this head of the allocation of 50 lakhs to the Contingency Fund of West Bengal, larger expenditure on West Bengal National Volunteer Force, increased expenditure on dearness grants to local bodies and expenditure in connection with communal riots. There is an increase of 75 lakhs under the head Expenditure on displaced persons mainly due to expenditure in connection with the scheme of dispersal of students from Calcutta for which there was no provision in the Budget. The scheme is

being financed out of a loan granted by the Government of India. Employment of additional battalions of police force, employment of Bihar military police in Calcutta and the districts, etc., to cope with emergent situations account for an increase of 59 lakhs. An increase of 51 lakhs is due to payment of the pre-partition claims of contractors in West Bengal. Repairs to damages caused by flood and land-slides to roads and buildings in the northern districts and an increased expenditure on buildings in connection with development projects have resulted in an increase of 52 lakhs under Civil Works. Small increases spread over other heads also contribute to the total increase in revenue expenditure.

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

The provision for capital expenditure during the current year is 8 crores 72 lakhs according to the Revised Estimates as against 14 crores 91 lakhs in the Budget Estimates. The provision for capital expenditure includes provision for productive development schemes including the Damodar Valley project and Mayurakshi project, provision for state trading schemes and provision for capital expenditure for displaced persons. The details of variation under individual items will be found in the booklet showing the progress of development schemes and the Red Book circulated in the House.

DEBT HEADS.

Under this head are recorded the transactions in regard to the loans taken by the State Government, the State Provident Funds, deposits and advances of various nature, including deposits of the civil, revenue and criminal courts, deposits of the local bodies, loans and advances by the State Government, etc.

Excluding the four heads, *viz.*, Treasury Bills (in which the surplus cash balance is temporarily invested), Cash Credit Advance from the Imperial Bank of India (for financing purchase of food), Loans from Central Government and Loans and Advances by the State Government, the receipts and disbursements in the Revised Estimates almost balance each other.

The Revised Estimate of loans from the Central Government is 10 crores 60 lakhs against 12 crores 84 lakhs provided for in the Budget Estimates. The drop is due to curtailment of loans by 73 lakhs in the case of the Damodar Valley project and 50 lakhs in the case of the Mayurakshi project as well as to decrease of 1 crore in the amount of loan required for relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons.

THE YEAR 1951-52.

REVENUE RECEIPTS.

The Budget Estimates of revenue receipts for the year 1951-52 show a decline of 63 lakhs as compared with the Revised Estimates of revenue receipts for the current year. There is a fall of 34 lakhs under Taxes on Income, 16 lakhs under Agriculture, 18 lakhs under Industries, 20 lakhs under Civil Works and 23 lakhs under Miscellaneous. There is on the other hand an improvement of 9 lakhs under Excise, 7 lakhs under Forest, 25 lakhs under Sales Tax and 10 lakhs under Motor Spirit Sales Tax.

The estimates under Taxes on Income are based on the forecast communicated by the Government of India.

The decrease under Agriculture is due mainly to omission of the provision for food procurement bonus in the absence of an estimate of the amount likely to be received from the Government of India next year while that under Civil Works is due to abolition of the surcharge collected on the sale of rice and paddy for improvement of village roads in the procurement areas as well as to smaller receipt from Central Road Fund.

Reduced sale of quinine to the London firms and omission of the receipt from food procurement bonus account for the decrease under Industries.

The decrease under Miscellaneous is mainly due to smaller receipts under the *bargadar* scheme and smaller recovery of the cost of preparation of electoral rolls for the Central Legislature under the new Constitution. Under the *bargadar* scheme the initial cost of cultivation of lands of absentee owners allotted to displaced cultivators from East Bengal is met by Government. The produce is divided into three equal parts—one-third goes to Government in reimbursement of the cost of cultivation initially met by it and is on realisation credited to this head; another one-third is also collected by Government and kept in deposit under a Debt head to be paid to the owner on his return; the remaining one-third is retained by the cultivator. Anticipated restoration of lands to absentee owners on their return next year accounts for smaller receipts under this head.

REVENUE EXPENDITURE.

The Budget Estimates of revenue expenditure for the year 1951-52 is 38 crores 81 lakhs as against 39 crores 67 lakhs being the Revised Estimates for the current year. The decrease of 86 lakhs is the net result of increases occurring over certain heads and decreases occurring over certain others.

Larger provision for development schemes including peace-time fire service accounts for an increase of 54 lakhs. Intensive food production schemes account for an increase of 4 lakhs. General elections to be held next year account for an increase of 48 lakhs. Increase of 10 lakhs is due to a scheme for introduction of compulsory primary education in certain rural areas. An increase of 10 lakhs is due to the provision for payment of the first instalment of a Government contribution to the Calcutta Corporation towards expenditure on the Kulti outfall scheme for proper disposal of sewerage of Calcutta. Besides, some increase is due to full year's provision being made next year for the new set-up which was implemented late in the current year in some of the departments.

Omission of the provision for the Contingency Fund accounts for a decrease of 50 lakhs. Smaller provision for the scheme of dispersal of students from Calcutta accounts for a decrease of 46 lakhs. Decrease of 85 lakhs is due to smaller provision for payment of pre-partition bills of contractors. Omission of provision for loss on sale of wheat and wheat-products to the public which occurred this year but is not expected next year accounts for a decrease of 30 lakhs. A decrease of 55 lakhs is due to the omission of the provision for arrear adjustment of loss on supply of foodstuff to Government servants.

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

The total capital expenditure for the next year is 14 crores 53 lakhs against 8 crores 72 lakhs according to the Revised Estimates for the current year. The provision includes 6 crores 71 lakhs on account of this Government's share of expenditure on Damodar Valley project, 2 crores for Mayurakshi project, 2 crores 97 lakhs for the scheme of development of provincial roads, 84 lakhs for Kanchrapara area development scheme, 84 lakhs for expenditure on rehabilitation of displaced persons, 48 lakhs for

the road transport scheme, 23 lakhs for North Calcutta rural electrification scheme, 33 lakhs for industrial development schemes, and 10 lakhs for net expenditure in connection with the state trading scheme of the Food Department.

DEBT HEADS.

Excluding the heads Loans from the Central Government and Loans and Advances by the State Government and Loans and Advances to displaced persons the receipts and disbursements almost balance each other.

The provision for loans from the Central Government is 19 crores 20 lakhs against 10 crores 60 lakhs in the Revised. The provision includes 6 crores 71 lakhs on account of this Government's share of expenditure on the Damodar Valley project, 2 crores for the Mayurakshi project, 9 crores 53 lakhs for various schemes of capital expenditure for relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons as well as for the grant of advances to them, 20 lakhs for the scheme of dispersal of students from Calcutta, and 76 lakhs for intensive food production schemes.

We also propose to raise a loan of 2 crores to finance certain development schemes involving capital expenditure, unless of course the Government of India can themselves provide the same.

On the expenditure side provision has been made under Loans and Advances by the State Government for 31 lakhs for advances to cultivators, 19 lakhs for loans to owners of *beel* fisheries and tank fisheries and to growers of agricultural produce, 15 lakhs for cattle purchase loans, 23 lakhs for advances to the Provincial Co-operative Bank for distribution of short-term crop loan, for financing the land mortgage banks and for meeting the shortfall in the realisation of investments of the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank in East Bengal, 6 lakhs for giving aid to industries, and 8 crores 69 lakhs for loans to displaced persons for house-building, cultivation, etc.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The revenue deficit of the year 1951-52 is 4 crores 76 lakhs as against 4 crores 99 lakhs of the current year according to the Revised Estimates. The deficit outside revenue account is 1 crore 64 lakhs. The total deficit of the coming year, therefore, amounts to 6 crores 40 lakhs. Setting off against it the opening balance of 3 crores 49 lakhs the year closes with a negative balance of 2 crores 91 lakhs.

In this session we will request the House to pass the Bengal Motor Vehicles Taxation (West Bengal Amendment) Bill with the object of enhancing the rates of taxation of motor vehicles. If the House passes this Bill into an Act, the additional revenue expected from it will be a crore and a half. This will reduce revenue deficit to a little over 3 crores and the negative closing balance to 1 crore 41 lakhs. These gaps have been left uncovered.

The State has no public debt at present. At the end of next year our public debt will amount to 2 crores only. Our total debt to the Government of India at the end of the current year stands at 21 crores 36 lakhs and will increase to 40 crores 3 lakhs at the end of next year. This debt includes an advance of 2 crores 50 lakhs granted by the Government of India to help us clear half of the debit balance with the Reserve Bank of India left by the Government of undivided Bengal the other half of which was cleared by the Government of East Bengal. The balance of 37 crores 53 lakhs consists of 15 crores 98 lakhs on account of rehabilitation of refugees, 13 crores 62 lakhs on account of Damodar Valley project, 5 crores 76 lakhs on account of the Mayurakshi and other development projects, 1 crore 23 lakhs for

Grow More Food or intensive food production schemes, 90 lakhs for the scheme of dispersal of students from Calcutta and 4 lakhs for development of Bengal Engineering College, Sibpore.

Excluding interest charges on loans given by the Government of India, the expenditure on relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons proceeds against three different Budget heads, namely, 57—Miscellaneous—Expenditure on displaced persons, 82—Capital Account of other State works outside the Revenue Account—Expenditure on displaced persons and a Debt head, namely, Loans and Advances by the State Governments—Loans and Advances to displaced persons.

All revenue expenditure is booked under 57—Miscellaneous. Under this head the Budget provision for the current year was 1 crore 67 lakhs out of which 1 crore 27 lakhs was to be recovered from the Government of India. Of the net expenditure of 40 lakhs, 29 lakhs was offset by receipt taken into account under XLVI—Miscellaneous and the balance of 11 lakhs was a net charge on the State.

In the Revised, the provision for expenditure and recovery from the Government of India stand at 7 crores 88 lakhs and 6 crores 73 lakhs respectively. The increase in expenditure is due to inclusion in the Revised of 5 crores 73 lakhs on account of expenditure on displaced persons migrating from 1st January, 1950, and of 66 lakhs on account of dispersal of students from Calcutta for none of which there was any provision in the Budget. Excluding these two items, the Revised Estimate of expenditure comes to 1 crore 49 lakhs against the Budget Estimate of 1 crore 67 lakhs; similarly the Revised Estimate of recovery from the Government of India comes to 1 crore 29 lakhs against 1 crore 27 lakhs in the Revised. The Dispersal scheme is financed out of loan taken from the Government of India. Including the above two items the net expenditure under this head in the Revised Estimate is 1 crore 15 lakhs which includes 66 lakhs for the Dispersal scheme and against which receipts of 25 lakhs under XLVI—Miscellaneous can be set off.

The Budget provision for the next year is for expenditure of 2 crores 48 lakhs and recovery of 2 crores from the Government of India. Receipts on account of displaced persons have been taken at 13 lakhs in the Budget. The net charge on the State Government is 35 lakhs including 20 lakhs for the Dispersal scheme.

Under revenue expenditure there is also a provision of half a lakh in the Revised and one lakh in the Budget under 22—Interest on Debt and other obligations on account of payment of interest on loans taken from the Government of India for relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons. Equal amounts are included in receipts on account of realisation of interest on loans from displaced persons. The receipts and disbursements on account of interest thus cancel each other.

A provision of 2 crores 59 lakhs was made in the current year's Budget under 82—Capital Account of other State works outside the Revenue Account—Expenditure on displaced persons, for the scheme of housing displaced persons, colonisation scheme and other schemes for rehabilitation of displaced persons. The provision in the Revised and the Budget for the next year is 1 crore 37 lakhs and 2 crores 3 lakhs, respectively. Receipts from sale of lands, buildings, tools and other implements, etc., to displaced persons are taken in reduction of capital expenditure. The sale-proceeds of lands and buildings are received partly in cash and partly in the form of loan bonds executed by the displaced persons. These are taken in reduction of capital expenditure and the net expenditure appears under the capital head 82—Capital Account of other State works outside the Revenue Account—Expenditure on displaced persons. The total receipts in cash and loan

bonds taken into account in the Revised and the next year's Budget are 90 lakhs and 1 crore 19 lakhs, respectively. There was no provision for these receipts in the current year's Budget. Loans and advances to displaced persons proceed against the Debt head. The capital expenditure and the loans and advances together with the expenditure on Dispersal scheme are met out of loans of equivalent amounts from the Central Government the provision for which appears under Loans from Central Government.

The net expenditure under the capital head in the Revised is 47 lakhs and the provision for payment of advances to displaced persons in the Revised is 3 crores 70 lakhs. Against these the amount of loan from the Centre taken in the Revised is 4 crores. The balance of 17 lakhs will be met from the loan received last year but not utilised.

The net expenditure under the capital head in the next year's Budget is 84 lakhs. The provision for payment of advances is 8 crores 69 lakhs. Against these the provision for loan from the Centre is 9 crores 53 lakhs.

The total outlay on displaced persons in this State under all the heads including the shares of Central and State Governments is 18 crores 52 lakhs at the end of 1950-51 and 30 crores 53 lakhs at the end of 1951-52.

GROW MORE FOOD AND PROCUREMENT BONUS SCHEMES.

These are now called intensive food production schemes. According to the revised procedure laid down by the Government of India, the available food procurement bonus will first be set off against the net expenditure on all Grow More Food schemes and schemes financed from the food procurement bonus. The balance of expenditure will be shared between the Central and the State Governments on a 50:50 basis.

The original estimate of expenditure on Grow More Food schemes and schemes financed from the procurement bonus for the current year was 2 crores 63 lakhs. The Revised Estimate for all the schemes has been fixed at 2 crores (1 crore 45 lakhs in the Agriculture Department, 33 lakhs in the Irrigation Department, 20 lakhs in the Fisheries Department and 2 lakhs in the Industries Department). Against the above estimate of expenditure, 59 lakhs is included in the Revised Estimates of revenue receipts, being the amount likely to be received in respect of these schemes on account of sale-proceeds of seeds, manures, etc. The net expenditure thus comes to 1 crore 41 lakhs. Deducting 66 lakhs on account of procurement bonus granted by the Central Government, the divisible balance amounts to 75 lakhs, half of which is the net charge on the State Government.

The estimate of expenditure on these schemes for the next year is 2 crores 4 lakhs (1 crore 49 lakhs in the Agriculture Department, 40 lakhs in the Irrigation Department, 13 lakhs in the Fisheries Department and 2 lakhs in the Industries Department). 70 lakhs is included in the Revised on account of receipts in respect of the schemes. The net expenditure is thus 1 crore 34 lakhs, and in the absence of any estimate for food production bonus, the whole of this amount is divisible equally between the Central and the State Governments. The net charge on the State Government thus comes to 67 lakhs. Besides the provision under revenue heads, provision for payment of loans in furtherance of these schemes has also been made to the extent of 15 lakhs in the Revised and 20 lakhs in the Budget.

TRADING TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOOD DEPARTMENT.

The purchase price of articles of food together with certain incidental charges as well as receipts from the sales thereof are adjusted under the capital head Capital Outlay on schemes of state trading while the administrative cost of the Food Department, together with that of the Supply Department, is recorded under the revenue head Extraordinary Charges in India.

The value of stock of rice, wheat and wheat-products and sugar in the beginning of the year was 7 crores 96 lakhs. A further stock of the value of 54 crores 82 lakhs including certain incidental charges is proposed to be purchased this year, against which the receipt from sale-proceeds has been estimated at 55 crores 64 lakhs. An amount of 30 lakhs will be credited to this account by debit to the revenue head Extraordinary Charges in India on account of an unanticipated loss on the sale of wheat and wheat-products. A subsidy of 20 lakhs is expected from the Government of India this year to cover 75 per cent. of the difference between the purchase price from the Government of India and the issue price in this State in respect of certain overseas supplies. The result is a net receipt of 1 crore 32 lakhs in 1950-51. The stock at the end of 1950-51 will thus be of the value of 6 crores 64 lakhs.

The cost of purchase of articles including incidental charges during the next year is estimated at 55 crores 89 lakhs and the receipt from sale-proceeds thereof has also been taken at the same figure. No subsidy from the Government of India will be available next year; nor is any loss on the sale of wheat and wheat-products likely to occur. The stock at the close of 1951-52 will thus be the same as the stock in the beginning of the year.

ROAD TRANSPORT SCHEME.

The transactions of the Road transport scheme are booked under two heads, namely, 82B—Capital Outlay on Road transport scheme outside the Revenue Account and XLVIA—Receipts from Road transport scheme.

For capital outlay which includes cost of buses, land, garage, workshop equipment, etc., the provision during the current year is 73 lakhs in the Revised against 75 lakhs in the current year's Budget and the Budget provision for the next year is 48 lakhs. No purchase of new buses is provided for in the Revised Estimates of the current year, the provision for buses being wholly meant for body building, etc. The next year's estimate includes 26 lakhs for the purchase of 50 new buses which will be put on the road early next year.

Gross receipts and working expenses are booked under the head XLVIA —Receipts from Road transport scheme. It will appear that the net receipts during the current year drop below 1 lakh in the Revised against 3·7 lakhs in the Budget. The drop is due to smaller receipts from passenger bus service in consequence of a smaller number of buses being put on the roads than was anticipated. The estimated net receipt for the next year is 5·7 lakhs after providing for depreciation and interest charges.

DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER NEW SCHEMES.

A statement showing the progress of development and other new schemes included in the Revised Estimates for 1950-51 and the Budget Estimates for 1951-52 has been circulated in the House.

The development schemes were started with clear promise of assistance both in respect of grants and loans from the Government of India. I explained last year how the grants were stopped and the loans curtailed in the midst of execution of the development programme causing serious embarrassment to the State Government. Loan is now being granted on two schemes only, *viz.*, the Damodar Valley project and the Mayurakshi project. Loans on other schemes were completely stopped in 1949-50. Grants on unproductive development schemes were first given to cover the entire expenditure. Subsequently it was reduced by fixation of a ceiling. In the current year nothing has ben received from the Government of India on this account.

On the Damodar Valley project West Bengal's share of expenditure will amount to 13 crores 61 lakhs from the date of partition up to the end of 1951-52. The whole of the amount will be received as a loan from the Government of India. On the Mayurakshi project the total expenditure till the end of next year will amount to 4 crores 77 lakhs, the whole of which will be received as a loan from the Government of India On other productive development schemes our expenditure till the end of next year will amount to 13 crores 87 lakhs. Out of this amount only 99 lakhs was received as a loan from the Government of India till the end of 1948-49. The balance of 12 crores 88 lakhs represents the amount provided out of the resources of the State Government.

Our total expenditure on unproductive development schemes from the date of partition till the end of 1951-52 will amount to 16 crores 64 lakhs. Out of this amount only 4 crores 88 lakhs was received as a grant from the Government of India till the end of 1949-50. The balance of 11 crores 76 lakhs has been provided from the resources of the State Government.

It will appear that from partition to the end of next year the State Government will spend on development schemes a total sum of 48 crores 89 lakhs out of which 24 crores 64 lakhs represents the amount provided from the resources of the State, though the programme was started on the promise of assistance from the Centre to cover the expenditure fully.

Our expenditure on other new schemes shown in the progress statement referred to above is 1 crore 37 lakhs in 1950-51 and 1 crore 94 lakhs in 1951-52.

SOME GENERAL TRENDS.

A booklet entitled "The West Bengal State Rupee—from where it comes and where it goes" has been circulated in the House giving statistics about the progress of our revenue and its distribution among departments. Certain graphs and charts have been added to the statistics to indicate the trends since 1941-42. It will appear that on the revenue side, excluding grants from the Government of India which have almost disappeared since partition, we are not far behind the level of undivided Bengal. The receipts from Land Revenue, Agricultural Income-tax, Raw Jute Tax, Stamps and Registration are much smaller in West Bengal than they were in undivided Bengal, but the receipts from Sales Tax have gone beyond the figures relating to undivided Bengal. But for the post-partition changes in the distribution of income-tax and jute duty which have deprived this State of its legitimate share in these two items of revenue, we would have almost reached the level of undivided Bengal.

In total expenditure also we are not far behind the level of undivided Bengal. Further, we are now devoting a much larger proportion of our revenues to nation-building departments than we used to do in the pre-partition days. This tendency is growing from year to year. Taking revenue and capital accounts together, our expenditure on construction of new roads has increased from 91 lakhs in pre-partition days to 4 crores 68 lakhs in 1951-52. Our total expenditure on construction of new roads since partition is nearly 14 crores till the end of 1951-52. Similarly our total expenditure both on revenue and capital accounts on Irrigation has increased from 1 crore 67 lakhs in pre-partition days to about 10 crores next year, and our total expenditure on this item since partition amounts to 23 crores 60 lakhs till the end of next year. Comparing 1948-49 Actuals with 1951-52 Budget, expenditure under Medical and Public Health has increased by about 3 crores, and that under Education and Agriculture by more than 1 crore each.

Our backwardness, being the accumulated result of centuries, is immense. Our anxiety to go forward is equally great. It is, however, an essential condition of success that we must proceed in a planned way having regard to our resources and capacity and on a strict consideration of priority. Any attempt to force our pace beyond our capacity will inevitably result in failure. Any attempt to give higher precedence to the less urgent, in preference to the more urgent, will similarly lead to failure or unnecessarily prolong our period of suffering. In a poor country the period of construction is necessarily a period of suffering. Undertaking too much beyond capacity or without consideration of priority will either end in failure and waste or will accentuate inflationary tendencies which in their turn will lead to a general failure and intensification of suffering in many directions. When resources are small compared to requirements, the need for proceeding with caution and in a planned manner is all the greater. I fully realise that words of caution are not likely to be appreciated by a people as backward and needy as we are. I have already stated how in course of three years this Government has almost changed the structure of our public finance, how the structure of our expenditure has changed in favour of the nation-building departments, and how we are spending large amounts on roads, irrigation, etc. The road programme is really an ambitious one and, I dare say, this programme, when executed, will lay a sound foundation for the economic prosperity of the State. The Damodar and the Mayurakshi projects are under execution. It is expected that the latter will be in a position to irrigate about a lakh acres of land during the next *kharif* season. Our Agriculture and Irrigation Departments are also engaged in executing a large number of small irrigation schemes which have the effect of increasing food production. The tank improvement schemes are being operated with the same object. There are a large number of Grow More Food or intensive food production schemes through distribution of improved seeds, fertilizers, etc. In the Fisheries Department the deep-sea fishing scheme has made a good start and the people of Calcutta have started getting used to the taste of deep-sea fish. Hundreds of State buses are running in the city to the great relief of its much too congested and ever-growing population. The Haringhata scheme is unique in the State, if not in the whole of India. It has started supplying milk and milk products and poultry, and it is hoped that it will soon improve the breed of cattle permanently. The rural electrification schemes are going ahead. A number of towns have already been electrified, *viz.*, Kalna, Ranaghat and Santipur, and I look forward to my successors to spread the light in other far away towns and rural areas.

Mainly with the assistance of the Government of India we shall be spending over 30 crores on displaced persons by the end of 1951-52. I hope that in no time these displaced persons will prove to be a great asset to the State and will increase its wealth by hard work and co-operation. Our expenditure on National Volunteer Force has been appreciable and will amount to about half a crore by the end of next year. I hope the training imparted to our young men under this scheme will leave a permanent impress on their character and will help to make them better citizens. We have an ambitious programme of rural health centres and in no time a health centre will be within easy reach of every man. We have greatly extended medical education and hospital facilities. We have increased the number of beds for T.B. patients in various places in the State and I hope I will not be wrong if I say that the number of such beds in West Bengal is at present the highest in any State in India. We are making headway in basic education and next year we propose to launch a scheme of compulsory primary education. Recurring and non-recurring grants to secondary schools have been increased. Our expenditure on technical

education has increased substantially: For the hill people we have provided a college and an industrial school.in Darjeeling.

It is in all humility that I have narrated some of our achievements during the last three years. No one is more conscious of our deficiencies than I am. I am fully aware how far away we are yet from our goal and how much more headway we yet require to make. My purpose in narrating them has been twofold. First, I wanted to show that when I uttered a word of caution, it was not to cover or to provide excuse for inaction. It was a lesson learnt through action and experience from which I wish my successors to benefit. Secondly, on the eve of laying down the reins of office one has a natural feeling of looking back to find whether one has laid a good foundation for others to build upon; for, progress is a continuous and endless process. I have every reason to believe that the period of suffering which must coincide with a period of construction in a poor country will soon end as the schemes and projects now under construction bloom forth in production. I also ardently hope that my successors will move forward energetically but cautiously and in a planned manner and will carry forward the work of development which we have only begun in so many directions so as to lay a sound foundation for a happy and prosperous State.

CONCLUSION.

The common man is now labouring under great privation. The central object of all our plans, of all our endeavours, must be the emancipation of the common man from wants. We had in the past to ask him perforce to tighten his belt; we have denied him many amenities that he came to associate with his hopes of freedom. We have pleaded for a policy of austerity where the masses looked for plenty. Much as we may deplore it, there are thousands of unemployed young men who look to the free Government of the land to provide them with the wherewithal of an honest living. The refugees, vast masses of them, have also thrown themselves to our care and succour. I can very well realise that the sentiment in the country is greatly stirred over this floating population, uprooted from their moorings. They are our kith and kin and Bengal traditionally has learnt through ages of high cultural training to respect and honour all calls on her humanity. They were with us yesterday; if through the force of events, they are cut off from their moorings, it is incumbent on our part to make them feel that they are not to be denied our helping hand. We have, in our own light and within our resources tried to the best of our ability, to tackle these problems which are daily growing in volume and complexity. The magic of freedom has wrought great transformations but it should not be expected to fill in the gaping voids in our nationhood all in a trice. Much as we may desire to remove poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and the lack of balance in our social structure, it is a task that must needs take many years of sustained and co-operative effort to fulfil. We can but claim that we have only made a beginning, with what success, it is for the country to decide, to tackle some of the vast problems that were almost like an aftermath of freedom. It should be remembered that the entire political set-up of the country is altered today; India today is a Republic, relying as all Republic must do, on the willing co-operation of the people. The benevolence of the Government at the top will not create a successful Republic. Government, as trustees of the people, must bear a full sense of the wants and needs of the people. Further, to emphasise this aspect of trusteeship of the Government, we are today embarking on the daring experiment of adult franchise. Perhaps the most obvious change that has occurred since independence has been this widening of popular control over the entire structure of Government. The extent to which this control is

intelligently exercised will largely determine not only the success and stability of any Government but also the measure of the extent to which Government can translate ameliorative policies into effect. Our 'appeal must, therefore, in the final analysis lie to the people from whom we derive our authority and our power of doing good.

I do not stand here today to exonerate the Government from faults which it may have committed. Overwhelmed as we were by the vastness of the problems that nearly swept us off our feet, it was almost inevitable that we should commit mistakes and take hasty decisions where perhaps a more prudent judgment might have been taken. Suddenly called upon to shoulder responsibilities which practically bore no link with our past experience, we were, so to speak, amateurs in the art of Government. If we have at times faltered, may I claim, that we have never lacked the zeal to succeed.

Our problem is chiefly an economic problem with, of course, its collateral complexities, born mainly out of the turmoil that overtook the post-war world and afflicted post-independence India. We are called upon to deal with forces which, in intensity and extent, are not like the problems with which we were familiar. We were, in a manner of speaking, feeling the impact of tremendous world economic forces which even the highest statesmanship of many nations have failed to solve. With the beginning of a new chapter in our political experience, we are confronted with tasks with which our somewhat limited experience has not wholly qualified us. If, therefore, we have failed to render hundred per cent. value, it should to a certain extent be put down to the difficulties of the new market where we have to function. It is necessary, therefore, that the spirit of approach to all matters pertaining to Government should under the completely changed circumstances suffer a sea-change. Criticism was essential in the past; it is still of great value in the present, but co-operation and understanding are the most valuable asset to which a people's Government is entitled to look forward to.

The task of the Government is made more onerous by the existence, in a larger measure in the State of West Bengal than in others, of a politically conscious, but economically unemancipated middle-class to whom ultimately the Government must look up for either approbation or censure. This virile bulk of the population has provided us with our politicians, intellectuals, lawyers, doctors, educationists, traders and businessmen. In the final analysis it is the verdict that the middle-class pronounces on the worth or worthlessness of a Government that counts. The vast masses who have been enfranchised by the Republican Constitution of India are still to be educated into the rights and wrongs of a given political set-up. Till then the middle-class must remain the core of our social and political system. One cannot deny that a good deal of reason exists behind the growing discontent which is perceptible amongst the middle-classes. Economically their resources are by no means commensurate with even the modest standard of living they profess; their social obligations and inherited traditions make demands which they are hardly able to bear. The inroads which the growing demands of the gradually awakening masses make on their cherished privileges are beginning to make them wary and, to a certain extent, restive. The hitherto placid life of the middle-class has been further disturbed by the events, mostly tragic and unforeseen, that came in quick succession immediately before freedom and after. The social and economic disintegration that resulted from them is unfortunately still very much in evidence. Not until we can leave the people, struggling in the flood, high and dry, on a safe ground can we expect that measure of sincere

co-operation and support which every popular Government has a right to expect. The Government is aware that this sullenness as long as it persists in the minds of the middle-classes will always act as a drag on its success and efficiency. But the Government is also aware that many factors, psychological and material, and each powerful in itself, have gone to engender this mood. Brought up in a tradition of land and property, the middle-class find themselves today, with hardly the wherewithal of independent subsistence; rapidly shrinking prospects of business have adversely affected a large section amongst them; the scope of employment is painfully inadequate to the vast numbers who seek it. The lot of the middle-classes has been made infinitely worse by the gradually deteriorating economic situation, particularly by daily mounting cost of living. Emphasis all over the world has now shifted to the labourers in the fields and factories. An objective study into the relative well-being of the workers and the middle-classes, particularly the lower middle-classes, will, however, show that while there is not much disparity between the average incomes of the two groups, at least in some income-brackets, the latter have to shoulder social and cultural obligations to a far larger extent than the former. They have to keep up appearances to a degree which is often unfortunately beyond their means. A rupee in the pocket of a worker carries him farther than a rupee in the pocket of an ordinary middle-class person does. All this has led to a sense of growing frustration in our middle-classes which, if allowed to smoulder, may eventually tend to weaken the foundations of the State.

This frustration, whatever specific causes it may be due to, is being increasingly reflected in general social behaviour. One looks almost in vain for correct and upright behaviour even from those whom, paradoxically enough, we call the *intelligentsia* of the country. Corruption, in forms hitherto unknown in the country, has made its appearance at almost every stage of our public life. It may have had its beginning in our inadequate economy, itself due to diverse causes, but we must confess to a sense of shame that the malady is there. As long as it exists we cannot hope to build the ideal State of our dreams. The human material with which, after all, the society must be built up, should be of a standard which holds out hopes of happy fruition. The task before us all, ministers, statesmen, politicians and leaders, is to devote our attention to what I may be permitted to call an ethical emancipation of the people. I feel that the coming elections, which must necessarily involve a large measure of political education amongst the masses, should also be made an opportunity of inculcating a true sense of values and of right and wrong amongst them.

The task, immense though it is, should not prove hopeless. The human soil in India has been sanctified by a succession of saints and seers, and we have almost an instinctive leaning towards matters of the spirit. The soil today is unfortunately crusted by the impact of heavy loads; but at its core, I hope, it still remains rich. If we succeed in bringing it to the surface, I am sure, that any seeds, that we may sow for the future social and moral well-being of the people, will yield a rich harvest. I take this opportunity of bringing it home to this House and to the larger public outside that the reclamation of the human spirit must precede and not follow our efforts in any direction. Long years of intimate contact with the people and the varied experience of a life-time have convinced me that fundamentally this is the angle from which we must seek the solution of our problems.

Bande Mataram.

APPENDIX.

West Bengal Budget, 1951-52.

[The figures are in thousands of rupees.]

	Budget, 1950-51.	Revised, 1950-51.	Budget, 1951-52.
Receipts—			
Opening Balance ..	3,54,02	11,09,48	3,49,48
Revenue Receipts ..	33,89,86	34,67,93	34,04,54
Receipts from Debt Heads ..	1,07,95,10	1,27,71,31	1,20,13,78
Total ..	1,45,38,98	1,73,48,72	1,57,67,80
Expenditure—			
Revenue Expenditure ..	35,22,87	39,66,65	38,80,74
Capital Expenditure ..	14,91,12	8,72,06	14,52,94
Expenditure on Debt Heads ..	97,31,74	1,21,60,53	1,07,24,79
Closing Balance ..	−2,06,75	3,49,48	−2,90,67
Total ..	1,45,38,98	1,73,48,72	1,57,67,80
Net Result—			
Surplus (+)			
Deficit (−)			
(*a*) On Revenue Account ..	−1,31,01	−4,98,72	−4,76,20
(*b*) Outside Revenue Account ..	−4,27,76	−2,61,28	−1,63,95
(*c*) Net. excluding Opening Balance	−5,60,77	−7,60,00	−6,40,15

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-35 p.m. till 3 p.m. on Tuesday, the 20th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 20th February, 1951, at 3 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 57 Members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Annual requirement of cereals in the State

***8. Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Food Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the total annual requirement of rice and wheat for West Bengal mentioning the basis of calculation;

(*b*) the total estimated rice production in West Bengal in the current year;

(*c*) the total amount of rice actually procured up to now and estimated to be procured within the current year;

(*d*) the Government's annual requirement of rice and wheat for fulfilling its commitments in respect of its rationing scheme—

(*i*) in Calcutta, and

(*ii*) the rest of West Bengal; and

(*e*) whether the Government has any scheme and, if so, what to meet the contingency in case there should be any deficiency between commitments under rationing scheme and the amount actually procured?

MINISTER in charge of the FOOD DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*) The total annual requirement of cereals at 15 oz. *per capita* per day on the basis of the present population of 286 lakhs comes to 4·4 million tons. Out of this the wheat requirement is about 3 lakh tons and the production and consumption of cereals other than rice and wheat is about one lakh tons; so the rice requirement comes to 4 million tons.

Prof. Mahalanobis of the Indian Statistical Institute on the basis of several pre-war diet surveys estimated the *per capita* normal consumption of cereals in West Bengal at 15 oz. per day. This basis has been adopted for calculating cereal requirements.

(*b*) It is presumed that by current year is meant the crop year ending with the *aus* harvest of 1950. Estimated production on this basis has been as follows:—

(*i*) *Aman* paddy harvested in 1949-50—3,269,500 tons.

(ii) *Boro* paddy—16,700 tons.

(iii) *Aus* paddy—Yield figure is not yet available. The acreage is estimated to be 1,142,600.

(c) The total internal procurement of rice from 1st January to 25th September, 1950, is 395 thousand tons. The total quantity of rice to be procured internally during 1950 is estimated at 437 thousand tons.

(d) Government's annual requirement of rice and wheat for fulfilling its commitments in respect of the rationing scheme in Calcutta and the rest of West Bengal is as follows:—

(Figures in thousand tons.)

		Rice.	Wheat.	Total.
(i) Calcutta ..	..	351	252	603
(ii) Rest of West Bengal	..	195	66	261
Total	..	546	318	864

(e) The deficiency is met by assistance from the Centre and by opening stocks of the year. The State Government has kept the Government of India informed about the food situation in the State including the necessity of timely and adequate assistance.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, in relation to answer (a), whether, in view of the fact that Professor Mahalanobis has calculated on the actual basis of several pre-war diet surveys the *per capita* normal consumption to be 15 oz., 12 oz., that is given at present—I am not referring to the 9 oz. ration being given of late—is not too low, and does or does not impair the health of the population?

Tre Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It might not be too low for the urban population.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he considers to be the normal consumption of urban and rural people?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It may differ from 12 oz. to 14 oz. in the case of urban people, and from 15 oz. to 16 oz. in the case of rural people.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the average yield of *aus* paddy?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The average yield of *aus* paddy per acre is 15 maunds and in terms of rice it would be 10 maunds.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Assuming that 10 maunds is the rice yield per acre of *aus* paddy, then the total production amounts to 3·7 million tons for the year, to which the Hon'ble Minister has referred.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: The total production of *aus* paddy—in terms of rice I mean—varies between 3·25 and 4 lakh tons.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Then, Sir, what I stated is correct in that if you add up the yield of *aus* to the other types of rice the total production would come to 3·7 million tons. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to

state, in view of the fact that the total requirement is calculated on the basis of 12 oz. instead of 15 oz., that the total requirement comes to 3·2 million tons and not 4 million tons, which means that the total production has been more than total requirement of the State?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: My friend perhaps forgot to deduct the requirements for seeds and margin for wastage which varies between 10 and 12½ per cent.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: In answering this question the Hon'ble Minister himself has not explained these things. Now, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the total requirement for seeds?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Case against Abdul Wadud for taking salami before the Rent Controller, Calcutta

***9. Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether a case was started against one Abdul Wadud of 2B, Chittaranjan Avenue, for having received a *salami* of Rs.5,000, before the Rent Controller under section 33 of the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1948;

(*ii*) if so, whether that case has been dropped since;

(*iii*) whether opinion of the Government pleaders or of the Advocate-General was obtained before the case was dropped; and

(*iv*) if not, the reason therefor?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the case was dropped on the ground of minority protection in West Bengal?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra Sinha, Minister in charge of Land and Land Revenue Department): (*a*)(*i*) Yes. The case was started under the Rent Control Act of 1950 and not under the Act of 1948.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) Yes. The opinion of the Government Solicitor was taken. In view of an expression of opinion of the High Court the Government Solicitor advised that the case may not be proceeded with.

(*iv*) Does not arise.

(*b*) No.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Supplementary question, Sir. মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলবেন কি তিনি তিন নম্বর উত্তরে বলেছেন "Yes. The opinion of the Government Solicitor was taken. In view of an expression of opinion of the High Court the Government Solicitor advised that the case may not be proceeded with."—তাঁর এই যে মত পেলেন—তার ground কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: বলা হয়েছে—, High Courtএর opinion অনুসারে Government Solicitor মত দিয়েছেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: কি কারণে তিনি মত দিলেন? Case একটা ন, আবার তাকে drop করা হ'ল এই পর্যন্ত বুঝেছি। কিন্তু তাঁর ঐ মতের কারণ কি? what are the reasons........

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: তার opinionএর ground হচ্ছে—, High Court বলেছেন আর case করা সঙ্গত হবে না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: তার কারণ কি?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: তার কারণ আপনি High Courtকে জিজ্ঞাসা করুন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: High Courtএর সেই কারণটা জানতে চাচ্ছি।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: High Courtএর judgmentটা পড়ে দেখলেই জানতে পারবেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার সামনে judgmentটা যে নাই, তাই কারণটা জানতে চাচ্ছি।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: High Court বলেছিলেন "As the parties have settled their disputes amongst themselves, it would be desirable that the criminal proceedings in the matter should be dropped."

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এটা বললেইত ফুরিয়ে যেত।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: আপনি আগে জিজ্ঞাসা করেছিলেন Government Solicitorএর ঐ মত দেবার কারণ কি?

Elections to different municipalities in the State

***10. Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the names of municipalities where elections—

(*i*) have been held during the last one year, and

(*ii*) are to be held within the next one year;

(*b*) in which municipalities rule 46 of the Election Rules under Bengal Municipal Act have been invoked and the reasons therefor;

(*c*) whether the dates for election of Commissioners for the Howrah Municipality have been fixed; if so, what are the dates;

(*d*) whether Government propose to invoke rule 46 of the rules of Bengal Municipal Act in the case of Howrah Municipality;

(*e*) whether Government has received any representations for this; if so, by whom and what Government propose to do in the matter;

(*f*) what steps, if any, Government propose to take to ensure free and fair elections to the municipalities of West Bengal giving equal facilities and opportunities to the rival candidates;

(*g*) whether Government propose—

(*i*) to introduce symbol voting,

(*ii*) to prevent impersonation, and

(*iii*) to prevent the same person voting more than once;

(*h*) whether Government propose to divide the municipal area into single member constituency for the coming election in the Howrah Municipality; and

(i) whether Government propose to introduce adult franchise or at least the same franchise as has been adopted in the Calcutta Corporation. If not, why not?

MINISTER in charge of the LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja): (*a*)(*i*) General election to the following municipalities were held in the year 1949-50:—

Serampore, Rishra-Konnagar, Raniganj, Basirhat, South Suburban, Kamarhati and Baruipur.

(*ii*) General elections to the following municipalities are due to be held in the current year (1950-51):—

Burdwan, Kalna, Katwa, Vishnupur, Midnapore, Ghatal, Chandrakona, Ramjibanpur, Khirpai, Halisahar, Howrah, Bhatpara, Garulia, North Dum Dum, Ranaghat, Chakdah, Arambagh and Asansol.

(*b*) Rule 46 of the Election Rules framed under the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, was applied in a bye-election of the Kamarhati Municipality during the current year. The rule was invoked because it was considered by Government that if the Chairman of the municipality is allowed to conduct the said bye-election there was apprehension that it might not be conducted in an impartial way.

(*c*) Yes; 26th March, 1951, and 27th March, 1951.

(*d*) The Government have not yet been convinced that there is any necessity to adopt this measure.

(*e*) Yes. Representations were received from the following persons:—

(*i*) Sri Sibnath Banerjee.

(*ii*) Sri Ratan Mukherjee.

(*iii*) Sri Sailendra Nath Mitra and others.

(*iv*) Sri Subal Chandra Ghosh and others.

Presidents of some three or four meetings also sent copies of resolutions passed in those meetings. A deputation led by Sri R. Mitra, M.B., was received by me in this connection. Necessary steps have been taken to redress the grievances of the petitioners.

(*f*) The existing provisions of law ensure free and fair election to municipalities. Government, however, are considering the question of introduction of symbol system in municipal elections for the facility of illiterate voters.

(*g*) (*i*) The matter is under consideration of Government.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) The existing provisions of law are sufficient to check such malpractices. These questions do not arise.

(*h*) No.

(*i*) The general question of introduction of adult franchise in local bodies' election is under the consideration of Government.

Election to the 24-Parganas District Board

***11. Sj. SATISH CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) (*i*) when the Government propose to hold the 24-Parganas District Board elections,

(ii) the reasons for the delay in holding these elections; and

(b) (i) whether the 24-Parganas District Board has failed to maintain the minimum statutory working balance during the last one and a half years, and

(ii) if so,—

(1) on how many occasions, and

(2) what steps Government have taken in the matter?

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: (a) (i) The general election for the 24-Parganas District Board will be held by the middle of May, 1951.

(ii) The present term of the Board was due to expire on the 9th May, 1950. Owing to the enactment of the Constitution of India, the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885, had to be amended in order to enable female voters to exercise their franchise. The preparation of the electoral rolls also took a longer time than was originally expected. These were the reasons for the delay in holding the elections.

(b) (i) During the years 1949-50 and 1950-51, the District Board has maintained the minimum working balance of Rs.30,000.

(ii) (1) and (2) Do not arise.

ORDINANCES.

The Bengal Amusements Tax (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XV of 1950).

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the Bengal Amusements Tax (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XV of 1950).

The Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVI of 1950).

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVI of 1950).

The Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVII of 1950).

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVII of 1950).

The Corporaton of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVIII of 1950).

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVIII of 1950).

The West Bengal Secondary Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1951 (West Bengal Ordinance No. I of 1951).

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the West Bengal Secondary Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1951 (West Bengal Ordinance No. I of 1951).

The West Bengal Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1951 (West Bengal Ordinance No. II of 1951).

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the West Bengal Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1951 (West Bengal Ordinance No. II of 1951).

LAYING OF RULES.

Amendments to the Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to lay before the Assembly the amendments to the Bengal Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, এই বিলের উদ্দেশ্য Jute Board গঠন। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে পাটের যখন এত টানাটানি তখন বিভিন্ন চটকল যাতে রীতিমত পাট পেতে পারে এবং পাটের অভাবে কোন চটকল যেন বন্ধ না হয় সেইজন্য এইরূপ একটি বোর্ডের যে প্রয়োজন আছে সে সম্বন্ধে দ্বিমত থাকা প্রায় অসম্ভব। প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে বোর্ডের গঠন-প্রণালী সম্বন্ধে। এই বিষয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্টের ধনী-ঘেঁষা এবং গণস্বার্থবিরোধী মনোভাব অতি বিশ্রী নগ্নরূপে পরিস্ফুট হয়ে পড়েছে। বিলে তিনটি মালিক প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রতিনিধি নিয়ে বোর্ড গঠনের প্রস্তাব করা হয়েছে। এই তিনটি প্রতিষ্ঠান হচ্ছে—Indian Jute Mills Association, Jute Dealers Association এবং Jute Balers Association.

আমাকে দুঃখের সঙ্গে বলতে হচ্ছে Bengali Jute Dealers and Brokers Association বাদ পড়েছে, যদিও এইটি একমাত্র বাঙ্গালীর প্রতিষ্ঠান। পূর্ব্বোক্ত তিনটি প্রতিষ্ঠানের তুলনায় এই প্রতিষ্ঠানটি ছোট বটে এবং পাটের ব্যবসাও কম করে। কিন্তু এই কথা মনে রাখা উচিত যে এই প্রতিষ্ঠানটিকে সাত বৎসর হলো রেজিষ্ট্রি করা হয়েছে। এবং ইহা সাত বৎসর যাবৎ পাটের কারবার করছে এবং এইটিই একমাত্র বাঙ্গালী প্রতিষ্ঠান। অন্যান্য প্রতিষ্ঠানের তুলনায় এটি ছোট হতে পারে কিন্তু মনে রাখতে হবে বাঙ্গালীরা এখন ব্যবসায় পিছনে পড়ে রয়েছে। আমি প্রাদেশিকতার কথা বলছি না কিন্তু পিছনে পড়ে থাকার দরুণ যদি তাদের তুচ্ছ-তাচ্ছিল্য করা হয় তাহলে বাঙ্গালীর পক্ষে ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্যে এগুনোর সম্ভাবনা অতি কম। এই প্রতিষ্ঠানকে যদি বাদ দেওয়া হয় তাহলে ভবিষ্যতে বাঙ্গালীদের পাটের ব্যবসায়ে কোন অস্তিত্বই থাকবে না। আমি আবার বলছি প্রাদেশিকতার দিক থেকে এই কথা বলছি না। আমি শুধু বলতে চাই যে এই প্রতিষ্ঠানটিকে বাদ দিয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্ট বাঙ্গালীদের প্রতি অত্যন্ত অবিচার করেছেন। তাছাড়া আরো দুইটি প্রতিষ্ঠানকে বাদ দেওয়া হয়েছে। পাটের সম্বন্ধে স্বার্থ আছে শুধু চটকলের মালিকদেরই নয়, Dealers এবং Balers Association-এর লোকদেরই নয়, যারা পাট চাষ করে, বহু কষ্টে পাট উৎপাদন করে সেই পাটচাষীদেরও এই বোর্ডের সঙ্গে স্বার্থ বিশেষভাবে জড়িত। বিশেষতঃ বিলের Statement of Objects and Reasons যদি পড়া যায় তাতে স্পষ্টই লেখা আছে যে Ordinance জারী হওয়ার আগে বিভিন্ন চটকল প্রত্যক্ষভাবে পাটচাষীদের কাছ থেকে কিম্বা তাদের Agentদের কাছ থেকে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কর্ত্তৃক নির্দ্ধারিত দামের চেয়ে বেশী দাম দিয়ে পাট কিনেছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট যে দাম নির্দ্ধারিত করেছেন তাতে jute bottomএর দাম হচ্ছে মণ প্রতি ৩৫৲ টাকা, jute middleএর দাম ৩৮৲ টাকা এবং topএর দাম ৪০৲ টাকা। যদি পাটের

এই দাম গভর্ণমেন্ট বেঁধে না দিতেন, তাহলে আরো অনেক বেশী দামে পাট বিক্রয় হত। এবং তাতে চটকল ওয়ালাদেরও কোন লোকসান হত না। কারণ, এই কথা সর্ব্বজনবিদিত যে গত ২।৩ বৎসর যাবৎ পাটের যারা বড়কর্ত্তা, তারা বিদেশের সঙ্গে পাটের চোরাকারবার করে কোটি কোটি টাকা আয় করেছেন। কারো কারো মতে ৫০ কোটি টাকা, কারো কারো মতে ১০০ কোটি টাকা (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: কারো কারো মতে হাজার কোটি টাকা।) কারো কারো মতে তার চেয়ে কম। কিন্তু একথা সকলেই স্বীকার করেছেন—কেন্দ্রীয় Government থেকে সকলেই স্বীকার করেছেন—যে পাটের বড় বড় ব্যবসায়ীরা বিদেশের সঙ্গে চোরাকারবার করে যথেষ্ট টাকা লাভ করেছেন। এই সকল তথ্য জেনেও পশ্চিম বাংলার গভর্ণমেন্ট কেন যে পাটের সর্ব্বোচ্চ মূল্য বেঁধে দিয়েছেন তা বোঝা শক্ত। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে গভর্ণমেন্ট কর্ত্তৃক পাটের সর্ব্বোচ্চ দর বেধে দেয়া হল কিন্তু সারা বিশ্বে কোন দর বাঁধা হল না। ফলে আমেরিকা যথেচ্ছ দরে পাট কিনছে, এখানকার পাটের যারা বড় ব্যবসায়ী তারা যথেষ্ট লাভ করেছে। আর বাংলার দারিদ্র্যক্লিষ্ট চাষীরা গভর্ণমেন্টের এই অপকর্ম্মের ফলে প্রতিদিন কষ্টই ভোগ করে চলেছে। সুতরাং পাটের স্বার্থরক্ষার ভার—যারা চটকলের মালিক—শুধু তাদের উপর ছেড়ে দেয়া চলে না। পাটচাষীদেরও উপযুক্ত প্রতিনিধি এই বোর্ডে থাকা উচিত।

আরও একটা শ্রেণী আছে তারা হচ্ছে চটকলের শ্রমিক। তাদের প্রতিনিধিরও এই বোর্ডে স্থান পাওয়া বাঞ্ছনীয়। কারণ গত বৎসর বিভিন্ন চটকলে যথেষ্ট লাভ হয়েছে, কিন্তু কলের মালিকরা বলছে কোন লাভ হয় নাই। পাটের যোগান যথেষ্ট নাই এই অজুহাতে বিভিন্ন চটকলে সপ্তাহে ৪৮ ঘণ্টার বদলে ৪২$\frac{১}{২}$ ঘণ্টা চালানো হয়। এতে শ্রমিকদের সপ্তাহে ৫$\frac{১}{২}$ ঘণ্টা ক্ষতি হচ্ছে। কিন্তু শ্রমিকদের এই লোকসান হওয়া উচিত নয়। বিভিন্ন চটকলের লাভলোকসানের যে হিসাব বেরিয়েছে তাতে দেখা যাচ্ছে তাদের কিছুমাত্র লোকসান হচ্ছে না বরং প্রচুর লাভই হচ্ছে। সুতরাং দেখা যাচ্ছে সকল দিক দিয়েই লাভ করছে পাটের বড়কর্ত্তারা আর কষ্ট ভোগ করছে এই পশ্চিমবঙ্গের চটকলসমূহে কাজ করে যে তিন লক্ষ শ্রমিক তারা আর পশ্চিমবঙ্গের লক্ষ লক্ষ পাটচাষী। এদের এই লোকসানের জন্য বিশেষ করে দায়ী পশ্চিমবঙ্গের গভর্ণমেন্ট। এই জন্যেই আমার নিশ্চিত অভিমত এই যে এই বোর্ডে চটকলের শ্রমিকদের প্রতিনিধি থাকা আবশ্যক। তা না হলে তাদের স্বার্থহানি হওয়ার যথেষ্ট কারণ থাকবে। এইত গেল প্রতিনিধি নেওয়া সম্বন্ধে।

তারপর প্রতিনিধি নেবার যে পদ্ধতি এই বিলে দেখান হয়েছে তাও অত্যন্ত অসঙ্গত। Indian Jute Mills Association সম্বন্ধে বলা হয়েছে যে তারা চার জন প্রতিনিধি বেছে দেবেন আর তাদেরই গভর্ণমেন্ট মেনে নেবেন। কিন্তু অন্য দুইটি Association, যথা Dealers এবং Balers Association সম্বন্ধে বলা হয়েছে যে এদের প্রতিনিধি গভর্ণমেন্ট স্বয়ং মনোনীত করবেন। এই পার্থক্যের কারণ কি? একটি মাত্র কারণ থাকতে পারে এবং তা এই যে যারা বড় ধনী তাদের বেলায় গণতান্ত্রিক উপায়ে নির্ব্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা করা হবে, আর যারা অপেক্ষাকৃত ছোট তাদের প্রতিনিধি গণতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে গ্রহণ করা হবে না—গভর্ণমেন্ট কর্ত্তৃক মনোনীত হবে। এ ছাড়া এর মূলে আর কি যুক্তি থাকতে পারে। এই দুইটি প্রতিষ্ঠান থেকেও গণতান্ত্রিক উপায়ে প্রতিনিধি নেওয়া হোক্ এই হচ্ছে আমাদের মত। অবশেষে পূর্ব্বে আমি যে প্রতিষ্ঠানটির কথা বলেছি—Bengali Jute Dealers and Brokers Association—এই একমাত্র বাঙ্গালী প্রতিষ্ঠানেরও প্রতিনিধি থাকা উচিত এবং তারাও নিজেরাই তাদের প্রতিনিধি ঠিক করে দেবে।

তারপর আর একটা কথা—Statement of Objectsএ illegal transactions in jute tradeএর উল্লেখ আছে। সুতরাং illegal transaction যে হচ্ছে গভর্ণমেন্ট তা স্বীকার করে নিয়েছেন। এই illegal transactionএর জন্য গভর্ণমেন্টের তরফ থেকে শাস্তি দিবার ব্যবস্থাও আছে। অথচ এই পর্য্যন্ত জানতে পারিনি তাদের কি শাস্তি হয়েছে। বিভিন্ন খবরের কাগজে এই সম্বন্ধে লেখাও হয়েছে, যথা, আমি দুটো দৃষ্টান্ত দিচ্ছি। "Hindusthan Standard"এ 1951এর ২৮শে জানুয়ারীতে অর্থাৎ Ordinance জারী হওয়ার পর—১৯৫০এর ১৪ই ডিসেম্বর Ordinance জারী হয়—তারপর ২৮শে জানুয়ারীর সংখ্যায় লেখা আছে—"Monday's offers to the Central Jute Board consisting of the following : .... The cause of such poor offers at maximum controlled rates is said to be that mills contributed to jute individually at Rs. 5 per maund over legal maximum

price". Figure পড়া দরকার নাই। তারপর ২৫শে জানুয়ারীতে বলা হয়েছে—"It is reported that mills, dealers and speculators are buying jute in upcountry agencies and in local markets paying the following extra rates over the maximum prices."

এই যে illegal transaction হয়েছে তাদের তার জন্য কোন শাস্তি দেওয়া হয়েছে কিনা আমরা জানি না। Governmentএর নিকট আমার একটি প্রশ্ন আছে। এ বিলের নির্দ্দেশমত কোন চটকলের মালিক সরাসরি পাট কিনতে পারবে না। পাট কিনতে হলে তাকে Jute Boardএর মারফৎ contract করতে হবে। Ordinanceএও এ ব্যবস্থা ছিল তা সত্বেও চটকলের মালিক যখন illegal transaction করতে পেরেছে এবং Government সে বিষয়ে সম্পূর্ণ উদাসীন ছিলেন, এই বিল পাশ হওয়ার পরেও চোরাকারবারীরা সেটা করতে পারবে না, সে বিষয়ে কি ভরসা আছে? কারণ চোরাকারবার আজ সর্ব্বত্র চলেছে। এবং Government সকল চোরাকারবারীদের প্রশ্রয় দিচ্ছেন—এই বিষয়েও যে প্রশ্রয় দিবেন না তারই বা কি ভরসা আছে?

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, পাটশিল্প আমাদের অন্যতম শিল্প। বোধ হয় বস্ত্রশিল্পের পরেই এই পাটশিল্পের স্থান সমস্ত ভারতবর্ষে। পাটশিল্প অতি প্রয়োজনীয় শিল্প। কারণ পাটজাত দ্রব্য দিয়েই hard currency area থেকে dollar উপার্জ্জন করা হয়। এই পাটশিল্পে পাটকলের মালিক, শ্রমিক এবং পাট যে উৎপন্ন করে সেই চাষী—সকলেই আছে এই পাটশিল্পের মধ্যে। কিন্তু এটা বড় দুঃখের কথা যে যখনই আমরা পাটশিল্পের কথা চিন্তা করি তখন আমরা পাটকলের মালিকগুলির কথা এবং যাঁরা তাঁদের পাট যোগান দেন সেই balersদের ও dealersদের কথাই ভাবি অথচ যারা পাটশিল্পের ভিত্তি, যারা পাট তৈরী করে সেই পাটচাষীদের কথা একবারও ভাবি না। মুখে বলি কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠা করাই আমাদের সঙ্কল্প, কিন্তু কাজে করি তার বিপরীত। তার একটা উৎকৃষ্ট প্রমাণ এই পাটশিল্পের ব্যাপারে আমরা যা করি তাই। সব সময় চটকলের মালিকদের লাভের কথাই আমরা ভাবি। এই বিল এবং Ordinance তৈরীও তার প্রকৃষ্ট প্রমাণ। পাটকলের মালিকগণ যা বলেন সেকথাই সরকার শুনেন, তারাই যেন এই সরকারকে চালায়। পাটচাষীর কিসে কল্যাণ আর কিসে অকল্যাণ এদিকে আমরা অন্ধ। পাটকলের মালিকরা এরকম সুর তুলেছেন আমরা দেখেছি। পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দর অত্যধিক হওয়ায় পাটশিল্পের সমূহ ক্ষতি হবে। পাটের substitute উপস্থিত হয়েছে paper bags ইত্যাদি। পাটজাতীয় দ্রব্য hessian, sacking প্রভৃতি বাইরে কাটবে না। পাটের দর যদি চড়া থাকে তবে পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দরও বেড়ে যাবে সুতরাং পাটের দাম কম করা উচিত—সরকার অমনি তাদের কথা শুনেন। আমরা দেখি যখন Central Government থেকে মন্ত্রী বা বড় বড় সেক্রেটারী আসেন, তখন তাঁরা মিলমালিকদের সঙ্গেই যোগাযোগ করেন এমন কি তাঁদের নিজেদের তৈরী Central Jute Committee যার মধ্যে মিলমালিকরাই প্রায় সব, মাত্র দু-একজন চাষীদের পক্ষ থেকে মনোনীত সদস্য আছেন, সেই কমিটির সঙ্গেও পরামর্শ করেন না। মিলমালিকদের যে Indian Jute Mills Association আছে তাদের সঙ্গেই পরামর্শ করে চলে যান। ব্যাপারটা যা হচ্ছে তা একটু ভাল করে বোঝা দরকার। আমরা মিলমালিকদের কথামত কাজ করে রাষ্ট্রেরও কোন সুবিধা করলাম না, অগণিত পাটচাষীদেরও ক্ষতি করলাম, প্রচুর লাভ হল কেবল কয়েকজন ক্রোড়পতি মিলমালিকের। পাটের ও পাটজাত দ্রব্যের সর্ব্বোচ্চ দর আমরা বেঁধে দিলাম। এদেশে সর্ব্বোচ্চ দর বাঁধলে কি হবে? আমেরিকায় ত আর কণ্ট্রোল নাই। অমনি trade other endএ operate করতে লাগল। মিলমালিকরা আমেরিকায় নিজেদের agent বসালেন। খুব তাঁদের মজা হল। এদেশে সর্ব্বোচ্চ দর বাঁধা তারা সেই দরে পাট ও পাটজাত দ্রব্য hessian, sacking ইত্যাদি সংগ্রহ করে নিজেদের agentদের কাছে আমেরিকায় পাঠাতে লাগলেন। আমেরিকায় control নেই তাঁদের agentরা সেই সব দ্রব্য পূর্ব্বাপেক্ষা চড়া দরে বিক্রি করতে লাগলেন। Substituteএর bogey যে কত বড় ধাঁওতা তা এর থেকেই প্রমাণ হয়। আমরা devaluation করলাম কেননা রপ্তানী বেড়ে trade balance আমাদের favourএ হবে। জিনিষপত্র সস্তা পেলেই বিদেশীতে কিনবে বেশী এই ছিল আমাদের আশা। কিন্তু জিনিষপত্র সস্তা হওয়া দূরের কথা পাট ও পাটজাত দ্রব্যের দাম আমেরিকায় devaluationএর পরে আরও চড়া হল। Devaluationএর পূর্ব্বে যে দাম ছিল তার থেকেও বেশী দাম হল। কোটী কোটী ডলার মিলমালিকের পকেটে গেল। Hard currency জাতির একান্ত প্রয়োজন—রাষ্ট্র এই কোটী কোটী

জনায় থেকে বঞ্চিত হল। অগণিত চাষী ও শ্রমিক বঞ্চিত হল। এমন কি পাটকলের shareholderরা পর্যন্ত বঞ্চিত হল। লাভবান হল মাত্র কয়েকজন ধনিক পাটকলের মালিক। অন্ততঃ ১০০ কোটী টাকা এদের পকেটে গিয়েছে। রাষ্ট্র ও জাতিকে বঞ্চিত করে এই টাকা তাঁরা চুরি করেছেন। সেদিন income-taxএর ব্যাপারেও এরা রাষ্ট্র ও জাতিকে বহু কোটী টাকা ঠকিয়েছেন। অথচ এদের কোন সাজাই হয় না। ফুটপাতে যে দরিদ্র হকার ক্ষুধার তাড়নায় দু'পয়সা বেশী দরে মাল বেচে তাকে নিয়েই যত টানাটানি, আর এইসব বড় বড় মুনাফাখোরদের কালোবাজারী দস্যুদের সাত খুন মাপ। তাঁরা যা বলেন সরকার তাই শুনেন। কি সুন্দর রামরাজত্বই না প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে।

এই যে বিলটা এনেছেন, সেখানে jute-growersদের কোন representative নেই। সেখানে jute-millers, bailers সবাই আসবে কিন্তু growers নয়। এই স্বাধীনতার যুগেও এই সমস্ত ঘটবে আর আমরা বলব বেশ ভাল আছি। যদি কিছু সামান্যমাত্র প্রতিবাদ করি অমনি বলা হবে আমরা destructive criticism করছি। সহযোগিতা বলে আমাদের সরকার কি বোঝাতে চান? মালিকেরা income-tax ফাঁকি দেবেন, জাতিকে ফাঁকি দিয়ে কালোবাজারে কোটী কোটী ডলার অর্জন করবেন আর আমরা তাঁদের সুবিধা করে দেবার জন্য সরকারের পেছনে নাচানাচি করব। আর এ না করলেই সহযোগিতা করা হবে না! Destructive criticism করা হবে! বাংলার সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ শিল্প হল পাটশিল্প। উত্তর প্রদেশ, বিহার, উড়িষ্যা, আসামে কিছু পাট জন্মায় কিন্তু পাটশিল্প হল বাংলারই আসল শিল্প। আর এই পাটশিল্পের ভিত্তি হল বাংলার অগণিত পাটচাষী অথচ তাদের কথা কোন ব্যাপারেই বাংলা সরকার ভাববেন না। Wagon সম্বন্ধে priority দেবার বেলায় তাঁরা সেদিন কি করেছিলেন শুনুন। Bailersরা, dealersরা, বড় চাষীরা কেউ wagonএর priority পেল না। একচেটে top-priority পেল I. J. M. A.এর মিল মালিকেরা। তাঁরা করলেন নিজেদের মধ্যে gentlemen's agreement যে আপাততঃ আর পাট কিনবেন না। Top-priorityতে wagon পেলেন কিন্তু wagon ব্যবহার করলেন না। এ যেন dog in the manger policy. নিজেরাও wagon ব্যবহার করবেন না অপরকেও করতে দেবেন না। ফলে পাট চালান বন্ধ হয়ে গেল। চাষী পাট নিয়ে আসে। ব্যাপারী পাট কেনে না বলে "চালান দিতে পারব না পাট নিয়ে রাখব কোথায়।" ফলে bottleneck সৃষ্টি হয়ে পাটের দর হু হু করে পড়ে গেল। মার খেল দরিদ্র চাষী, বহু কোটী টাকা তাদের লোকসান হল। সস্তায় পাট কিনে লাভবান হল ধনিকেরা। প্রধানমন্ত্রী পণ্ডিত নেহেরু বললেন produce or perish. চাষী সেই কথা শুনে ভিটে কুপিয়ে পাট বুনল। আর মালিকেরা পাট কেনা বন্ধ করলেন। Hessian looms $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. seal করলেন। মালিক এক সপ্তাহ কল বন্ধ দিলেন। রাষ্ট্রের কোন কথাই তাঁরা শুনবেন না অথচ রাষ্ট্র চালাবার মালিক তাঁরাই।

তারপর এই যে parity price—পাটের সঙ্গে ধানের দরের সামঞ্জস্য করছেন, এটা একটা মস্তবড় অরাজকতা। কোন জায়গায় সাড়ে সাত টাকায় control priceএ ধান পাওয়া যায় না। আমি challenge করে বলতে পারি ১৮৲ টাকা থেকেও বেশী ধানের দর রয়েছে অনেক জায়গায়। কিন্তু চাষীরা বঞ্চিত হচ্ছে, তারা বোকা, কোন কথা কিছু বলতে পারে না। সেইজন্য বলছি যদি ধানের দরের সঙ্গে পাটের দরের parity করা যায় তাহলে পাটের দর যথেষ্ট হওয়া দরকার। তাত করা হয়ই না উপরন্তু কৌশলে দর কমান হয়। পূর্ণিয়াতে bottleneck create করে চাষীদের সর্বনাশ করা হল। শেষ পর্যন্ত অনেক নড়ালড়ি করে wagon পাওয়া গেল। ততক্ষণে চাষীর সর্বনাশ সাধিত হয়ে গেছে। আজ পাটশিল্পের কল্যাণে চাষীকে বাঁচাতে হবে। চাষীকে বাঁচাতে হলে যাতে সে সর্বোচ্চ পাটের দর পায় তার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। পাটচাষীরা বিলম্বে হলেও ভাগ্যক্রমে এবার কিছু বেশী দাম পেতে যাচ্ছে। আর অমনিই একটু অগ্রপশ্চাৎ না ভেবেই বলে দিলেন, পাট-চাষীদের হাতে পয়সা গেলে inflation হবে! আচ্ছা, তাদের ঘরে যদি পয়সা যায়, আপনারা তো ট্যাক্সের কাঁচি দিয়ে তা কেটে কমিয়ে দিতে পারেন। আপনাদের সব সময় এই দুর্বুদ্ধি রয়েছে যে চাষীদের ঘরে পয়সা গেলেই সর্বনাশ। কিন্তু যাঁরা গরীব পাটচাষীদের বঞ্চিত করে নিজেদের ঘরে হাজার হাজার ডলার তুলছেন, তাতে inflation হয় না। তাই জিজ্ঞাসা করি এই গভর্ণমেণ্ট কাদের? এটা কি জনসাধারণের গভর্ণমেণ্ট, না, বাংলার পাটচাষীদের গভর্ণমেণ্ট, না বাংলার চটকলের মালিকদের গভর্ণমেণ্ট? কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠাই আমাদের উদ্দেশ্য সেটা মুখে বললে হবে না; কাজে তার প্রমাণ চাই। সহযোগিতা তাঁরা চান, নিশ্চয়ই সে সহযোগিতা আমরা দেব, আমরা দিতে প্রস্তুত। কিন্তু সেই সহযোগিতা চটকলের মালিকদের বড় করবার জন্য

দেব না, সেজন্য আমরা ওদের সঙ্গে থাকবো না। এই বিলটী করবার সময় দরিদ্র পাটচাষীদের কথা একবারও ভাবা হয় নাই। কাজেই আমি এই বিলের তীব্র প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে আমার আসন গ্রহণ করছি।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই বিলের যে প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য সেই উদ্দেশ্য সম্পর্কে এই কথা বলা হয়েছে to ensure a steady and equitable supply of raw jute to the jute mills at controlled prices. এই যে বিলটা আনা হয়েছে এ বিল একটা Ordinanceএর উপর ভিত্তি করে আনা হয়েছে, এবং সেই Ordinance অনুসারে গত ৩০শে December থেকে juteএর যে Central Board আছে সেটা কাজ করে আসছে। প্রায় দেড় মাসের অতিরিক্ত তারা কাজ করেছে কিন্তু এই দেড় মাসের মধ্যে এই বিলের যে উদ্দেশ্য যে steady supply of raw jute at controlled prices, এটা হয়েছে কিনা জানিনা। আমি যতদূর জানি এই দেড় মাস কাজের মধ্যে খুব কমই saleএর জন্য offer করা হয়েছে এই Central Jute Boardএর মারফতে পাট বিক্রয় করতে অর্থাৎ steady supply দূরে থাক খুব কমই supply হয়েছে।

দ্বিতীয়ত: control priceএর কথা বা প্রশ্ন ওঠে না। কলিকাতার মধ্যে transaction খুব কমই হয়েছে সুতরাং এই control priceএর কথা ওঠে না। কলিকাতার মধ্যে ceiling priceএর চেয়েও বেশী দামে blackmarket বা বে-আইনী মার্কেটে বিক্রয় হচ্ছে কি না জানি না। কিন্তু এটা ঠিক কথা যে মিল এরিয়ায় ও বিভিন্ন জায়গার জন্য যে ceiling price আছে তার উপর ৬-৭ টাকা অতিরিক্ত দিয়ে প্রতি মণ পাট সংগ্রহ করছে। এই Central Jute Board হওয়ার পর প্রায় দেড় মাসের অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে Central Jute Board যে উদ্দেশ্যে গঠন করা হয়েছে সে উদ্দেশ্য পূর্ণ করা হয়নি, এবং পূর্ণ হবার সম্ভাবনাও খুব কম। এর কারণ কি? কি কারণে Central Jute Boardএর উদ্দেশ্য ঠিক হচ্ছে না? কারণ যারা বিক্রেতা তারা তাদের পাট বিক্রয় করতে পারছে না, এর কারণ কি? এর কারণ হচ্ছে এই যে devaluationএর ফলে Central Government যে দামেতে jute product রপ্তানী বা export করা যাবে তার একটা maximum price বেঁধে দেওয়া হয়েছিল। সেটা বাঁধা হয়েছিল ১৯৪১ সালের September মাসে। সেটা বাঁধবার একটা কারণ ছিল তখন ভয় ছিল যে পাটের পরিবর্তে তার substitute হবে, তুলাজাত কোন জিনিষ কাপড়ের bag বা কাগজের bag এই জুটের পরিবর্তে ব্যবহৃত হতে পারে। America প্রভৃতি দেশে এর ব্যবহার করতে চেয়েছিল। এই-জন্য সেই সময় যাতে export একটা reasonable priceএ হতে পারে সেইজন্য control price বেঁধে দেওয়া হয়েছিল। Export priceএর সঙ্গে সমতা রেখে বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট একটা Jute Control Act পাশ করে গত বৎসর সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে তাঁরাও raw juteএর দাম বেঁধে দিয়ে-ছিলেন ৩৫-৪০ টাকার মধ্যে। আজকে দেখা যাচ্ছে যে, যে কারণেই তখন সেটা করা হয়ে থাক, সেটা সংগত কি অসংগত ছিল তা জানি না। কিন্তু আজকে যে কারণে আইন করতে যাচ্ছেন, সেই কারণ বিদ্যমান নাই। ভয় হয় maximum দাম কমলে পরে যারা আমাদের ক্রেতা হবে America প্রভৃতি দেশ এবং সেখান-কার মূল্য যদি অত্যন্ত বেশী হয় তাহলে আমরা maximum দাম রাখি কেন? এটা করবার কি কারণ থাকতে পারে। কাজেই পূর্ব পাকিস্থান বা পূর্ব বঙ্গের দিকে চেয়ে দেখুন। সেখানে গত September মাসে পাটের যে দাম ছিল তাতে আমাদের Indian Rupee বা ভারতীয় মুদ্রায় তার দাম দাঁড়ায়, ২৮ টাকা এবং আজকে সেই পাটের দাম ৫৪ টাকা প্রায় double হয়ে গিয়েছে। গত ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসের মাঝামাঝি ২৮ টাকা দামে যে পাট বিক্রয় হয়েছিল এখন সেটা ৫৪ টাকায় বিক্রয় হচ্ছে। অর্থাৎ সেখানকার যে দাম ছিল সেটা এই কয়েক মাসে double হয়ে গিয়েছে। সেই double যে হল—কেন হ'ল? সে একটা সমতা রেখেছে Americaর সেই সকল corresponding priceএর সঙ্গে। Americaর hessianএর দাম গত September মাসে ১৯ cent. প্রতি গজ ছিল। এখন তার দাম বেড়ে ৩৫ cent. হয়েছে, অর্থাৎ সেখানে যেমন finished productsএর দাম double হয়েছে তেমনি পাকিস্থানে পাটের raw juteএর দাম double হয়েছে। কিন্তু ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট ১৯৪৯ সালে সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে পাটের যে দাম বেঁধে দিয়েছেন সেই দাম রয়ে গিয়েছে। ইতিমধ্যে যে জগতের রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থার সম্পূর্ণ পরিবর্তন হয়েছে সেই পরিবর্তনটাকে তাঁরা বিবেচনা করছেন না। Korean war বাঁধার পর সমস্ত পাটশিল্পে মূল্যনীতির সম্পূর্ণ একটা পরিবর্তন এসে গিয়েছে। সেটা না করে যদি Central Jute Board jute

equitable supply এবং control price বেঁধে দেবার ব্যবস্থা করতে চান তাহলে সেই ব্যবস্থা ব্যর্থতায় পরিণত ছাড়া আর কিছুই হতে পারে না।

আজকে যে জিনিষ আমরা দেখছি, এখানে কেবল নয় raw juteএর দাম United Kingdomএ বর্তমান সময়ে যে দাম আছে অর্থাৎ সেই দাম ১৫৭ পাউণ্ড পার টন্। সেই অনুপাতে কলিকাতায় যদি তার দাম ধরা যায় তাহলে 68 rupees per maund দাঁড়াবে। First class raw juteএর দাম এবং hessianএর দাম U. S. A.তে এখন যা আছে তার দাম ১১৭ টাকা পড়ে প্রতি ১০০ গজ। কিন্তু ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট ১৯৪৯ সালে দাম বেঁধে রেখেছেন ৫৫ টাকা। কিন্তু এমনিই মজা দাঁড়াচ্ছে America ১১৭ টাকায় রাজী আছে প্রতি ১০০ গজ হেসিয়ান, অথচ ভারত গভর্ণমেণ্ট বলছেন ৫৫ টাকা না হলে বিক্রী করব না। সে বলছে ১১৭ টাকা আর আমরা বলছি ৫৫ টাকা দেব। দ্বিতীয় কথা আরও এই দাঁড়াচ্ছে first class raw juteএর দাম আমাদের এখানে হয়েছে ৪০ টাকা আর পাকিস্থানে দাম হয়েছে ৫৪ টাকা। কাজেই পাকিস্থান থেকে পাট আনব কি করে। গ্রামে গ্রামে যদি এই অবস্থা চলে তাহলে আমাদের আশঙ্কা হয় পাট এখান থেকে smuggling হয়ে পাকিস্থানে বিক্রয় হবে। অতএব এই যে Bill আনা হচ্ছে আমার মনে হয় এটা obsolete জিনিষ। (Hon'ble the CHIEF MINISTER : No, no.)

আমি আশা করি আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্ট কেন্দ্রীয় গভর্ণমেণ্টকে জানান এই Bill তাঁরা withdraw করুন। কারণ এই Billএ কোন useful purpose served হবে না। কারণ এর দ্বারা supplyও হবে না controlও হবে না। এর ফল হবে এই যেটুকু পাট এখানে আছে যদি পথ পায় তাহলে পাকিস্থানের মধ্যে সে জিনিষ চলে যেতে থাকবে। সুতরাং আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে অনুরোধ করছি তাঁরা এই বিল withdraw করুন এবং এর আগে তারা যে আইন পাশ করেছেন Jute Price Control Act, সেটা repeal করুন এবং Central Governmentকে লিখুন তারা যেন কোন maximum ও export price fixed না করেন। এই বলে বসছি।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the present set-up where the Government, as I have said before, represents the interests of big business in our country, no amount of arming the Government by special laws will, I am afraid, help in tiding over any of the difficulties that face us and I shall try to show how this Bill will similarly fail to achieve even the limited purpose set by the Government.

Now, we have been told in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the main purpose or the only purpose of this Bill is to set up a machinery for purchasing jute at controlled prices and we have been very glibly and casually given the reasons for the necessity of such a Bill. I was amazed to read in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that there were allegations of raw jute selling at prices much above the maxima fixed by Government under the West Bengal Jute Act, 1950. We are further told that this has led to illegal transactions in jute and also resulted in an uneven supply. I was surprised not because the Government casually mentions this but because no reasons whatsoever are given as to why, when these illegal transactions were going on, nothing could be done by the Government without now constituting a Central Purchasing Board. We are not told, for instance, who were these people, what are their names—I expect that the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this Bill will submit to us today before the Assembly as to who are these persons, who undertook these illegal transactions, who are these persons who defied the Government controlled prices of jute and we would like to know how many prosecutions took place against those persons who undertook illegal transactions, as we were told. And we should also like to know what steps the police in West Bengal took to find out the culprits. I say this, Sir, because the Government has increased its police force so many times since this Assembly was elected. The Government has been so zealous of upholding, as they say, law and order in this country. The Government tells us that it does not like chaos

to reign supreme in West Bengal. Very good. But if there are people who defy the Government-controlled prices and buy materials at prices higher than what are fixed, then surely one would expect that the Government would take action against such people—not any ordinary kind of action but deterrent action which would prevent such people from thus violating Government laws. I say this again because we were told a few days back, we are told daily from Delhi, from Writers' Buildings and elsewhere by the Ministers of the Centre and of Bengal that they like an ordered society to exist. Our Ministers get annoyed with us when we tell them that they are friends of blackmarketeers and profiteers. They so glibly talk——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: On a point of order, Sir. I object to the words "Ministers are friends of the blackmarketeers"—he said this.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think you should use that expression.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I did not follow him.

Mr. SPEAKER: Have you said that Ministers are friends of the blackmarketeers?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is a reflection upon the Ministers and it is better not to use that expression. Use some other expression.

Sj JYOTI BASU: I was not referring to any particular Minister for the time being although I could give him examples, but we leave that for the moment. As I was saying, my main point was not that Dr. Roy was a friend of a blackmarketeer—that is not our subject-matter today—but what I was saying is that the Hon'ble Minister bringing this Bill before us has referred in his Statement of Objects and Reasons that there have been illegal transactions. Now, one should have thought that the Government did take some pains to find out who these people were and if Government could not get hold of these people, they should have been prosecuted or imprisoned otherwise one is led to the conclusion whether the Hon'ble Dr. Roy likes it or not—that all is not well with the West Bengal Ministry. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am glad.) Therefore, as I was saying, why we are so much concerned about this fact is the following. As the previous speakers have been trying to make out, I would like to make out the same point that jute is a very important material which buys dollars in America and, as such, it is not only the Government, not only the jute manufacturers, the jute mill-owners who are concerned, but people as a whole in Bengal are concerned to know what is happening to our jute, whether it is really being sold at prices which fetch dollars. Therefore, when we hear that there are thieves abroad in the State of West Bengal and when we do not find in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that a single one of these thieves has been arrested by the Government for anti-State, anti-social activities, then naturally we feel very much concerned. The workers—that is, three lakhs of jute workers—are also concerned, very much concerned because the bulk of the labour population of West Bengal working in the jute mills have not seen any improvement in their living conditions. There are jute magnates here in this House who will do well to tell us what they have done about these jute workers. On the contrary, we have found a sort of involuntary unemployment being spread amongst the jute workers—we found several months back that their working hours were reduced to about 42 hours or so and they had to give up a part of the wages, a part of

their earnings, for those particular months or weeks. The Government at that time did not come forward to help the jute workers out of their difficulty. The jute mill-owners who made profit of lakhs and lakhs, at that time we did not find them coming forward to make up for the deficit in the workers' income. We were told at that time when the mills were partially closed that there was no raw jute, there was insufficiency of supply and we were told by responsible people in the jute areas, by mill-owners and their managers or their other representatives that it was the fault of Pakistan that they were not supplying jute and hence nothing could be done. It was, I believe, an indirect propaganda to incite the Hindu workers against the Muslims. I do not know what the facts are. As I was saying, therefore the three lakh jute workers are very much concerned to know as to what has been happening to this jute. Then if the mill-owners themselves have to buy raw materials, jute, at higher price, then ultimately it is the workers who have to pay, because the jute-owners turn round to them and tell them: "We are sorry we cannot help you out of your difficulty, because we have had to buy jute at higher price and so we cannot increase your wages or your dearness allowances. On the contrary, we may have to close the mills for particular days in the week."

Now, Sir, this was the actual situation or this is the actual situation in West Bengal with regard to the jute workers, with regard to jute mills, with regard to jute mill-owners and the Government. But what is sought to be done? The Government is not concerned with this situation as a whole, while one of the chief raw materials of the nation is concerned. But what is sought to be done is that an association is to be formed with the help and under the auspices of the Government in order to stop illegal transactions. This also partially is a very good thing no doubt, but what has been the experience of the West Bengal Government since the Jute Board was formed, I am sure, the Hon'ble Minister will tell us. But from the way the Jute Board is being set up, I find that the people, the main people who have been generally responsible for blackmarket purchases in jute, people who have been defying at will Government orders and buying over the controlled prices—these are the people who are being so graciously invited by the Government to sit on this Board and make purchases for themselves as well as for other concerns; that is to say, the very people who should have been prosecuted, should have been arrested and imprisoned, and the very people who should have been (Mr. J. R. WALKER: Shot!) not shot, not as yet. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Thank God, for this little mercy!) Dr. Roy is very much annoyed I understand. That is why I said probably I was speaking about his friends in the jute areas. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am very much amused!) As I was saying, Sir, these are the people, and now I may say that Dr. Roy's or one of the Hon'ble Minister's friends are being invited to sit on this Jute Board in order to see that illegal transactions are not carried out and jute is purchased at controlled prices! It is indeed an amusing situation, were it not for the fact that all of us know that this Government is a representative of profiteers and blackmarketeers. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Not middle-class bourgeoise!) Sir, Dr. Roy has again interrupted me, and he—I find—is a new recruit (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Of the Communist Party!) not of the Communist Party of India but of the communist party of China. (Laughter.) Usually the Hon'ble Minister does not read books except his medical books, but I have found him quoting Mao Tse Tung last time that he was speaking, and in that he referred to a speech by Mao Tse Tung and then referring to himself said: "I represent the national bourgeoise". Now Dr. Roy is not certainly a representative of national patriotic bourgeoise of India. He represents that section of the bourgeoise whose parallel section in China has been uprooted

from the soil of China and has taken shelter in Taiwan under American auspices.

Coming back to this Bill if we are to implement the desires, even the limited desires of the Government with regard to this Bill, *i.e.,* to buy jute at controlled prices, then I should have thought that firstly the workers and their representatives should have been associated with this Jute Board. But of course it is a novel idea to representatives of big capitalists and landlords. In China—I might inform Dr. Roy—such things have already been done where the workers have been associated with the management both in production, in sale and in other matters. So, I should have thought that the Indian National Trade Union Congress or the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress or the other organisations like the Hind Mazdoor Sabha who were working among workers or who have their organisations and unions among workers, they should have been invited to send their representatives to sit on this Board and watch over the activities of the people who have dared to transact illegal business and to defy Government orders. But none of their representatives has been invited to this Board, not even the representatives of organisations which have been referred to by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji.

In conclusion, I should say that whereas this jute industry being one of the basic ones of the most vital industries in West Bengal should have been nationalised a long time back, and again I would refer the Hon'ble Minister to China's example and tell him to read over that passage which he read out to me the other day, and he will find that there is such a sector in China as the nationalised sector, the Government sector, and that is the main sector of industry in China where the key and basic industries have been nationalised. It is only the small factories and small capitalists who have been left out, who have been given a chance to carry on their trade and commerce. In India we have not done that within 3 or 4 years of Congress rule. If that was done, then I am sure many of our problems would have been solved. But I know that this Government has given a promise both to the foreign industrialists in this country as well as to the native ones that their industries shall not be nationalised within ten years or more. Therefore, I just mention that by the way, not hoping that that will be done. But even when that is not done, at least we should have thought that if Government was serious about this Bill then at least the representatives of the workers should have been associated with such a Board. And. therefore, Sir, in conclusion I assert that this Bill will not help us because the Board—again I say—is being constituted by the very people who have been responsible for illegal transactions.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I was not very wrong when I said the other day that most of my friends opposite suffered from a lack of perspective. I have heard the criticisms from one of them saying that the Bill should be withdrawn and asking the Government of India to do something else. I have been told that this is a Bill in which the black-marketeers have not been punished. I am told that this is a Bill which enables the mill-owners to sell their goods to America at huge profits—making profits amounting to 400 to 1,000 per cent. Sir, I am a poor man; I really do not know what these figures connote. The whole problem has been misunderstood or misapprehended. The problem is this: the jute mills, if they are to work 48 hours a week, consume about 60 lakh bales of jute a year. It was after Partition that the jute mills were restricted in the supply of jute as jute from East Pakistan came in very small quantity. Not only was the quantity of jute lessened but the quality of jute which we got from Pakistan, which is, I understand, the type of jute usually used for hessian purposes and which used to come in large quantities from East Bengal also

came in very small quantity. Members would recall that last year there was a great difficulty of getting this type of jute from Pakistan until there was some arrangement made between the two Central Governments which enabled the Pakistan Government to send 12 lakh bales of jute. Now, the total amount of jute and *mesta* which is produced in the Indian Union, the whole lot, does not exceed 30 to 35 lakh bales. Therefore the question was to get the remaining quantity of jute. Obviously when the supply was less and the demand was great it was not very difficult to understand that this would mean some amount of malpractice being introduced for the purchase of jute, different parties going to the growers and purchasing jute. Sir, ordinarily, the jute used to be purchased by the jute dealers from the growers, the dealers used to take the jute more or less unbaled or *kutcha* baled and the jute also used to be purchased by jute balers, whose duty was not merely to purchase jute but to bale them and assort them, making *pucca* bales. The agents used to buy sometimes from the jute dealers and sometimes from the jute balers. During the latter part of last year about August or September the quantity of jute available for the mills was so little that the jute mills, jute dealers and the jute balers, all sent their emissaries to the growers for the purpose of purchase. Therefore it was felt both by the Government of India as well as the State Government that some machinery should be set up which will on the one hand stop this competition in prices and on the other stop those mills which have got a larger capital reserve from purchasing a larger quantity at the expense of the mills which are not so fortunately placed. The idea of the creation of a Jute Board was conceived in order that the purchase by the mills should be through one agency and one agency alone. Before the war jute used to be utilised not only in the mills but used to be exported to countries abroad. Now the export of jute from India has been prohibited. Therefore the only place where the jute, whether brought in by the dealers or by the balers, could go to, would be the mills. So the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal felt that there should be one machinery which should, subject to the maximum price for the type of jute that is utilised by the mills being observed, be the only agency through which the mills should purchase. If you will look at the provisions of the Bill—I do not know whether many of my critics have read the provisions of the Bill—you will find that the mills are prohibited from purchasing through any other sources except through the Jute Board. In my investigation I found that while some jute mills had, on the day on which I was examining their records, a stock of jute for 8 or 10 weeks, some mills had not even a stock for 3, 4 or 5 days. Members are also aware that there is a provision in the Bill by which the Government can direct any person hoarding a particular quantity of jute to give up a portion and send it to another destination and under that provision it was necessary sometimes for the Government to direct a particular mill which had a larger stock to give up some of its stock and send it to a smaller mill, a weaker mill usually. We were more concerned about this, because we knew if any particular mill did not get its jute it had to close down which would mean that a large number of workers would be left absolutely stranded. Therefore power had to be taken to compel the mills to take the jute that is directed to the mill by the Jute Board subject to the price fixed by the Government and also subject to the prices fixed for the jute goods by the Government of India.

Sir, a lot of outside matters has been brought in in the discussion of this Bill. This Bill is only for the purpose of establishing a machinery for canalising the method of purchase of jute from the jute dealers and the jute balers. Definitely we avoided going beyond the dealers and the balers because the number of growers is so large, and not only that, the jute growers do not belong to the State of West Bengal alone; they belong also

to other States over which the West Bengal Government has got no control and therefore it was found only possible to deal with two or three organisations, namely, the jute dealers, the jute balers and the mills. Sir, a large number of members have said something about the representation on the Board. It was obviously a matter to be considered and we felt that we should not disturb the existing natural movement of jute from the grower to the mill as far as possible and therefore we selected these three organisations to be represented on the Board, namely, those who are concerned with bringing in of jute to Calcutta for the mills, either the baler or the dealer, and those who are purchasers.

Sir, if you read carefully the Bill, you will find that the Government does not take any responsibility for the purchase of jute: the Government takes no financial responsibility because it cannot and it has no money. All it does is that it prevents the mills from competing with one another and the crushing of the smaller mills by the bigger mills which have got more reserve than the smaller ones.

Then the question arose that the Government of Assam wanted one representative on the Board, because a large quantity of jute comes from Assam. And it was also felt that it might perhaps be a demand of the Government of Bihar to have a representative on the Board. Therefore, there is an amendment which we shall discuss later on.

Sir, the question is that this Bill does not refer to the jute trade at all except in a very limited sense, namely, to direct the bailed jute and raw jute in a particular direction, in a particular manner, to a particular destination under controlled prices; and, therefore, it was not a question of representation of the workers who are very largely protected by various tribunals and their findings. Nor is it a question of merely getting the growers represented on it. But, Sir, those matters I shall refer to when the amendments come. I do say that it is not only a necessary provision but it is essential. If you want to save the smaller mills from being crushed and if you want to save the workers from being kept out of the mills that would have been closed down. On several occasions mills had closed down, and it was through the agency of the Board and the powers that it possesses that it was possible to reopen the mills in several cases.

Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration.

The motion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

(Mr. Speaker called amendment No. 3 standing in the name of Sj. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji when Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee rose in his seat.)

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: With your permission, Sir, I want to move the amendment standing in the name of Sj. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji.

Sir, I beg to move that for sub-clause (*3*) of clause 3 the following sub-clause be substituted, namely:—

"(*3*) sub-section (*2*) shall not apply—

(*a*) where a broker did not guarantee the delivery of any raw jute, and

(*b*) to contracts for the sale or supply of raw jute, the performance of which were to be completed on or before the appointed day but in respect of which the time for performance has been extended by common consent,

and in every such case brokerage shall be payable in accordance with the terms agreed upon with the broker."

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know which motion you have just moved, Mr. Banerjee.

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I have been requested to move this amendment No. 3A.

Mr. SPEAKER: But when I called amendment No. 3 of Sj. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji and remarked "not moved", you said, "I shall move it".

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: But I have moved amendment No. 3A and I have already told you that.

Mr. SPEAKER: No, you didn't. When I asked, what are you going to do in connection with amendment No. 3, you said, "I want to move it".

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Probably he wanted to move both the amendments of Sj. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji.

Mr. SPEAKER: Then amendment No. 3 is not moved and the second amendment standing in the name of Sj. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji has been moved by Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee.

The motion of Sj. Sushil Kumar Banerjee that for sub-clause (*3*) of clause 3 the following sub-clause be substituted, namely:—

"(*3*) sub-section (*2*) shall not apply—

(*a*) where a broker did not guarantee the delivery of any raw jute, and

(*b*) to contracts for the sale or supply of raw jute, the performance of which were to be completed on or before the appointed day but in respect of which the time for performance has been extended by common consent,

and in every such case brokerage shall be payable in accordance with the terms agreed upon with the broker, was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 4(*1*)(*b*), line 2, after the word "nominated" the words "by that Association and approved" be inserted.

I beg also to move that in clause 4(*1*)(*c*), line 2, after the word "nominated" the words "by that Association and approved" be inserted.

I beg further to move that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraphs be added, namely:—

"(*d*) two persons representing the Bengali Jute Dealers and Brokers Association, nominated by that Association and approved by the State Government;

(*e*) two persons representing the Jute Workers' Federation, 35/B, Wellington Street, Calcutta, nominated by that Federation and approved by the State Government;

(*f*) two persons representing the jute cultivators of West Bengal nominated by the State Government."

আমার যা বলবার আছে সেটা আমি এক্ষুণি বলব।

Mr. SPEAKER: আর কি বলবেন?

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: আর একটি মাত্র কথা বলব। মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই সমস্ত সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব সম্বন্ধে আমার যা বলবার ছিল তা আমি আগেই বলেছি, খালি দুটো কথা বাকী আছে। আমি আগেই বলেছি, আমি মনোনয়ন পছন্দ করি না। আমি চাই সব প্রতিষ্ঠানই তাদের প্রতিনিধি ঠিক করে দিন এবং গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের মেনে নেন, কিন্তু পাটচাষীদের বেলায় সেই পদ্ধতি অবলম্বন করা কঠিন। কারণ তাদের সত্যিকারের প্রতিনিধি স্থানীয় কোন প্রতিষ্ঠান বাংলা দেশে এখনো গড়ে ওঠেনি, সেইজন্য পাটচাষীদের বেলায় মনোনয়নের ক্ষমতা গভর্ণমেণ্টকে দেওয়ার প্রস্তাব আমি সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবে করেছি।

আমার আর একটা কথা বলবার আছে। আমি চাই যে চটকলের শ্রমিকদের প্রতিনিধি Jute Workers Federation (35, Wellington Street) থেকে নেওয়া হোক। আমার বন্ধু শ্রীযুত জ্যোতি বোস তাঁর বক্তৃতা প্রসঙ্গে বলেছেন তিনি শুধু এই প্রতিষ্ঠান থেকে চটকলের শ্রমিকদের প্রতিনিধি নেওয়ার বিরোধী। আমি তাঁকে অনুরোধ করছি তিনি একটু চিন্তা করে দেখুন আজ বাংলায় চটকলের সত্যিকারের প্রতিনিধিমূলক organisation হচ্ছে Jute Workers Federation. সুতরাং এই Jute Workers Federation-এর প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে যদি ভার দেওয়া হয় তাহলে চটকলের শ্রমিকদের প্রতি সত্যিকারের সুবিচার করা হয়। আমি আশা করি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় আমার সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব মেনে নেবেন।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*) the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

"(*d*) nine persons of whom (*i*) three shall be representatives of growers nominated by the State Government; (*ii*) three shall be members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly elected by it; and (*iii*) three shall be persons not connected with jute trade and industry and nominated by the State Government."

আমার যা বক্তব্য তা আমি আগেই বলেছি, খালি এইটুকু বলতে চাই যে ৮ জন প্রতিনিধি যা নেওয়া হয়েছে তা capitalistদের তরফ থেকে। আমি সেখানে আরও ৯ জন নেবার কথা বলছি। পাটচাষীদের মধ্য থেকে ৩ জন সরকার কর্ত্তৃক মনোনীত হবেন, ৩ জন পরিষদ সদস্য পরিষদ থেকে নির্ব্বাচিত হবেন এবং পাটশিল্পের সঙ্গে সংশ্লিষ্ট নন এমন ৩ জন সরকারই মনোনীত করবেন। এ বিল আনারই প্রয়োজন নেই তথাপি যদি সরকার এ বিল আনেনই তাহা হলে কেবল মালিকদের প্রতিনিধি নিয়েই যেন ক্ষান্ত না হন। চাষীদের প্রতিনিধিও থাকা দরকার। আমি যেভাবে সদস্য নিতে বলছি সেভাবে সদস্য নিলে সকলের interestই বজায় থাকবে। আশা করি সরকার আমার এই সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব মেনে নেবেন।

Sj. SUSHIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraph be inserted, namely:—

"(*d*) three persons to be nominated by Government to enable the Government to allow representations of all interests."

আমার মনে হয় বিপক্ষদল যাহা চেয়েছিলেন তা' এতে দেওয়া হ'ল।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, I move that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

> "(*d*) three persons representing the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, Bengal Provincial National Trade Union Congress and Hind Mazdur Sabha, respectively."

I too, Sir, have tried to impress on the Hon'ble Chief Minister about the necessity of taking the representatives of the workers' interest in this Jute Board, but while he was speaking after me he did not give an adequate explanation as to why these representatives have not been thought fit to sit on such a Board. If I heard him aright he said that the interests of the workers are safeguarded by tribunals and such other things. I hope he knew what he was speaking about, because, Sir, it seems to me that as far as this particular subject-matter is concerned, the buying of raw jute, the tribunals have nothing to do with it. The tribunals have to deal with completely separate matters. Therefore, I will not go into the arguments because it is useless my going into the arguments again—people who do not want to understand shall not understand—but once again I repeat that the interests of the three lakhs of jute workers above all are the interests of the country. It is jute that brings us in exchange rice from China today, it is jute that is going in future to bring us food materials from other countries, it is jute again which fetches us dollars to buy machinery and other things from outside India. Therefore, Sir, surely the three lakhs of jute workers are as much interested as Dr. Roy's Government or the bosses of the Jute Mills Association are in the buying of raw jute. That is why I say that the workers would very much like to see before them when they sit on this Board, when they see the working of this Board as to who are the people in whose interest they are buying jute and how they are supplying this jute equitably to all the jute mills throughout the jute area.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I accept the amendment moved by my friend Sj. Sushil Banerjee as regards the composition of the Jute Board. I do not agree with my friend Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, first of all that there should be election and not nomination. Probably Dr. Banerji knows that there are six jute dealers associations in West Bengal today—Calcutta Jute Dealers Association, Bengal Jute Dealers Association, Bengalee Jute Dealers and Brokers Assoiation, Cossipore Jute Sellers Association, Jute Brokers Association and Cossipore Road Jute Brokers Association; and as regards balers there is the Calcutta Baled Jute Association, there is Jute Balers Association, there is Calcutta Hydraulic Press Association, and there is European Mufussal Jute Balers Association.

Sir, with regard to the mills, fortunately we have got one organisation which controls them all. I in my own humble way tried to get all these jute dealers associations and jute balers associations to come together and nominate one or two but they did not, and therefore all we could do was to put down in the Bill that there should be a nominee of the Government.

Sir, as regards the representation of the workers, my friend Mr. Jyoti Basu says, "probably Dr. Roy does not know that industrial tribunals have nothing to do with purchase of jute". I did not know that the workers have anything to do with the purchase of jute. He has taken the words out of my mouth. I was going to tell him—অবুঝেরে কত বুঝাইবা—the man who does not understand you cannot make him understand; but he has forestalled me. I use the same argument against him that he has used against me. I oppose the amendments.

The motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji that in clause 4(*1*)(*b*), line 2, after the word "nominated" the words "by that Association and approved" be inserted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji that in clause 4(*1*)(*c*), line 2, after the word "nominated" the words "by that Association and approved" be inserted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj, Haripada Chatterjee that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

"(*d*) nine persons of whom (*i*) three shall be representatives of growers nominated by the State Government; (*ii*) three shall be members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly elected by it; and (*iii*) three shall be persons not connected with jute trade and industry and nominated by the State Government."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraphs be added, namely:—

"(*d*) two persons representing the Bengali Jute Dealers and Brokers Association, nominated by that Association and approved by the State Government;

(*e*) two persons representing the Jute Woikers' Federation, 35/B, Wellington Street, Calcutta, nominated by that Federation and approved by the State Government;

(*f*) two persons representing the jute cultivators of West Bengal nominated by the State Government."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraph be inserted, namely:—

"(*d*) three persons to be nominated by Government to enable the Government to allow representations of all interests."

was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Jyoti Basu that after clause 4(*1*)(*c*), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

"(*d*) three persons representing the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, Bengal Provincial National Trade Union Congress and Hind Mazdur Sabha, respectively."

was then put and lost.

The question that clause 4 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—40.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Delui, Sj. Harendra Nath
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra
Maity, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mandal, Sj. Umesh Chandra

Mohammad Rafique, Shaik
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada
Muhammad Qumruddin, Janab
Muhammad Siddique, Dr. Syed
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pentony, Mr. L. R.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Rafiuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Dr.
Ricketts, Mrs. E. M.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.

NOES—7.

Bandyopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Basu, Sj. Jyoti
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
De, Sj. Kanai Lal

The Ayes being 40 and the Noes 7 the motion was carried.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 10(*1*), line 1, for the word "may" the word "shall" be substituted.

যেখানে পাটের সর্ব্বোচ্চ মূল্য maximum price বাঁধার কথা সেখানে সরকার "shall" কথাটা ব্যবহার করেছেন কিন্তু পাটের সর্ব্বনিম্ন দর বাঁধার বেলায় "shall"এর জায়গায় "may" শব্দটা ব্যবহৃত হয়েছে। চাষী যেখানে সুবিধা পাবে সেখানে এইরকম কুঁতিয়ে কথা বলার দরকার কি। তাই "may" স্থলে "shall" কথাটা substitute করতে আমি বলছি। চাষীদের প্রতি যে সামান্যমাত্র অনুকম্পা বা দরদ এই সরকারের আছে তা আমার এই সংশোধন প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করে প্রমাণ করবেন।

The motion was then put and lost.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

The question that clause 12 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do tand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

The question that clause 15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951, as settled, in the Assembly,' be passed.

Thte motion was then put and agreed to.

The Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to introduce the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই বিলের আলোচনা প্রসঙ্গে আমি কয়েকটি তথ্য আপনার সামনে উপস্থিত করতে চাই। গত বছর যখন Calcutta Corporation Amendment Act পাশ করা হয়, সেই সময় সেই Actএ একটি নূতন ধারা সন্নিবেশিত করা হয়েছিল যার ফলে educational qualificationএর বলে লোকে voter হতে পারে। আগেকার Actএ educational qualificationএর বলে voter হবার এমন কোন ধারা ছিল না। তারপর যে ধারাতে ভাড়াটিয়ারা voter হতে পারতো সে ভাড়া কমে যাওয়ায় voterএর সংখ্যাও বেড়ে গেছে। সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে Administrative Officer আমাদের জানালেন যে এখন পর্য্যন্ত নূতন ভোটারদের দরখাস্ত scrutinise করা শেষ হয়নি কাজে কাজেই আরো সময় লাগবে। নভেম্বর মাসে জানা গেল তখন পর্য্যন্ত scrutiny শেষ করতে পারেনি। এই Act বলবৎ ছিল ১৯৫১ সালের December মাস পর্য্যন্ত, দেখা গেল ঐ সময়ের মধ্যে election হওয়া অসম্ভব। কাজেই Corporationএর মেয়াদ বৃদ্ধি করা নিতান্তভাবে আবশ্যক। এখন প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে এ মেয়াদ কতদিনের জন্য

বৃদ্ধি করা যায়। জানা গেল ১৯৫১ সালের ডিসেম্বর মাস নাগাদ voter-list publish হতে পারে। তারপর claims, objections and nomination প্রভৃতি কাজ সমাধা করিয়া মার্চের মধ্যে election হওয়া অসম্ভব। তাই ১৯৫২ সালের মার্চের আগে কোন election হওয়া সম্ভব হবে না। ছোট খাট মিউনিসিপ্যাল নির্ব্বাচন সমাধান করতেও ৭।৮ মাসের বেশী সময় লাগে। Calcuttaর মত এত বড় একটি বৃহৎ প্রতিষ্ঠানের পক্ষে অন্ততঃ দশ মাসের কমে তো সম্ভবপর নয়ই। নূতন বৎসরে নূতন ভোটার করার প্রয়োজন হবে। সুতরাং ১৯৫২ সালের মার্চের আগে নূতন election সম্ভবপর নয়। এই কারণেই Actএর amendment করা প্রয়োজন হল। এবং মেয়াদ ১৯৫২ সালের মার্চ পর্য্যন্ত নেওয়া হল।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, কলকাতা Corporation প্রথমে superseded হয় ১৯৪৯ সালের ৩১শে মার্চ পর্য্যন্ত। Supersessionএর ঠিক পরেই কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশন তদন্ত কমিটি বসানো হয়। মাননীয় চারুচন্দ্র বিশ্বাস মহাশয় এই কমিশনের সভাপতি নিযুক্ত হন। এই কমিশনের দুইটা উদ্দেশ্য ছিল। (১) কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশনের বিরুদ্ধে যে সমস্ত অনাচার, malpracticeএর অভিযোগ করা হয়েছিল, সে সম্বন্ধে অনুসন্ধান—এ হল এক উদ্দেশ্য, (২) দ্বিতীয় উদ্দেশ্য ছিল ভবিষ্যতে কলিকাতা Corporationএর শাসন যাতে ভালভাবে চলে, সেজন্য শাসনতন্ত্রের সংশোধন সম্বন্ধে সুপারিশ করা। এই দুটী উদ্দেশ্য নিয়ে কমিশন বসানো হয়। কমিশন যথাসময়ে তার কাজ শেষ করতে পারে না। কাজেই supersessionএর মেয়াদ ১৯৪৯ সালের ৩১শে মার্চ থেকে ১৯৫০ সালের ৩১শে মার্চ পর্য্যন্ত বৃদ্ধি করা হয়। কমিশনের report পেশ করা হয় ১৯৪৯ সালের জুন মাসে। (THE HON'BLE DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : সবটা নয়।)

কমিশন report পেশ করে ১৯৪৯ সালের জুন মাসে। কমিশন কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশনের councillor নির্ব্বাচনে adult franchise—পূর্ণ বয়স্কদের ভোটাধিকার দানের সুপারিশ করে। এর পরে ১৯৫০ সালের April মাসে Calcutta Municipal Actএর সংশোধন করা হয়। তাতে পূর্ণবয়স্কদের ভোটাধিকরি মানা হয়নি। যদিও সেই আইনে এই ব্যবস্থা করা হয় যে যারা rate ও tax দেয় কিম্বা license fee দেয় একমাত্র তাদেরই ভোটাধিকার দেওয়া হবে, তবু সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বলা হয় যে, যারা matric পাশ করেছে তারাও ভোটাধিকার পাবে। কেন যে পূর্ণবয়স্কদের ভোটাধিকার দেওয়া হয়নি তা সহজেই অনুমেয়। যেই গভর্ণমেণ্ট কলিকাতায় বস্তীবাসীদের সাহায্য করতে প্রস্তুত নয়, যেই গভর্ণমেণ্ট সত্যিকার চাষীদের জমির মালিকানা স্বত্ব দিতে নারাজ সেই Government যে কলিকাতার পূর্ণবয়স্ক নাগরিকদের ভোটাধিকার দিয়ে ধনীদের বিরুদ্ধে, ধনীদের স্বার্থের বিরুদ্ধে কাজ করবেন তা আশা করা যায় না। যাই হোক এই সংশোধিত আইন পাশ হওয়ার পর Election Department গঠিত হয় এবং এই departmentএর জন্য বহু কর্ম্মচারী নিয়োগ করা হয়। এমনকি প্রাথমিক Electoral Roll তৈয়ার হয়ে যায়। সকলেই ভাবে এই Administrator এর শাসন শীঘ্রই শেষ হবে। এবং representative গণতন্ত্র প্রণালী অনুসারে কলিকাতার শাসন চলবে। কিন্তু কলিকাতার নাগরিকদের সে আশা পূর্ণ হয়নি। ক্ষমতালোলুপ এই Government Corporationকে আঁকড়ে ধরে থাকতে চায়। এইজন্য প্রথমে Ordinance জারী করেন এবং এখন এই বিল আমাদের সম্মুখে উপস্থিত করে বলছেন—না আমরা যথাসময়ে নির্ব্বাচন করতে পারছি না। সুতরাং ১৯৫২ সালের ৩১শে মার্চ পর্য্যন্ত supersessionএর মেয়াদ বাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হোক। এখন আমাদের সামনে বড় প্রশ্ন এই যে আমরা কি করবো, Statement of Objects and Reasonsএ বলা হয়েছে, আর না বলা হলেও একথা সর্ব্বজনবিদিত যে দীর্ঘ দিনব্যাপী maladministration বা কুশাসনের জন্য কলিকাতা Corporationকে supersede করা হয়েছিল। তিন বৎসর পর্য্যন্ত কলিকাতা Corporation গভর্ণমেণ্টের শাসনাধীনে চলেছে কিন্তু Government শাসনাধীনে চলার পরেও সেই malpractice বা কুশাসনের এতটুকু অবসান ঘটেনি। বরং দিনের পর দিন এই malpractice এবং maladministration বেড়েই চলেছে। Calcutta Corporation Investigation Commissionএর report যদি পড়া যায়, তবে দেখা যাবে যে, যে সমস্ত malpracticeএর অভিযোগ Calcutta Corporationএর বিরুদ্ধে করা হয়েছিল তার ভিতরে অনেকটা সত্য আছে। অবশ্য কমিশনের সমস্ত report পড়া সম্ভব নয় আমি দু-একটি জায়গা পড়ে শোনাব। Investigation Commission Corporation সম্বন্ধে যেসব মন্তব্য প্রকাশ করেছেন তার মধ্যে সবচেয়ে গুরুতর হচ্ছে Kulti outfall সম্বন্ধে।

Mr. SPEAKER: I think you should be relevant to the subject-matter now under discussion. You want that the time for eliciting public opinion should be extended, and you should confine yourself to that. As regards other matters relating to the corruption in the administration of the Corporation, that does not strictly come in in this discussion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মি: স্পিকার, স্যার, আমি এখনই দেখাইব যে আমি relevent কথাই বলিতেছি।

Government বলেছেন maladministrationএর জন্য Corporationকে supersede করা হয়েছে। আমি দেখাতে চাই maladministration and malpractice Governmentএর শাসনকালে একটুও কমে নাই। সুতরাং Governmentএর আবদার সম্পূণ অযৌক্তিক এবং আমরা সেই আবদার রাখতে সম্পূণ নারাজ। সেইজন্য——

Mr. SPPEAKER: Does this discussion relate to the abuses in the administration of Calcutta Corporation under Government control?

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: I shall show that to you, Sir, in a minute.

আমি Investegation Commissionএর report থেকে দেখাতে চাই সেখানে বলা হয়েছে যেসব অভিযোগ করা হয়েছিল তাদের অনেকগুলি সত্য। তা সত্বেও যাদের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ করা হয়েছে Government তাদের সম্বন্ধে কিছু করেননি। যারা দোষী তাদের শাস্তি দেবার ব্যবস্থা হয়নি। বরং অনেককে promotion দেওয়া হয়েছে। এ কথাটা establish করার জন্য আমি এ reportএর কতক অংশ পড়ে শোনাচ্ছি—

"The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the dishonest practice of allowing villagers to encroach on the Corporation land in this locality was allowed by the Corporation staff"—Mind the word "staff"—"for the unlawful gain shared by the villagers as well as the members of the staff".

যা বলেছেন, কিন্তু আমি জানাতে চাই গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে, যাদের বিরুদ্ধে এত বড় একটা অভিযোগ করা হয়েছে, যে জমি থেকে কর্পোরেশনের বহু টাকা আয় হতে পারতো--পরেও অনেক হয়েছে--সেই জমি সম্বন্ধে যেসব অফিসার বললে তোমরা চাষ কর, যা লাভ হবে তা আমরা ও তোমরা ভাগ করে নেব, সেই সব অফিসারের বিরুদ্ধে Administrator এখন পর্য্যন্ত কিছু করেন নাই।

তারপর আছে—

"As to the cultivable lands and the trees on the new outfall area portions of the lands have been cultivated and the crops and the produce of the trees have been taken away. The clue to the extent of loss accrued is the fact that the Corporation expected a *salami* of one lakh of rupees by giving out a lease of 25 years of this area. The figure got upon the budget of 1944-45 and a day—16th January, 1947—was fixed for auction and there were numerous bidders. But the auction did not take place and the matter was referred back to the department and things have remained as they were. The suggestion in the memorandum is that the auction did not suit the department."

ইচ্ছে করেই তা করলে না। ফলে 25 years of lease নিয়ে কর্পোরেশন সেলামী হিসেবে যে এক লক্ষ টাকা লাভ করতো, তা হল না। কিন্তু সেই ডিপার্টমেণ্টের বিরুদ্ধে এখন পর্য্যন্তও কিছু করা হ'ল না।

"As regards the sewage supplied to the fisheries there is no evidence that the Corporation staff sold the sewage but it is difficult to believe that they went out of their way to supply it as a free gift until 1946."

তাঁরা free giftএর যে কথা বলেছেন, তা বিশ্বাস করবার কারণ নাই। Corporation reportএ আরো বলেছে "The Corporation has certainly lost a great deal of revenue on this account from 1940."

অবশ্য ১৯৪০ সালে কর্পোরেশন এই বিভাগের এইভাবে অনেক টাকা হারিয়েছে।

"And now that the matter has been brought to the notice of the administrative officer we find that in the budget estimate of 1949-50 one lakh has been put down as the estimated income from the supply of sewage to the fisheries."

কিন্তু আমার অভিযোগ হচ্ছে তাদের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ প্রমাণিত হয়েছে; অথচ তাদের কোন শাস্তি আজও দেওয়া হয় নাই।

তারপর Toll Road Tax এটা একটা প্রকাণ্ড কেলেঙ্কারী। প্রকাণ্ড রাস্তা একটা বহুদিন ধরে traffic চলেছে, অথচ তার Toll Road Tax হারিয়ে গেছে। পরে যখন সেটা দেখা গেল ধরা পড়লো, তারা বললে, তাইতো কি আর করি। তারপরে বলেছেন—

"As regards toll—road tax, between December, 1943, and February, 1947, either the fees were collected and not deposited into the treasury or fees were not collected at all. In the former case it was a crime: in the latter case the negligence was of the grossest nature of description possible. In either case the Corporation sustained a loss."

এই সমস্ত অপরাধীদের কোন রকম শাস্তি দেওয়া হয় নাই।

আমি দেখাতে চেয়েছি যে কর্পোরেশনে malpractice আগে যা ছিল, এখন বরং তার চেয়ে আরো বেড়েছে। আমি নিজে ব্যক্তিগত অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে তা জানি। আমি Calcutta Corporation Employees Federationএর প্রেসিডেণ্ট। আমাদের ইউনিয়নের membership প্রায় ২৫ হাজার প্রতিনিয়ত আমার কাছে অসংখ্য অনাচার ও কদাচারের রিপোর্ট আসে, আমরা ইউনিয়নের সাহায্যে চেষ্টা করি যাতে তার প্রতিকার করা যায়। এই উদ্দেশ্যে আমি কর্পোরেশনের কর্তৃপক্ষের নিকট অভিযোগ-সমেত ইউনিয়নের অনেককে পাঠিয়েছি। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় যারা কর্পোরেশনকে ঠকিয়েছে, blackmarket করেছে তাদের কোন শাস্তি দেওয়া হয় নাই। বরং আমাদের ইউনিয়ন যাতে কোন কাজ না করতে পারে, যাতে কর্পোরেশনের জাল, জুয়াচুরি ধরিয়ে দিতে না পারে তার জন্য কর্পোরেশনের একজন বড় কর্মচারী আমাদের ইউনিয়নের workersদের নানারকম প্রলোভন দেখিয়ে ভাগিয়ে নিয়ে পাল্টা একটা ইউনিয়ন গঠনের চেষ্টা করছেন। এইরকম একটা unfair জিনিষ বহুদিন ধরে চলেছে। কিন্তু প্রতিকারের কোন পথ খুঁজে পাচ্ছি না। শুধু এই নয় আগে যদি নীচের অফিসারদের উপর জুলুম হ'ত, তাদের পক্ষে প্রতিকারের পথ ছিল। ইচ্ছে করলে তারা স্থানীয় কাউন্সিলারদের তা বলতে পারতো। তাতে তারা প্রতিকারও পেত। কিন্তু এখন সে পথ বন্ধ। কারণ আজত কোন কাউন্সিলার নাই যে তাঁর কাছে গিয়ে বলা যায়। Chief Executive Officer যিনি আছেন, তাঁর কাছে যাওয়া একরকম অসম্ভব। সুতরাং যতরকম malpractices, জুলুম, অনাচার ও কদাচার অব্যাহতভাবে এখন চলছে। এই তো গেল malpracticesএর কথা।

এখন Administrationএর দিকে তাকান যাক্। কলকাতার রাস্তাসমূহে যাঁরা চলেন, তাঁরা জানেন যে চৌরঙ্গী, রেড রোড প্রভৃতি দু-চারটী রাস্তা ছাড়া আর সমস্ত রাস্তার কি দুরবস্থা হয়েছে। বর্ষার দিনে সেসব রাস্তায় গর্তে কিরকম জল জমে যায়, সর্বদা নোংরা হয়ে থাকে, তার প্রতিকারের তো কোন চেষ্টা দেখছি না। বরং বছরের পর বছর সেই সব রাস্তা আরও খারাপের দিকে যাচ্ছে।

তারপর রাস্তার আলোর কথা। রাস্তার বাতির কথা যত কম বলা যায় ততই ভাল। যেখানে গরিব লোকেরা সংকীর্ণ গলির মধ্যে বাস করে, আলোর যেখানে দরকার সবচেয়ে বেশী, সেখানে দেখা যায় দু-একটা অপরিচ্ছন্ন গ্যাসবাতি মিট্‌মিট্ করে জ্বলছে। কিন্তু চৌরঙ্গী, রেড রোডে যান্, সেখানে দেখবেন অদ্ভুত দৃশ্য, উজ্জ্বল আলোর বিপুল সমারোহ। যেখানে ধনীদের বাস, সেখানে ব্যাপক আলোর ব্যবস্থা। আর আলোর যেখানে সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রয়োজন, আলোর ব্যবস্থা সেখানে সবচেয়ে কম।

পানীয় জলের যে অবস্থা তা সকলেরই সুবিদিত। পূর্ব্বে দোতলা-তিনতলার পর্য্যন্ত খাওয়ার জল পাওয়া যেত; আর এখন নীচ তলায়ই কোঁটা কোঁটা করে জল পড়ে। ময়লা জলের cistern দুপুরের আগেই খালি হয়ে যায়। কর্পোরেশনের Sanitary Officerদের কর্ত্তব্য ঘী, দুধ, মাখন, তেল প্রভৃতির বিশুদ্ধতা পরীক্ষা করা। কিন্তু তাঁরা যে কি করেন কি না করেন, কি দেখেন কি না দেখেন তা কলকাতায় যারা বাস করে তারা ভালভাবেই জানে।

তারপর প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয়, যা কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশনের একটা গৌরব ছিল, দেশবন্ধু চিত্তরঞ্জনের যা অপূর্ব্ব সৃষ্টি, সেই স্কুলগুলিরও আজ অতি দুরবস্থা। আগে কলকাতার জনসংখ্যা ছিল ২০ লক্ষ, আজ সেখানে হয়েছে ৬০।৭০ লক্ষ। কিন্তু কর্পোরেশনের স্কুলগুলির সংখ্যা আজও বাড়ান হয় নাই। পূর্বে যেখানে একটি স্কুলে পড়তো পঞ্চাশ জন, আজ সেখানে পড়ে একশো জন পর্য্যন্ত। কিন্তু তাই বলে teacher একজনও বাড়ে নাই।

কলকাতার সবচেয়ে বড় একটা কলঙ্ক এর বস্তিসমূহ। সেসবের এতটুকুও উন্নতি হয় নাই। বরং দিনের পর দিন বস্তিসমূহের অবস্থা খারাপ হচ্ছে। বস্তিসমূহ এক কথায় বলতে গেলে এখন জীবন্ত নরক-কুণ্ডে পরিণত হয়েছে।

Administrationএর কথা বলতে গেলে বিগত ধর্মঘটের কথা এসে পড়ে। সেই ধর্মঘটের সঙ্গে আমি বিশেষভাবে সংশ্লিষ্ট ছিলাম। আমি জানি ধর্মঘটীদের যে দাবী ছিল, যদি democratic form of administration থাকতো, তাহলে তা সহজেই পূরণ হতো। ফলে ধর্মঘটের কোন প্রয়োজন হ'ত না। হরতাল হওয়ায় ধর্মঘটীদেরও কষ্ট হয়েছে, কলকাতাবাসীদেরও কষ্ট হয়েছে। Democratically elected Councillors ছিল না বলেই ধর্মঘট হ'ল। ধর্মঘটের সাত দিনের দিন কংগ্রেসের প্রসিদ্ধ নেতারা এই মর্মে appeal করলেন যে ধর্মঘট বন্ধ করলে, ধর্মঘটীদের ন্যায়সঙ্গত দাবী পূরণ সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ অসুবিধা হবে না। তাদের কথায় বিশ্বাস করে আমরা ধর্মঘট বন্ধ করে দিলাম। আমাদের বিশ্বাস ছিল যে সমস্ত কংগ্রেসী নেতা appeal করেছেন, তাঁদের কথায় কর্পোরেশন কর্তৃপক্ষ কর্ণপাত নিশ্চয়ই করবেন। কিন্তু আমাদের বিশ্বাস অচিরেই মিথ্যা প্রতিপন্ন হলো। ফলে ছয় হাজার কেরানীর বিপুল ক্ষতি হলো।

এইসব কুশাসনে এতটুকু লজ্জিত না হয়ে এখন তাঁরা জমি ও বাড়ীর দাম নূতন করে নির্দ্ধারিত করছেন। কর্পোরেশন এই যে assessment revaluation of lands and buildings করছেন, তাতেও অনেক অনাচার হচ্ছে। আমার কাছে একটা detailed list আছে। যদি গভর্ণমেণ্ট দেখতে চান, আমি তাঁদের দেখাতে পারি। যাদের সম্বন্ধে এই list তাদের নামও privately বলতে রাজী আছি। কলিকাতা মিউনিসিপ্যাল অ্যাক্টের ১৪৭ ধারা অনুসারে every six years প্রতি—ছ' বৎসর অন্তর—revaluation of lands and buildings হতে পারে। কিন্তু বহু বাড়ীর ছ' বছর কেন তিন বছরও উত্তীর্ণ হয় নাই আবার তাদের revaluation হচ্ছে। এভাবে অন্যায় জুলুম, অনেককে সহ্য করতে হচ্ছে—তাদের অতিরিক্ত ট্যাক্সও দিতে হচ্ছে। অধিকাংশ গরীবদের বাড়ী ও জমির বর্তমানে যে দাম হতে পারে, তার চেয়েও অনেক বেশী দাম ধরা হচ্ছে। বিশেষ করে লক্ষ্য করা যাচ্ছে বস্তিসমূহে। বস্তিসমূহের জমির মালিকরাও এবিষয়ে উদাসীন। কারণ বস্তিসমূহে দু রকমের ট্যাক্স—owner's tax এবং occupier's tax—দুটোই বস্তিবাসীদের দিতে হয়। On the basis of revaluation ট্যাক্স বেশী বাড়বে এবং বস্তিবাসীদের অনেককেই দুটো ট্যাক্সই অতিরিক্ত হারে দিতে হবে। তাদের অনেকেই তা দিতে পারবে না। ফলে অতিরিক্ত খাজনা না দেওয়ার ওজুহাতে জমিদারেরা তাদের উচ্ছেদ করতে পারবে। তিনটি assessment অতিরিক্ত হলেও জমিদার তার কোন প্রতিবাদ করছেন না। বরং ভাবছেন বেশী ট্যাক্স হোক, আমরা গরীব বস্তিবাসীদের তাহ'লে সহজেই জমি থেকে তাড়িয়ে দিতে পারবো।

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Banerji, will you please be brief?

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Why, Sir, am I irrelevant?

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no question of irrelevancy. If you can be brief, please try to be brief.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, are these relevant after all?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not irrelevant to say that the administration is bad.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, he is already brief—he has said that.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : সংক্ষেপে বলতে বলছেন। আমি সংক্ষেপেই বলছি। কিন্তু এত অনাচার ও অবিচার এই কর্পোরেশনে, যে তা একটু একটু করে বলতে বলতেই মহাভারত হয়ে যাচ্ছে সংক্ষেপে বলবো কি করে?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: There is a comprehensive Bill coming up before the Assembly in which he will have full say and I take it that he will spend an hour or more on the provisions of that Bill. So, why trouble here now.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : এই comprehensive Actএর কথা জানি, কমিশন adult franchiseএর সুপারিশ করলেন, কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট তা মানলেন না। Comprehensive Actএ কি থাকবে কি না থাকবে তা যখন আমি জানি না, তখন আমি বলবার যেই সুযোগ পেয়েছি তার পূর্ণ উপভোগ করবো। তবে অপর পক্ষ disturb না করলে, সব কথা সংক্ষেপেই বলতে পারবো।

Mr. SPEAKER : There is no question of relevancy. I am simply asking you whether you could be brief.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : আমি যদি irrelevant বলি, আমাকে থামিয়ে দেবেন। তাই বলছি গরীবদের বেলায় বেশী করে জমি ও বাড়ীর ট্যাক্স ধরা হচ্ছে; আর ধনীদের বেলায় কম করে ধরা হচ্ছে।. আমি জানি লোয়ার সার্কুলার রোডের সুবিখ্যাত একটি বাড়ীতে revaluation কম করে ধরা হয়েছে; আশুতোষ মুখার্জী রোডে এক খ্যাতনামা ব্যক্তির বাড়ীতে যে revaluation করা হচ্ছে, তা আশে-পাশের বাড়ীর তুলনায় অনেক কম।

The Hon'ble NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITY : You should not make any vague allegation. এটা কার বাড়ী? নাম বলুন।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : If he presses me to tell the name I shall do so.

Mr. SPEAKER: You need not tell the name. (The Hon'ble Dr. B. C. ROY : শেষ কর বাবা।)

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : তারপর একটা প্রসিদ্ধ পত্রিকার বাড়ী যার দুই দিকে চওড়া রাস্তা তার যা দাম ধরা হয়েছে তা নিকটবর্তী অন্যান্য বাড়ীর তুলনায় অনেক কম। এই কাগজখানি অনেকেই রাখেন। তারপর, একটি প্রসিদ্ধ ব্যবসায়ী প্রতিষ্ঠানের হেড্ অফিস যার তিন দিকেই বড় রাস্তা তার valuation নিকটবর্তী অনেক বাড়ীর তুলনায় অনেক কম করে ধরা হয়েছে। আরো অনেক বাড়ীর list আমার কাছে আছে। আমি আর তাদের নাম করছি না। আমি শুধু চারটির দৃষ্টান্ত দিলাম দেখানোর জন্য। ধনীর বেলায়, খ্যাতনামা ব্যক্তিদের বেলায়, paperওয়ালাদের বেলায়, ব্যবসা প্রতিষ্ঠানের বেলায় কি রকম কম করে ধরা হয়। এই ত Government শাসিত Corporationএর কাহিনী। একে আর চলতে দেওয়া অত্যাচার, অনাচার আর কুশাসনকে প্রশ্রয় দেওয়া একই কথা।

Mr. SPEAKER: Please move your motion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, I beg to move that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by the 12th April, 1951.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that the Corporation of Calcuta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by the 15th March, 1951.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you wish to speak?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER:: Do not repeat the same argument.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়, যখন কলকাতা Corporationএর supersession হ'ল, তখন আমাদের মত সাধারণ লোক যারা কলকাতার স্থায়ী বাসিন্দা নয়, তারা কলকাতা Corporationএর সম্পর্কে অনেক দিন থেকে নানা কথা শুনে আসছিল। আমাদের ধারণা ছিল এবং আশা করেছিলাম যে Government যে সাজা দিলেন, ভারতবর্ষের মধ্যে সবচেয়ে বড় একটা self-governing institutionকে, তার কাছ থেকে সব ক্ষমতা কেড়ে নিয়ে, তখন মনে করেছিলাম যে Governmentএর অধীনে যে কয়দিন এই Corporation থাকবে Government একটা আদর্শ দেখিয়ে দেবেন, কি করে self-governning Corporationএর কাজ হওয়া উচিত। কলকাতার রাস্তা ঘুরলে, যেমন বোম্বাইয়ের রাস্তা ঘুরলে লোকের ধারণা হয়, তেমনি ধারণা হবে। অনেক কথাই শুনি কলকাতা Corporation সম্বন্ধে। যখন যে political দল ক্ষমতা পেয়েছে Corporationএ সে দল তার মনের মত কর্মচারী বাড়িয়েছে এবং বাড়াতে বাড়াতে এমন হয়েছে যে কলকাতা Corporationএ যত কর্মচারীর দরকার তার double কর্মচারী আছে। অনেক রকমের অনেক জিনিষ Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji যা উল্লেখ করেছেন এই Corporationএ আছে। মনে করেছিলাম Governmentএর হাতে গিয়ে এক বৎসরেই Corporationটা ঠিক হয়ে যাবে। কিন্তু এক বৎসর নয় তিন বৎসর হয়ে গিয়েছে। এই ক' বৎসর পরে কলকাতা Corporationএ যদি কেউ গিয়ে দেখেন, এই বিলের সময় বাড়িয়ে দেওয়ার প্রশ্ন নিয়ে, যদি কোন নিরপেক্ষ লোক দেখেন Governmentএর গত তিন বৎসরের কাজ, তাহলে তাদের পক্ষে আনন্দিত হওয়ার কিছু আছে কি? যে staff সে একই staff আছে। কলকাতা Corporationএর কর্মচারীদের মত corruptionএর কথা শোনা যায় এত আর কোন officeএর কর্মচারী সম্বন্ধে শোনা যায় না। সেই corruption কিছু কমেছে কি? আমি জানি বহু political কর্মী যাঁরা কলকাতা Corporationএর কর্মচারী আছেন, তাঁদের officeএই যেতে হয় না। (Laughter.) আমি নাম করতে পারি তাঁরা Corporationএ ২০০৲।২৫০৲ টাকা মাইনে পান কিন্তু officeএ যেতে হয় না, কাজও কিছু করতে হয় না। এই সমস্ত জিনিষ এখনও Corporationএ রয়েছে কেন? আমরা পাড়াগাঁয়ের লোক কলকাতায় এসে অনেক জায়গায় দেখি যে আলোতে প্রায় দিনের মত হয়। আবার কোথাও দেখি আলো এত dim যে জলে কিনা সন্দেহ। Oriental Gas Co., gas production, corporation কিছু দেখে কি তারা ভাল coal কি মন্দ coal ব্যবহার করে? সাধারণ লোক আমরা গাঁয় থেকে আসি কলকাতায় ঘুরে ফিরে বেড়াই, High Court দেখতে যাই, কলকাতার অভিজ্ঞতা নিয়ে যেতে চাই। না জানি কি আজব সহর এই কলকাতা—

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, you will please resume your speech after the recess.

(The House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, যে কথা বলছিলাম যে রাস্তার আলো এত নিষ্প্রভ এর কারণ অনুসন্ধান করতে গেলে দেখা যাবে, Oriental Gas Company inferior qualityর কয়লা ব্যবহার করছে, এটাই সব চেয়ে প্রধান কারণ। এ সম্পর্কে কোন প্রতিবিধান করা হয়নি। তারপর কথা এই যে অনেক department আছে কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশনের, যেমন Waterworks, Asphalt, Engineering Department (এইটা ধরুণ) কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশনের মত institutionএ যেসব overseer ও supervisor আছে, তারা technical men হওয়া চাই। কিন্তু আমার যতদূর information তাদের মধ্যে এমন overseer ও supervisor আছেন যাদের বিভিন্ন আমলে নিযুক্ত করা হয়েছে অন্য কারণে—political কারণে, কিন্তু তাদের কোন technical qualification নাই। আমরা আশা করেছিলাম এই সমস্ত departmentএ যেখানে technical men থাকা উচিত এদের চাকুরিতে রেখেও technical training

দেওয়া হবে। তা হয়নি। যেদিকে তাকান সেই অবস্থা, জলের দিকে তাকান, আলোর দিকে তাকান একই অবস্থা, unfiltered waterএরও সেই অবস্থা। তারপর কলিকাতার পার্কের অবস্থাও অতি শোচনীয়। একদিন একটা Children Parkএ গিয়ে দেখি সেখানে কোনও ব্যবস্থাই নেই। ঘাস নেই সমস্ত parkটা অপরিষ্কার হয়ে রয়েছে। এই supersession দ্বারা তিন বৎসর কাল একটা এত বড় self-governing institutionএর মুখে তথা কলিকাতা অধিবাসীদের মুখে কলঙ্ক-কালিমা লেপন করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু কিজন্য এটা ভাববার কথা। আজ যদি বলা হয়, এই institution maladministrationএর জন্য supersede করা হয়েছে, আমি বলতে চাই এই maladministration Governmentএর আমলেও একই ভাবে চলেছে।

কারণ, তিন বৎসরের মধ্যে কাজ ছিল এটাকে হাতে নিয়ে, যথাসম্ভব শীঘ্র election করে দেওয়া, এবং কলিকাতা অধিবাসীদের নূতন প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে দায়িত্বভার ছেড়ে দেওয়া। এরা এদের সেই main task করতে পারেনি। এখনও maladministration ও inefficiency তেমনিভাবেই চলেছে। তিন বছরের মধ্যে একটা electionএর ব্যবস্থা পর্যন্ত হয়নি। তারা অজুহাত দিয়ে যে কারণ বলছেন—১৯৫০ সালের April মাসে একটা বিল পাশ করেছিল, তাতে franchise extend করা হয়েছে—যদি বুঝতাম adult franchise তা নয়, সামান্য কিছু franchise বাড়িয়ে তারা এই অজুহাতে আর পূর্ণ এক বছর সময় নিচেছন, লোকে বলবে এটা একটা মিথ্যা অজুহাত মাত্র। Franchise বাড়ান উদ্দেশ্য নয়। অর্থাৎ কি করে supersession আরো বেশী দিন continue করা যায়, কি করে Calcutta Corporationকে বেশী দিন হাতে রাখা যায় সেই উদ্দেশ্যে। এসব হচেছ General Electionএর জন্য। কুলোকে বলবে——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: সুলোকেও বলবে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এর উদ্দেশ্য হচেছ General Electionএর জন্য Government Corporationকে control করতে চায়। কাজেই দেখা গেল এর যারা Corporationএর মুখে চূণকালি দিয়েছে এবং নিজেদের মুখে আরো বেশী করে চূণ কালি দিয়েছে। তিন বছরের মধ্যে election করতে পারলে না maladministration আর কাকে বলে? এখন মানে মানে ছেড়ে দিন, যাদের হাতে ছিল তাদের হাতে দিন। তাদের যথেষ্ট শাস্তি দেওয়া হয়েছে আর কেন? একটা নূতন election করুন।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as the same motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari stands in my name also, I do not move it but I want to speak on it. Now my idea in giving notice of this motion for circulating the Bill for the purpose of eliciting public opinion was because I felt, not only we here inside the Assembly but also the people outside would like to have an explanation as to why the then called temporary supersession of the Calcutta Corporation has been turned, rather converted into its absolute suppression by the Government. It is, we feel, a continued outrage on the rights of a local self-governing institution, rather on the rights of the citizens of Calcutta. We know how and through what struggles the people who came before us got the right to rule over the Corporation. I remember that when this power was being sought from us in this Assembly to supersede the Corporation in 1948, some of us protested because we felt that, that by itself, would not solve any of the problems though we agreed that the Corporation which is commonly known as the *Choreporation* needed to be superseded in the hope that Government would look into the maladministration of the Corporation although we at the same time felt that this Government could not be trusted to remedy the unsatisfactory state of affairs inside the Calcutta Corporation. Fortunately or unfortunately we have been proven right.

The Hon'ble Minister in charge of today's Bill has not told us what exactly were the reasons as to why the Government did not do its duty enjoined upon it by the Assemby before. He has not told us why the

Government did not take action against the officers if they did not fulfil the duties given to them by the Government. It is no use just describing the situation and saying—although in 1948 they took these powers—"Sorry, we could not fulfil our promise; so the existing state of affairs is to go on till 1951-52".

We shall not be satisfied here in the Opposition, neither will the people outside be satisfied, because who are the people who are telling us today in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that on account of continued maladministration the affairs of the Corporation had to be taken up by the Government? It is being told to us by the people—the Ministers—who have themselves been guilty of grossest maladministration in the country's history. How do they presume that under these circumstances they with their I.C.S. officers will set things right inside the Corporation? We knew that this could not happen. Ordinary reasons tell us that this cannot happen because one set of corrupt people in the Corporation have been superseded by another set of corrupt people. Therefore we were sure that nothing good would happen to the Calcutta citizens.

Sir, we have seen the two volumes of the Report submitted by the Commission. I was reading the second volume of that report. It is instructive reading because at least there are facts which have been brought to light in those pages which it would be worth while for the public to read and understand as to what the previous administrators inside the Corporation did. After all, who were those people—the previous administrators of the Corporation? It is no good today diverting the attention of the people and to say that they were some other people with whom "we had nothing to do". The people have not forgotten, their memory is not so short as to forget that they were the friends of our present rulers; and if today the Government have taken up the affairs from them and if today they are saying that there had been maladministration, we at least shall lay the whole blame on the people sitting in the Government benches, because it is their friends who were ruling in the Corporation and none else. Therefore we say to the Government that there is only one other alternative in order to set the affairs right inside the Corporation, and that is to give us adult franchise. Let the people administer inside the Corporation: let them rule through their representatives inside the Corporation. I think that would be the only solution. But unfortunately, although the franchise has been extended, as has been stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, we know that the people today will not be satisfied with that franchise. It is ridiculous to tell us today after two or three years that "we have extended the franchise a little bit but we could not give adult franchise". If the Congress Ministers are telling us that they are going to have an election on adult franchise of 180 million of people in India—if that is a true statement—then let us know why inside Calcutta with a population of 60 or 70 lakhs of people you cannot have adult franchise for the Corporation. It is no good telling us that "we could not do it". We would like to know the reason. Sir, since this Bill has been contemplated we have been told that our electoral roll on the basis of adult franchise has already been prepared, and we would have in a few months an election on adult franchise. So when the electoral roll is there, I do not see why there cannot be any election in the Corporation under adult franchise. I know that unless and until the people mobilise their strength and compel the Government to give them that franchise, the Government will not move an inch. I know as the people know, that we cannot expect anything from this Government which itself has, as I have said at the outset, been responsible for all the corruption, jobbery and maladministration in the State of West Bengal. Therefore if we are to proceed any further

with regard to the Corporation affairs, I should say that we at least on this side of the House would oppose this Bill tooth and nail. We shall mobilise public opinion behind us. Government told us in March, 1948, I think, that "we have to supersede the Corporation because of maladministration". Sir, we extend it a little further and say that the people have to supersede this Government because of continued maladministration, jobbery and corruption. Therefore I feel that every one on this side of the House will, whatever be our differences as regards this point, be united to oppose this Bill tooth and nail. Not a day should be given for extending the powers of the Government inside the Corporation.

Sir, I do not want to go into the details of the Bill. My burden has been lightened by the facts that the previous speakers have shown in criticising the Bill, of the way in which the Government have continued their maladministration. I know, if the Ministers leave their cars and move about in the streets of Calcutta, if they go by trams and buses, they would hear what the people say about Government administration, during the last two years, of the Calcutta Corporation. Sir, I know this Bill will be passed—they have got the strength of numbers today inside the House, if not outside the House. Let us hear the Hon'ble Minister telling us as to what has been done to better the lot of Calcutta citizens, the rate-payers, and so on, after the Government took it over. Let us get some examples. As far as we are concerned, we see nothing has been done. We know, as has been pointed out, that even the middle-class people who have small houses have been complaining that their taxes are going up by leaps and bounds. I heard during the recess Sj. J. C. Gupta saying that his tax has also gone up during the last three months. I know there are thousands and thousands of people in Calcutta, who are sending us letters and telling us that if the taxes go up in this way, it would be impossible for them to keep their houses. The Ministers ought to know that there are thousands of people in Calcutta who have built small houses through the labour of their whole life-time. But if the taxes go up in this manner, it would be impossible for them to keep their houses any longer, because the Government have not seen to it that either wages go up or their purchasing power goes up. Therefore when the cost of living is 413 as compared to 1939, it would be the height of impudence on the part of Government to tell us that "our tax falls equally on the rich and the poor". Therefore I do again say that there are rich people, the friends of the Government: tax them as much as you like and I shall be one with you; but unless you differentiate between the rich and the poor, unless you differentiate between the very rich and the middle-class house-owners, unless you, differentiate between the middle-class house-owners and the *bustee* people, it would be impossible for 90 per cent. of the people in Calcutta to carry on any further. Then if you give them good roads, if the Government give them good lighting arrangements, if the Government give them proper water-supply, then at least there would have been an excuse for increasing the taxes. Otherwise, I am afraid, a movement will have to be built up throughout Calcutta to see that no taxes are paid. It is unfortunate that even now the citizens of Calcutta tolerate all this nonsense. It is high time that if the Government does not see reason, then the citizens of Calcutta will unite as one man to compel these men to decrease their taxes; to see that the Government make proper arrangements for them, or else to see that this Government of maladministrators are driven out.

SJ. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: মাননীয় স্পিকার মহাশয়, এই Corporationএর প্রথম supersessionএর পর কেন এত দিন চলে গেল? কি কারণ ছিল? এত দিন পর্যন্ত Corporationএর ভোট দেবার অধিকার যাদের ছিল তাদের সংখ্যা অত্যন্ত কম ছিল এবং তার ফলে অতি

অল্পসংখ্যক একটা "কোটারির" হাতে এত দিন Corporation পরিচালনা ছিল। সেই জন্যই Corporationএর মধ্যে নানা রকম দুর্নীতি বাসা বেঁধে ছিল। সেইজন্য Corporation Act amendment করে ১৯৪৭ সালে বলা হয় যে তাড়াতাড়ি election করে দেওয়া হবে। পুরানো Actএর মধ্যে যে ত্রুটি আছে সে ত্রুটিও দূর করে দেওয়া হবে। Corporationএর দুর্নীতির জন্য তার খরচ চালান দায় হত এবং তার জন্য Governmentএর দ্বারস্থ হতে হ'ত। তাহার প্রতিকারের জন্য একটা survey ১৯৪৭ সালে করা হয়। তাতে দেখা যায় যে, যে হারে tax ইতিপূর্ব্বেই বসান আছে তাই যদি ঠিক ঠিক আদায় হয় তাহলে Corporationএর যে আর্থিক দুর্গতি তা থেকে সে রেহাই পেতে পারে এবং Governmentএর দ্বারস্থ হতে হয় না। ১৯৪৭ সালে যখন sample survey করা হয় তখন দেখা যায় যে অনেক জায়গায় under-assesment করা হয়েছিল বা যেখানে করা হয় নাই সেখানে যদি ঠিকমত করা হত তাহলে Corporationএর আয় দ্বিগুণ হতে পারত। তারপর Enquiry Commission'ও যা বলেছেন তা তাঁদের রিপোর্ট থেকে পড়ে শুনাচ্ছি—

"that the Commission has examined numerous cases of assessment and has come to the conclusion that section 127 has been deliberately misapplied to defraud the Corporation of its just dues. Between the 22nd November, 1947, and the 12th December, 1947, a sample survey was made under the orders of the Government. One of its objects was to find out whether there was any truth in the complaint that the premises are wholly under-assessed with the result that the Corporation is losing a large amount of income every year. The case of under-assessment is fully established in a general way and the actual assessment was half of what it would be on the basis of rent."

এবং তাছাড়া কমিশন আরো সাংঘাতিক কথা বলেছেন—

"What has actually taken place, however, is not a blemish to be weighed in golden scales, nor a mistake or an error of judgment, but a deliberate understatement of actual rent with a view to reduce the assessment. This is what the sample surveyor referred to suggested and what was found by our own observation."

এই যদি অবস্থা হয়ে থাকে তা হলে তিন বৎসর Corporation—Governmentএর হাতে নেওয়ার পরে, আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই যে যেসব officersদের againstএ এইসব অভিযোগ করা হয়েছে তারা এখনও আছেন কিনা? এবং তিন বৎসরের মধ্যে যে উদ্দেশ্যে Commission নিযুক্ত করে এত অর্থ খরচ করা হ'ল, সেই Commissionএর reportএর ব্যবহার Government কি করেছেন? তারপর আরো একটা কথা বলি। এই Commission বলেছেন যে আমরা জানি যে অল্পসংখ্যক লোক একটা "কোটারি" গঠন করে তাদের হাতে নির্ব্বাচন রেখেছিল বলে যত সব দুর্নীতি ঘটেছে। তাই যখন সারা ভারতবর্ষে adult franchise গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে তখন Corporationএর জন্যও তাঁরা যা বলেছেন তা পড়ে শোনাচ্ছি—

"Upon these figures the percentage of population on electoral roll at the first election in 1924 was only about 7·86 and finally dropped in 1944, the year of the last election, to 3·36 according to the calculation made excluding or including the Labour constituency. In the opinion of the Commission the only explanation of this striking disproportion between the population and the number of electors must be found in the restricted character of the franchise and there can be no question that if the Corporation is to be brought under anything like popular control and saved from the disaster of being the close preserve of a few who do not hesitate to sacrifice the interest of the many, this state of things will have to be put an end to and the electorate enlarged so as to reflect in a fairer and more effective measure the strength of the population. Democracy must be made a reality as far as possible replacing the shadow by the substance."

এর উত্তরে Governmentএর পক্ষে যিনি administrator ছিলেন তিনি বলেছেন যে তাঁরা adult franchiseএর পক্ষে নন তবে কিছু বাড়িয়ে দিতে চান। Adult franchise যদিও ultimate objective তা হলেও তাঁরা এখন ভোটার সংখ্যা ছয় লক্ষ করে দিতে রাজি। Governmentও সেইমত মেনে নিয়েছেন এবং adult franchiseএর বিরুদ্ধে যে যুক্তি দিয়েছেন তা আমি অদ্ভুত বলেই মনে করি। Commission বলেছেন—

"He is opposed to the immediate introduction of adult franchise in Corporation elections although he admits that this should be the ultimate desideratum. The reason for stopping short of adult franchise is thus stated. The present uncertainty in politics is not likely to produce the best type of Councillors on the basis of adult franchise."

অদ্ভুত কথা। সারা বাংলা দেশের ১/৩ অংশ লোক কলকাতায় বাস করে। সেখানে uncertainty of politicsএর জন্য adult franchise দেওয়া হবে না। পল্লী গ্রামের লোকেরা adult franchiseএর ভিত্তিতে Assemblyতে আমাদের পাঠাবার যোগ্যতা অর্জন করতে পারে আর কলকাতার সেই রকম লোকেরাই তাদের প্রতিনিধি কর্পোরেশনে পাঠাতে পারে না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I do not want to interrupt my friend but I just point out to you that the question of franchise was decided by an Act which was passed by the Legislature in April, 1950, and because, as I said before, the Calcutta Municipal Act itself will come up for discussion before the Select Committee and the thing will be placed on the 5th March, is there any purpose in going into franchise which has already been decided by the Assembly in 1950?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think, Mr. Choudhury, you should confine yourself to this Bill.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: আমি যে কথা বলেছি তার বিরুদ্ধে এই argument উঠতে পারে না। বেশী ভোটার হলে যদি political অসুবিধার জন্য আমরা আপত্তি করি তাহলে কি আমরা একথা বলতে পারি যে আজ যে ছয় লক্ষ ভোটার বাড়াবার কথা হচ্ছে, তার ফলে আগে যেখানে এক লক্ষ ছিল তখন কি Corporation শুদ্ধ ছিল? তখন ববং কলকাতায় ট্যাক্স আদায় হয় নাই। এবং অল্প কয়েকজন লোক "কোটারি" করে Corporation চালাচ্ছিল বলে Corporationএ এত গলদ ঢুকেছিল এবং সেইজন্য supersede করাব দরকার হয়েছিল। তার পরিবর্ত্তে ভোটাবের সংখ্যা বাড়িয়ে দিয়ে more democratic করে তুললে ববং এর প্রতিকার সম্ভব। তৃতীয় কথা টাকা আদায় হয় না বলে Corporationএর মধ্যে যে গলদ সেই টাকা যাদের দ্বারা আদায় হয় নাই এবং আদায় হয় নাই বলে Commissionও তাঁদের বিরুদ্ধে মন্তব্য কবেছেন তাঁদের কি বদলান হয়েছে? কিন্তু যারা সেই সমস্ত দায়ীত্ব-জ্ঞানহীন কর্মচারীদের কাজেব জন্য এতদিন পর্য্যন্ত under-assessment বা assessment না হওয়ার দরুণ টাকা দেয় নাই এবং এমন কি Law Departmentএ পর্য্যন্ত যাদের case না দেওয়ার দরুণ Corporationএর প্রাপ্য টাকা তামাদি হয়ে গেছে, এই সব অব্যবস্থামূলক দুর্নীতির পথ, যদি বন্ধ না করা হয় তাহলে assesment বাড়ালে মাত্র কিছু সংখ্যক নাগরিকের উপর জুলুম হবে কিন্তু Corporation পরিশুদ্ধ হবে না। কাজেই আমি বলছি Corporationএর supersession আর না বাড়িয়ে নির্ব্বাচিত প্রতিনিধির হাতে ফিরিয়ে দিয়ে Corporationকে জনসাধারণের হাতে তুলে দিলেই এর যথাযথ প্রতিকার সম্ভব।

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the criticisms that have been made in the House regarding the extension of the supersession need consideration at our hands. It is necessary that it should be made clear that there was real impediment in the way of having an election and to restore the control of elected councillors. Sir, you are aware that Lord Curzon once said "if I covet anything besides the post of Governor-General, I would like to be the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation." I would like the Ministry to

let us know that there has been no desire on the part of those who have been entrusted with the administration to lengthen their period of service in the Corporation. Sri Jyoti Basu has mentioned about the grievance that I was making—I was not making a personal grievance—but if it is a fact that such increase has been made after a revision was made two years ago, that needs to be looked into. If I understand him aright, the Chief Minister once said that he has also come to know about these cases, and some instructions have been issued by the Government to mitigate such grievances. I find that the previous supersession having been up to March, 1951, we shall have to extend it, because otherwise there would be no Corporation; at the same time the Government cannot possibly continue this administration. I would very earnestly request the Ministry to see that even if they get an extension, they may bring about an election as early as possible. I am not convinced that if very energetic steps are taken, an election cannot be brought about within six months. Some criticism has been made that it is desired that the supersession should continue till after the general election. Now, if the present Administrator takes steps, he can even bring about an election before March, 1952, and I hope that will be done.

There is another point which has been made by the speakers. What have we done during this period regarding the maladministration and regarding matters which were reported upon? This is very necessary. We must know, let the members of this House know, let the public outside know after superseding the Corporation during this period what has been done to prevent the waste, to bring in better tone in the administration and to bring in better attendance. I have heard some good reports that those who would not attend to their work, those who would not mind their work some of them have been dismissed. But I hope during the reply we shall hear what improvements have taken place. If this state of things continues, if no definite improvements have been made, there can be no justification for delaying another election up till March, 1952. But at the same time this Bill has got to be passed, because otherwise after March there will be no elected Corporation hence this power has got to be taken by Government But I hope that though this power will be taken, an election of the Corporation should not be unnecessarily delayed a day more than is absolutely necessary.

Sj. SHEO KUMAR RAI: Mr. Speaker Sir; mera kuch ziada kahna naheen hai, main do char minute men apna baktab khatam ker doonga. Hon'ble Minister mujhey khama karengey. Last year bhi yeh bill hamarey agey ayatha, usko ek baras jewan dan kiya giya, aur phir dektey hain ke yeh baras bhi apna paran dan magney ke liey hamarey samney aey hain. Mujhey yeh khayal kerna chaheay ke kabtak yeh bill ko paran dan desaktey hain aur is parandan men labh hai ya hani hai. Sabsey bara is men ek principle involve hai, ek siddhant ki bat hai, jes siddhant ke liey barey barey keranti huey, Russia me keranti hua, China men keranti hua aur abhi Nepal men hal hi men jo hua wah apke samney hai. Jes siddhant ke liey yeh Assembly hua aur jes siddhant ke raksha ke liey Delhi men itna bara Council House khara hai, wah siddhant hai democratic rights ka. Ham yehan hain janta ko adhikar dene ke liey unka adhikar chinney ke liey naheen yeh jo Bengal ka parishad hai, yeh bidhan parishad hai yeh janta ka paritirup hai, ham janta ke representative hain, ham kaisey doosrey ke democratic rights ko khatam kersakety hain, yeh naheen hosakta hai. Calcutta Corporation men apna protinidhi chunney ka adhikar Calcutta ke janta ka hai, ham uska adhikar naheen cheen saktey hain. Teen baras sey lagatar yeh adhikar Government ney leliya. Hamko yeh bhi dekhna hai ke Calcutta Corporation ko supersede kiay huay teen barees hogiya, hamney

un tax payeron ko kiya nafa diya ya naheen deya. Parantu jetney reports hamarey samney pesh kiey gaey hain usmen ham dekhtey hain, ke reports kharab hain. Tax payeron ko koie nafa naheen hua hai, wah report men ham dekhtey hain ke jo maladministration pahley tha wah theek naheen hua hai. Teen baras sey Government kiya ker rahi hai, aj doosrey rashtaron ki itihas hamarey samney ati hai. Japan ko lejeay, jis ki chati per bomb aur goley barsey they, wah phen do teen baras men jaisey pahley tha waisa hogiya hai. Hamko aj samaj patron ke zaria yeh report meli hai ke wah pher apney previous footings per agiya hai. Leken Calcutta Corporation aj teen barees sey Government ke hath men hai, parantu wah abhi tak apney agey ke footings men naheen aya. Abhi tak jo kam men dhilaie tha theek naheen hua. Ager teen barees men theek naheen ker sakey to das barees men bhi theek naheen hoga. Ab Electorate Roll bhi khatam ho chuka hai, is liey jald sey jald election hona chahey. Ab log yeh bhi jan chukey hain ke kaon admi kharab hai aur kaon acha. Kaon Alderman acha hai aur kaon kharab hai, kaon ghoos khor hai aur kaon naheen hai. Is liey ab admeon ko maloom hogiya hai ke kesko chunna chakeay ta ke Corporation ka kam theek sey chaley. Is liey main kahta hoon ke jald sey jald election hona chaheay aur janta ka adhikar janta ko soup deno chaheay.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I want to intervene at this stage in the hope that I may be able to answer some of the questions, particularly those referred to by my friend Mr. J. C. Gupta. Sir, two members have moved the motion for circulation of the Bill. One of them, my friend Charu Babu, says, "তাদের তো অনেক শাস্তি হয়েছে এবার তাদের জিনিষ ফিরিয়ে দিন"। The other, my friend Mr. Jyoti Basu, says, that they were corrupt and had been replaced by another corrupt group of officers. Therefore if Charu Babu's statement is to be pursued we should have to go back to another corrupt set of people to manage the Corporation. Sir, all these talks come because there is a lack of reality about it. When the Corporation was superseded in 1948 at my instance, I was then Member-in-charge of that Department. At that time I never thought that the Corporation would have to be administered by Government officers for such a long time and that the Corporation would not go back to its original form, namely, run by popularly-elected commissioners or councillors. When the Corporation Enquiry Commission was appointed they realized that the corruption that was there in the Corporation might be due to two causes; one was more or less organisational, *i.e.*, that there might have been something in the organisation itself, in the method of work, in the machinery of the work, the way in which the rules and regulations were being laid down, and the other was in respect of the personnel. In fact, all types of corruption that we see in this world are either due to individuals or to the defects in the organisation, or both. As a matter of fact, if the defects in an organisation are not removed individuals really do not count and anybody going there would become also a source of corruption. Therefore the Commission was asked to find out what defects there were in the organisation itself apart from the defects of individual officers or individual groups of officers. This Commission made an *ad interim* report on 11th June, 1949, and its final report was received on the 31st January, 1950. On receiving this final report, particularly with regard to the method of election, the types of persons who would be allowed to vote, the way in which the town of Calcutta was to be divided up, whether there should be a single member constituency or multi-member constituency. and all these points were placed before the Government and before the Assembly in due course, and the Assembly on the 12th April, 1950, passed the West Bengal Act XXVIII of 1950 called the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act. Those

of us who have been in the Corporation know that, even in normal times, in order to have an election in a particular year, work in connection with the general election is started sometime in April of the previous year, and, usually, the Corporation elections take place between the months of February and March. The reason was this that the rules governing the framing of electoral rolls provided—I am referring to the old Rules—that who paid the taxes, what was the amount of taxes that was paid up by such persons up to the end of the year preceding that in which the election is to take place were to be taken into account. For example, if elections are to take place, let us say, in August, 1951, then, all those persons who had paid their taxes up to 31st March, 1951, would have to be entered on the electoral rolls. It was found also in actual practice that even if we depended only on the names of the persons which are found in the registers of the Corporation and who are entitled to be voters, it took nearly 9 to 10 months to make the rolls complete. Sir, as a result of the Act which was passed last year the Assembly accepted four types of electors of which two belonged to the group who were the persons paying taxes on the basis of which were given a certain franchise. In the remaining two groups there was no question of the person paying any tax but a man, simply if he resided in a house for six months which house had been taxed by the Corporation would be entitled to a vote. Also any person who has passed the Matriculation Examination and stayed in the town for one year would be entitled to have his name entered on the electoral roll. Sir, the Act enjoined that if a person is the occupier of any premises valid for assessment purposes—I am reading one of the items—and had at any time in the year immediately preceding the year in which the election is held paid rent for such occupancy for at least six months, he is entitled to a vote. In other words he must occupy a house for six months, must have paid the rent of the house, and that house must be a house which had been assessed. To whom has he paid the rent, to A, B or C, is not on the record of the Calcutta Corporation. Therefore, the first thing that was done immediately the Act was passed was that Rules were framed in about 10 days, that is to say, about the 20th April, 1950, and notices were issued to everybody to apply, particularly to those belonging to the two categories (*b*) and (*d*); one month's time was given; notice was issued on the 1st of May and the last day within which to apply was the 1st of June. Applications began coming in; press notes began to be issued; various representations were made that the people did not get the notice in time. Remember this was in May, 1950, when the whole town was in turmoil. Particular emphasis was laid by the refugee Matriculates who demanded that certain more time should be given to them in order that they might show that they had passed the Matriculation Examination and had stayed in the town one year before the date on which the electoral roll was to be prepared and as a result the final date had to be shifted on to the 20th of June. Sir, after getting these applications at least 2½ months—rather nearly 3 months—had to be taken in order to verify whether the man had paid the rent, whether the man had passed the Matriculation Examination and whether he had stayed for 12 months in the year preceding that in which the election is to take place and so on and so forth, and it was found that it was impossible, if you take all the different stages through which the printing and publication had to go through, to give effect to the Act which was passed by the Legislature and no election could take place before the end of March or middle of April and the election finished before the middle of April. You will recall, Sir, that we had asked for extension of time up to 31st December, 1950, in the hope that we would be able to finish the whole thing of the electoral roll as early as possible before that time, but we found that it was not possible to complete the

investigation and getting the names verified, the printing of the preliminary rolls, allowing time for taking objection, etc. Therefore by 31st March we again got entangled in the new Rules that had been framed according to which the financial year of the Corporation was to end on 31st March. Since I go beyond April, say 15th of April, we have got to take the whole of the persons again, namely, the number of persons who had remained in Calcutta after Matriculating but who were not here in 1949-50, and also those who paid rent and stayed in a house which was to be assessed. Therefore it was necessary for us to get an Ordinance passed in order to make the arrangements for the election to take place as early as possible. We find that by taking the different items one by one it will take at least ten months, if not eleven. If we start from the beginning of April for the final electoral roll to be printed, I hope and trust that it will be possible for us to have the election even before 31st March, 1952. Probably the beginning or middle of January, 1952, would be our target date.

In this connection a lot has been said about malpractices, corruption and what the Government has done or rather the Administrator has done during the period that they were in charge of the Corporation. It is a perfectly legitimate question but the difficulty is that at the present moment it is difficult for us with this Bill before us to give a categorical answer. One answer we can give which really affects my Government and that is this that up till 1948-49 we used to give about 46 lakhs for dearness allowance to the Corporation workers and also advanced them money for meeting their ordinary expenses. I am speaking from memory when I say that we paid 40 lakhs in 1947-48, in 1948-49 we paid 25 lakhs, but they have not asked anything for 1949-50 and also in 1950-51. There is no doubt whatsoever, as far as I can recall, that the collection of arrears has improved a great deal but whether they have been able to make the streets cleaner, whether the lights are better than before or worse than before really are not matters germane to this. I can assure every member of this House that I am anxious as much, as any one of them to see that the Corporation has its election as early as possible on the franchise which has been accepted by this House. And in that view I am even prepared to recommend to my friend, Mr. Panja, to accept Mr. Annada Prosad Choudhury's amendment to clause 2, namely, that the election be completed as early as possible. As I said before, I do hope that the election would be completed by the end of this year, but I knew that once you go beyond 31st March, it would not be possible for us to take the electoral roll of 1949-50 to be used for election after 31st March, 1951. As Mr. J. C. Gupta has pointed out, the Corporation is now working under an Ordinance which has extended the period of supersession. That period expires six weeks after the date on which the Assembly met and it would be about 20th or 22nd March, next. Therefore it is necessary that we should extend the life of the supersession for a period as has been proposed by my friend, Mr. Panja, in order that we might be able to give effect to the scheme of election as early as possible.

Sir, whether by this election on the basis of the franchise that has been accepted by the Assembly all corruptions will disappear or not is more than I can say. Everybody now swears on the basis of adult franchise and I am hoping that we shall have the general election of the Assembly on adult franchise towards the latter part of this year and I do not know whether I shall have any share in the future Government, but this much I can say that I will watch with a great deal of interest the longed-for results of an election on adult franchise on the administration, either of the Government or of the Corporation. I do feel that after what I have said it would be possible for members to realise that it was not out of a desire to keep the

Corporation under Government control that the supersession has been asked for but because of the impossibility of the conditions laid down by the Assembly in framing the electoral roll that this extension of time has been necessary.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, today we started at 3 p.m. and it is now 7 p.m. I do not know why the time has been extended in this matter and if it is going to continue further.

Mr. SPEAKER: We are not continuing further. I will dispose of this motion for consideration but before I do so I wish to point out to the Chief Minister the question as to whether the amendment moved by Sri Annada Prosad Choudhury should be dealt with now.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No, no. It was only a passing reference.

The motion of Sj. Charu Bhandari that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by the 15th March, 1951, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—10.

Bandopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Basu, Sj. Jyoti
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Kazem Ali Mirza, Janab Shahibzada Kawan Jah Saiyid.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab

NOES—31.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Haldar, Sj. Kuber Chand
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra
Maiti, The Hon'ble Nikunja Behari
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra
Mandal, Sj. Annadaprasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada
Mukherji, Sj. Dhirendra Narayan
Naskar, Sj. Ardhendu Sekhar
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Platel, Mr. R. E.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Rafiuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Dr.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

The Ayes being 10 and the Noes 31 the motion was lost.

The motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by the 12th April, 1951, was then put and lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: Today's business will be carried over tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 3-30 p.m. tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 7-5 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 21st February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 21st February, 1951, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 53 members.

Distribution of leaflets.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: On a point of privilege, Sir, আমি আগেও দেখেছি, আজও দেখছি—West Bengal Citizens' Association আমাদের গালাগালি করে leaflet বিলি করে আপনার staffএর মারফৎ। এই Assemblyর Staff এখনই সে leaflet বিলি করছে। আপনার কাছে এ বিষয়ে protection চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not being done by our staff. Anyway, I will see to it.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I have seen them on the table. While other papers were being distributed I asked the clerk-in-charge as to who had authorised him to distribute them and he said that office had authorised him.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as office is concerned, it has nothing to do with it.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: It is being distributed by your office people now.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will look into the matter.

Amendment to the Calcutta University Bill.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, Calcutta University Bill এই যে এখানে আনা হয়েছে দেখছি—এর amendment দেবার জন্য দু তিন দিন সময় দরকার। আমরা জানতাম বিলটা আজই আনা হবে।

Mr. SPEAKER: After the questions are over.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: Sir, আজ কোন question নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: There is only one motion by Government for referring it to a Select Committee. The only other motion that can be moved is to circulate it for public opinion. I cannot admit any such motion at this stage. If the Bill is taken up today, you can move your amendment today. If the Bill is not taken up today, you can move your amendment later.

Adjournment motion.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, consent has been refused to the adjournment motion on yesterday's *lathi* charge on the refugees, notice of which was given by me. Sir, I have gone very carefully through the ruling which you gave at the beginning of the session on the rules for adjournment motion. One thing I have discovered is that even though we are following here the practice of Parliament in England, I think from the quotations also cited

by you, Sir, that one has to take into consideration the facts of every adjournment motion, and no general rule can be laid down. Even though the subject-matter of an adjournment motion is such that probably indirectly within a few days that particular subject can be discussed, say in the Budget Session, even though that can be done, I maintain that if the matter is of such importance—which of course has got to be gone into by the Speaker and nobody else—if the matter is of such importance that it affects the public life of Bengal and the people of Bengal generally are affected, then, I am afraid, Sir, that consent should not be refused. So, on that score, I think that yesterday's incident was such that I should have been given consent by you to move my adjournment motion on the *lathi* charge on the refugees in Esplanade.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, in view of the ruling that I gave and the consideration that I gave to this question, consent cannot be given to this motion, because that would create a bad precedent. If, however, the Chief Minister wants to make any statement—there are ample precedents in this House—he can do that. It is quite true that every case has to be decided on its merits. I have narrated at length the circumstances in which such an adjournment motion can be allowed. I do not wish to go further into the matter at this stage. I am, however, seriously considering as to whether there is any other method of bringing matters of this nature before the House. I understand that there are certain rules of procedure which may help the members in this direction. I am not in a position just now to say anything definite about it without investigation. So far as adjournment motions are concerned, I have already said that I have considered this question on its merits and very seriously. Apart from the question of its being discussed on the floor of this House, this is a matter of ordinary administration that there is section 144, that there is violation, there is some *lathi* charge, and the statement of reasons which you have given to me also is not such as "anybody has died" or "some such things of grave emergency have happened" or of "sudden occurrence"—sudden no doubt but it is not of such a nature that the business of the House should be adjourned, especially when there is an opportunity to discuss this matter in this House. I can assure you that the matter was given the utmost consideration by me and I found that if I yielded on this subject, it would be setting up a precedent which I would not be able to reconcile later on. That is the reason which forced me to take this course.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, will the Chief Minister make a statement?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is for him to say.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. I should like to know from you, Sir, whether you are going to follow the practice of the Hon'ble Speaker giving an explanation on the floor of the House for giving or not giving consent to a motion. I understood, Sir, that when consent to a motion was refused, the Speaker's decision to this effect was final. On the floor of the House a matter on which consent has not been given cannot be referred to, because it is not a matter in discussion on the floor of the House, and because even reference may be made in a way from one side, without the privilege on the other side to take up this reference and to discuss it, because, as I have said, the matter is not open to discussion. I would therefore like to know from you, Sir, if you are going to follow the practice of giving explanation about the refusal of consent in future. That will mean on every occasion a discussion following upon refusal of consent must follow. Formerly you also, I believe, Sir, indicated your desire that if any member was not satisfied with your denial of consent, then matters may be discussed in your Chamber. The former

Speakers of this House adopted the same practice. I should, therefore, like to have a clear ruling from you, Sir, whether on all future occasions every case of refusal of consent also can be discussed and explanation called for from the Speaker or not.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, if I remember aright the former Speakers always used to give reasons of their refusal. If you go through the proceedings, you will find that.

Mr. SPEAKER: We need not dilate on this further. The facts are very simple. So far as the right of members is concerned, certainly the matter cannot be discussed in this House. But as a matter of practice, in order to convince the members or rather to satisfy the members so that it may not look to the members that the Speaker's refusal of consent is arbitrary, reasons have been given before the House on many occasions, and I have also done so simply to convince the member that there is nothing arbitrary about it. Therefore, there cannot be a rule that this matter cannot be discussed at all or that the Speaker will not allow the matter to be discussed at all. The question will depend on the circumstances but the rule is that it is not referred to or discussed in the House. I have made it clear in the course of my long ruling the other day and I quoted precedents on the subject that day that the rule is that the matter cannot be referred to at all in the House.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951.

Mr. SPEAKER: The consideration motion of the Bill was passed yesterday and we shall now take up the Bill clause by clause.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2, line 4, for the figure 1952, the figure 1951 be substituted.

Sir, yesterday whilst I was hearing the Chief Minister giving us the reasons as to why it was not possible to prepare the electoral rolls for the Corporation with the extended franchise, I was not convinced at all of the reasons given by him because he did not answer one question which I had raised previously and that is that if we could have prepared the electoral rolls on adult franchise for the whole adult population of India and we have to have the elections, say, within the next 6 or 7 months, if we could have organised the Census operations throughout India within the matter of 2 weeks by employing thousands and thousands of people then I do not see why if the Government so desired the question of having immediate elections on the basis of adult franchise in the Corporation was not possible. Sir, whilst listening to him I felt that there was a political reason behind this delaying tactics adopted by the Government and the excuses brought forward today by the Government in this House are to my mind these that if elections were held in the Calcutta Corporation on the basis of adult franchise it would probably mean the defeat of the Government candidates, the defeat of the Congress dominated Government candidates. The Government knows that once in Calcutta, which is the heart and centre of political

Bengal, if the Government is defeated on the basis of adult franchise in any election, it means that it is going to have its repercussion throughout West Bengal. And in the coming General Election, if the Government is forced to have it, then probably the defeat of the Government would be assured. Lest we defeat the Government in Calcutta the Government is not prepared to take that risk, because the Goevrnment and the Ministers know that they are responsible for all the ills of Bengal. The Ministers know that the people of Bengal——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, why are you repeating the same arguments that you advanced at the time of your previous motion?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I have to sometimes repeat the arguments because it seems that nothing enters their heads and because we did not get the answers that we asked of them.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Perhaps my friend thinks that by repeating one untruth several times it becomes truth.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: It is only by constant dripping that water makes an impression on a stone.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Perhaps some think that by repeating nonsense it becomes sense!

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I hear one Minister saying something like "nonsensical" perhaps in reference to my argument——(The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy: Sir, may I correct the honourable member that the Hon'ble Minister has said that "by repeating nonsense it becomes sense")——Sir, the Hon'ble Minister instead of getting so agitated about my speech may answer the questions which I asked of them. Not a single question has so far been answered. We heard yesterday the long explanation by the Chief Minister as to why the electoral rolls could not be prepared and that is why I had to repeat my arguments, Sir, all over again. Therefore I say that not a day's more extension should be given for the supersession of the Corporation. Secondly, Sir, we asked for some information during the first stage of the Bill as to what the Government has done during these 2/3 years to cleanse the Augean Stable of the Corporation but unfortunately we have not got any reply and so I may have to repeat my questions and my arguments and if I repeat the same arguments probably I might be called to order once again. But at the risk of that I ask the Government and the Minister in charge of this Bill to tell us what has been done. Of course we have heard one or two things, namely, that the people responsible inside the Corporation, the clerks and so on, who did not do their duty, now are doing their duty after the Government officers have been put in charge of the Corporation. We have also heard that formerly the Government had to give some money to the Corporation by way of subvention every year and that has since been reduced to a certain extent. (The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy: Stopped.) But we have not been told as to what has happened to our rolls, what has happened to our lighting system, what has happened to the supply of water in Calcutta, and whether it has improved in the least since the Government took over the Corporation. We would like to know all these things. As I said, on reading the reports submitted by the Enquiry Commisison we found certain things in them with which we may not be in full agreement but certain important suggestions have been made. We would like to know as to what has happened to those suggestions for the improvement of the Corporation. We would like to know what has happened to the officers in the Corporation responsible for not collecting the arrear rents. We would like to know what has happened to those contractors who cheated the Corporation

and the Calcutta citizens of thousands and lakhs of rupees. There is a recommendation against them. We would like to know what has happened to those contractors and may we know the names of those contractors? On the contrary we have been told—we do not know whether it is true—that certain employees who gave evidence before the Commission are now being pulled up by the officers in the Corporation for having given evidence before the Commission against certain officers. Once again I say that we would like to know from the Hon'ble Minister as to what has been done. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji referred to the Corporation workers' strike. We would like to know whether the Government has ceased to give the same amount of money which they used to give formerly to the Corporation and what has been done to improve the lot of the Corporation workers. Has any improvement been made in their living conditions? We would like to know whether any more dearness allowance has been given to them in view of the fact that the cost of living index has gone up in and around Calcutta. These are the things we would like to know.

If we had an answer, then surely we would have said, extend the Government control over the Corporation for the time you want to. But, now, as things stand, I say we cannot give extension for a day more, and therefore I have got this little amendment which is the only way of registering my protest against supersession of the Corporation and the rights of the citizens of Calcutta.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়, সাধারণ আলোচনার উত্তরে মাননীয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী যে সব অসুবিধার কথা বলেছেন Corporation election তাড়াতাড়ি করিয়ে দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে আমি সেগুলি অযৌক্তিক বলে মনে করি। তিনি বলেছেন ৩১শে মার্চ্চএর পূর্ব্বে যাঁরা tax দেন তাঁরা পরের বৎসরে ভোটার তালিকার মধ্যে স্থান পেতে পারেন। মনে হচ্ছে যে এটা এমন একটা অসুবিধা, যা আমরা বুঝি দূর করতে পারি না, এবং এক বছর পার হয়ে গিয়ে যদি আবার কিছুদিন দেরী হয়ে যায় তাহলে পরের বৎসরের ৩১শে মার্চ্চের নিয়মের আওতায় পড়ে গিয়ে আমাদের পথ চলা বন্ধ হয়ে যায়। কিন্তু আমি মনে করি যাঁরা আইন তৈরী করেন তাঁরা যদি আইনের বন্ধনে আটকে গিয়ে, যা করা উচিত তা না করতে পারেন তাহলে এটা যুক্তিসঙ্গত কারণ হবে না। ভোটার তালিকা তৈরী করতে গিয়ে, যাতে কোন জায়গায় ভুলচুক না থাকে, এবং যদি তাকে নিখুতভাবে তৈরী করবার জন্য বৎসরের পর বৎসর কাটিয়ে দেওয়া হয়, তাহলে সঙ্গত হবে না। ১৯৪৭ সালে যখন Corporation আইন amendment হয়, তার আগেই এক বৎসর election পিছিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছিল, এবং এই সভাগৃহে বলা হয়েছিল যে যত শীঘ্র সম্ভব election করিয়ে দেওয়া হবে। সেই যে amendment গ্রহণ করা হয়েছিল, তখনকার কাজ চালাবার জন্য, তারপরে আরও দুই বৎসর কেটে গেল, কিন্তু এখনও নিখুঁতভাবে electoral roll তৈরী করতে পারা গেল না। তারজন্য আমি আপনার মারফতে যাঁরা Corporation পরিচালনা করছেন তাঁদের সনির্ব্বন্ধ অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি যে আইনের যদি কোন অসুবিধা থাকে, তাহলে সেইগুলি দূর করবার মালিক যাঁরা তাঁরা যদি সত্যি সত্যি election করিয়ে দিতে চান, তাহলে তাঁরা এখনও করতে পারেন এবং সেই ৩১শে মার্চ্চের যে আইন সেটা তুলে দিয়ে যদি বলা যায় যে ৩০শে জুনের মধ্যে election করিয়ে দেব তাহলে election এখনও সম্ভব।

Adult franchise এর ভিত্তিতে কলিকাতায় সাধারণ নির্ব্বাচনের জন্য যে electoral roll তৈরী হয়েছে তা যদি সম্পূর্ণ নিখুঁত না হলেও কাজ চলতে পারে তবে সত্যি সত্যিই Corporation election করিয়ে দিতে চাইনে, যে উদ্দেশ্যে এই বিল আজ আনা হয়েছে তার দরকার হত না এবং ইচ্ছা করলে এর আগেই নির্ব্বাচন করিয়ে দেওয়া যেত। আমি বলতে পারি, এই প্রস্তাব এখানে পাশ হয়ে যাবে; কিন্তু ৩১শে মার্চ্চের নিয়মানুসারে যে সমস্ত বাধা আছে, তা তুলে দিয়ে, ৩০শে জুনের মধ্যে election করিয়ে দিয়ে—জনসাধারণের প্রতিনিধির হাতে এই Corporation পরিচালনার ভার তুলে দেওয়া উচিত। Calcutta Corporation Supersession যা হয়েছে তার মেয়াদ আর না বাড়িয়ে, adult franchise অনুযায়ী, যদি ৩১শে মার্চ্চের মধ্যে করা সম্ভব নাও হয়, তাহলে ৩০শে জুনের মধ্যে যাতে election করা যায় তার বন্দোবস্ত করা উচিত।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2, line 4, for the words and figures "31st day of March, 1952" the words and figures "15th day of August, 1951" be substituted.

আমি এ সম্পর্কে কোন বক্তৃতা করিব না।

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to oppose these amendments. There are certain statutory procedures to be followed in conducting the elections. To follow that procedure about ten months would be required to hold the election. Therefore it cannot be held by the month of August or June next. But I assure the House that we shall try our best to hold the election as early as possible.

The motion of Sj. Jyoti Basu that in clause 2, line 4, for the figures "1952" the figures "1951" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 2, line 4, for the words and figures "31st day of March, 1952" the words and figures "15th day of August, 1951" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: Sir, I beg to move that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মি: স্পীকার মহোদয়, supersessionএর পক্ষে আমরা গভর্ণমেণ্ট পক্ষীয়দের বিভিন্ন যুক্তি শুনেও এ বিষয় convinced হইনি, আরও further elucidation আবশ্যক। আমি মনে করি গভর্ণমেণ্ট ইচ্ছা করলেই, যেমন অন্নদা প্রসাদ চৌধুরী ও চারু চন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয়ের প্রস্তাবে ছিল, খুব শীঘ্র election করতে পারেন। কিন্তু election যে হচ্ছে না তার একমাত্র কারণ এখন election করার গভর্ণমেণ্টের মোটেই ইচ্ছা নেই। Election না হওয়ায় কি কি অসুবিধা আছে সে সম্পর্কে অন্নদা বাবু এবং চারু ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয় বলেছেন। আমি আশা করি গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষ থেকে তার বিরুদ্ধে যদি কোন যুক্তি থাকে তা দেখাবেন। কিন্তু যদি তাঁরা কোন যুক্তি না দেখান, এবং আমরা যদি convinced না হই তাহলে এই বিলের যেরূপ বিরোধিতা করা দরকার তা আমরা করব।

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: After a few minutes, Sir, this Bill will be passed into law. Last year when a similar Bill came up for consideration before this House I said that the Government is not sincere in their intention and they will not hold the election before the general election of the State is held. Sir, the reason was quite simple. You are well aware as you had been a Councillor of Calcutta Corporation like myself, that whichever political party holds the Calcutta Corporation rules Bengal, and it is for this reason the Government, even if they had received recommendation of the Commission two years back or even if the electoral roll had been prepared they would not have come forward to hold the election this year, because if the election of Corporation of Calcutta was held it would explode their presumption that they represent the popular feeling.

They would have found out that none of their representatives was returned, and consequently the election to the Assembly of West Bengal will be lost.

I will just read out a few lines from the speech of the Hon'ble Minister in the last Assembly, 1950, which will show that the delay attributed to the report of the Commission is only a myth. He said: "It was considered desirable that election to the Corporation for its reconstitution should take place after necessary changes in the constitution including extension of franchise have been effected so as to ensure the return of right type of persons for its proper functioning. Government awaited the recommendation of the Commission in this respect. When it was realised that the recommendation of the Commission with regard to the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation would not be received in time for the desired reconstitution of the Corporation by 31st March, 1949, the Act was amended by an Amending Act to extend the life up to 31st March, 1950, on the expectation that election for reconstitution of the Corporation by that date would be possible after effecting the desired changes in the constitution. Unfortunately, the expectations have not been realised. The recommendations were received in June, 1949. Opinions of public bodies interested in the administration of the Corporation were then called for. After consideration of the recommendation of the Commission and the opinions received Government proposed to introduce a change in the constitution of the Corporation and extend the franchise. This would require the amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act. This happened in February, 1950. Sir, they received the recommendation of this Committee which was appointed by the Government in June, 1949—from June, 1949, to June, 1950, they could not do anything and, Sir, after a few months we shall have June, 1951. What more facts and naked truth are required to show that the Government is not honest in its intention to hold this election of the Calcutta Corporation, and extension of the period of supersession is taken by sheer force of majority of votes.

Sir, with regard to the electoral roll, we know how the electoral rolls in the Corporation of Calcutta are prepared. The electoral rolls of the Corporation can be prepared in two months if one is serious to have these electoral rolls made out, and if one is not serious we know how the preparation of the electoral rolls have been delayed from time to time. When one wants to delay it has sometimes taken over a year to prepare these electoral rolls.

Sir, I am not jealous of one-man rule. We are at present having a one-man show in the Calcutta Corporation. It is good for some people; it is bad for some people. It is good for people who have money to construct houses and violate municipal laws. People have been constructing houses in the city of Calcutta violating all the irrelaxable building laws of the Calcutta Municipal Act. Sir, if you just happen to pass along the Brabourne Road you will find that all the six to nine-storeyed buildings have violated those irrelaxible sections of Schedule 17 of the Calcutta Municipal Act. Since it is one-man show, there is nobody to question or criticise. These buildings have all sprung up, much to the detriment of the health of the citizen. But it is the big men, the rich men, associates of the members sitting opposite who construct such unauthorised structure.

Sir, last time when this matter came up I suggested to the Government that if they intended to retain the control of the administration of the Corporation till such time that State election is held, they should constitute a small committee of 5 or 7 members of their own party to run the administration of the Corporation of Calcutta. Appointment of such 5 or 7 honest persons would bring confidence, and check the corruption and bribery rampant there. It is humanly impossible for one Administrator to carry

on the whole show. Those who watch the administration of the Calcutta Corporation know that there have been more defalcations in the Calcutta Corporation since the Government took it over. Huge sums of money have been taken away by the Bailiffs of the collection department and the market department resulting in heavy loss to the Corporation.

Government takes credit that they have raised the income of the Calcutta Corporation. Sir, how this income has been raised? All the vacant lands in the city of Calcutta used to be charged one quarter taxes because the lands were lying vacant. By some order of the committee the Corporation has levied full taxes on these vacant lands. The result is that the owners of these vacant lands have to pay the full taxes on these lands as if they are realising rent of these lands.

Sir, the Calcutta Corporation has valued all the lands and houses in the city of Calcutta at treble and quadruple valuation prevailing before. I will just give you an illustration to bring home the great hardship caused to the people. Sir, the land of the house where you are residing, is valued at Rs. 20,000 a *cottah*. It is a residential locality and the price at which that land was purchased was only Rs. 4,500 a *cottah*. This very land was valued in 1946 at Rs. 7,500. So you can well understand that a land which was purchased at Rs. 4,500 and was valued at Rs. 7,500 in 1946 has suddenly become so valuable as to be Rs. 20,000 a *cottah* in 1951. In five years time the value has gone up by 250 per cent. The peak year when the price index was the highest was 1943 and 1944. It is unthinkable that during this period of 6 or 7 years the value could have gone up so much. Similarly, the taxes on all the properties in Calcutta have been raised arbitrarily. The Government's usual report is that the rich men must pay the taxes. But Sir, the truth is that rich people never pay the taxes. So long as the Ministry of Dr. Roy exists and so long as he is there, the rich are always protected. The properties of rich people are all tenanted. If the taxes are raised or enhanced, it is the poor tenants who have to pay the increased taxes. The burden of the enhanced taxes falls on the poor middle-class people whose main source of income is service or who have small businesses. The houses owned by poor and middle-class people are also very heavily assessed. These service holders cannot run to the court nor can they dance attendance on the Special Officer of the Corporation who keeps them waiting for hours. Consequently the assessment is confirmed. The ultimate result is that a man who is earning Rs. 60 a month and was paying Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 per month for his residential house by way of tax has now to pay Rs. 15 by way of tax on the house in which he lives. It is the middle class and the poor people who have to pay heavy taxes for the house which shelters them. As the house is not tenanted it cannot be assessed on rental basis and the Corporation refuses to assess them on rent which they may be expected to fetch. For such houses the valuation is taken on the basis of the present land value and the cost of the present day structure less depreciation at half per cent. per year. I will just give you an instance how these calculations are made. If a house has been constructed 20 years ago, that is, in 1930, only half per cent. per year, that is, 10 per cent. is allowed as depreciation on the cost of the structure based on the present day value. If a house which was constructed in 1930 at a cost of Rs. 10,000 is now valued at Rs. 40,000, only 15 per cent. by way of depreciation is allowed on Rs. 40,000 and the house is valued at Rs. 34,000 thus enhancing the taxes by 350 per cent. The owner who was paying taxes on house at Rs. 110 annually shall have to pay Rs. 374 annually. There is no date or basis how the land value and cost of structure is fixed and an owner of a small house cannot afford to engage a constructional engineer to challenge the arbitrarily fixed price of land and cost of construction.

While justifying the supersession last time Dr. Roy said that there were malpractices and nepotism in the Corporation, and appointments used to go to the friends of councillors and their supporters in election. Sir there has been commendable change during these three years of supersession. Appointments do not now go to the friends of councillors, but they now go to the relatives, and friends of Ministers and their supporters.

Sir, last year the Rent Control Act was amended, and the increases in rent which were allowed under the previous Act of 1948 were reduced. Under the previous Act rent over Rs. 300 in case of non-residential premises was allowed to be increased by 40 per cent. Under the new Act, the maximum allowance was only 10 per cent. The result was that in cases where the rent was increased under the Act of 1948 the same was reduced on the application of the party before the Rent Controller. While this was being done the Corporation had increased the valuation of the premises on the assumption that the owner would increase it by 40 per cent. and this was confirmed by the Special Officer of Calcutta Corporation, and now that the rents have been reduced, the poor assessee has to pay taxes on rent he does not realise, and thus every month 30 to 35 per cent. of the rent is paid as taxes. The hearing of the cases is done in a manner most unsatisfactory. The officers are all above 70 years, senile and peevish of temper. If you make a remark that you have been very badly hit, or the valuation is high they become irritated. Irritation is natural for an old man of 70. They do not want to hear anything against the officer of the Corporation and are always guided by the opinion of the officers of the Assessment Department. It is the officer of the Assessment Department you have to convince and not the Special Officer. Helplessly they ask the Sub-Assessor. "কি করতে হবে? কত কম করবো?" This is how these officers who are supposed to be Judges between the Corporation and the party decide the assessment cases. In no case do they give their independent judgment; they are always guided by the officers of the Assessment Department of the Corporation in deciding these assessment cases.

Sir, last time when this matter came up, we suggested to the Government that if they wanted to amend the Act, the entire Act should be thoroughly revised. It is no use amending a portion for election purpose. There are many other sections in the Act which need thorough changes. For instance, there is the professional tax. A banker whose capital is 50 lakhs or a crore of rupees, pays the same tax as a concern with half that capital. This section which effect the revenue requires change because a company with very big capital should pay more as professional tax to the Corporation than a company with less capital. Similarly, in the matter of water tax and in the matter of building rules the Act deserves some changes. Under the existing rules, buildings could only be constructed if two-thirds of the land is left as vacant space in some cases, and one-third in some cases. This differs with localities. Now when the prices of land have gone up and city business area has extended, these rules require changes. If I remember aright when Dr. Roy was the Mayor of Calcutta, a committee was appointed to go through these changes, and the Corporation spent good money for getting advices from experts. God knows, if any report was compiled. If the Act is going to be amended due consideration should be paid to the changes to bring it in conformity with present day requirements. Similarly, system of valuation and assessment will have to be thoroughly revised; otherwise the finances of the Corporation will suffer very heavily. The present day valuation will not remain long, because they are based on fictitious figures. Nearly 50 per cent. of the assessees are going to Small Court for redress. The plight of poor man is that he has to pay a heavy tax and also run to the Court and meet litigation expenses. Out of the

little money that he gets, half of it goes in litigation. The Government robs him indirectly in both ways. If he does accept the valuation, he has to pay a higher rate. If he does not, he has to pay for litigation, which also goes back to the Government in the form of stamps and other charges. You can very well understand where a poor man stands. He has to run to the Court, absenting himself from his work and losing pay for such period. I would request the Hon'ble Minister that as the life of present administrator is going to be extended he should ask the Corporation authorities to give a list of all the changes that the Corporation wants in the Act, and also send to the Government proceedings of committees appointed for such purpose so that we may enact a perfect Municipal Act again and again before this House for slight changes for the city of Calcutta.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I want to rise to correct two or three statements which Mr. Rafique has made. The *ad-interim* report of the Investigation Committee, as I said just yesterday, was received on the 11th June. The whole report was received on the 31st January, 1950, after which the Assembly considered one portion of that recommendation, namely, the question of finding out the type of qualification for candidates for the next election. We were anxious to have that passed, because we felt that possibly this required early treatment than the rest of the Act. I just want to correct the impression that he has attempted to make, namely, that the report was received in June, 1949, which is not a fact.

The second point that I want to correct is that it is not a fact that any of the Ministers have got a nine-storeyed house in Brabourne Road, but I understand that a gentleman by the name of Mr. Rafique has got a Tower House in the corner of Chowringhee, and in his chamber——

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: I have not got any Tower House. I have no property there.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am glad to hear that. My third point is that perhaps he is not aware that there is an amendment to the Calcutta Municipal Act of the Corporation, and the whole amendment is gazetted today, and the members of the Assembly will have an opportunity of expressing their ideas on the great points that have been raised, while the question of supersession is being raised in the Assembly. The Bill will be introduced on the 5th March, 1951.

The motion of the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath Panja that the Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—37.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Krishna Prasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada
Muhammad Qumruddin, Janab
Murarka, Sj. Basantlal
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath

Pantony, Mr. L. R.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Rafiuddin Ahmed, The Hon'ble Dr.
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Shamsul Huq, Janab

NOES—12.

Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Bandyopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Basu, Sj. Jyoti
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Mohammad Rafique, Shaik
Mudassir Hossain, Janab
Muhammad Idris, Janab

The Ayes being 37 and the Noes 12, the motion was carried.

The Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I beg to introduce the Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I beg to move that the Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA: I beg to move that the Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to introduce the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to move that the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Sir, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons you will find that the 1948 Act was passed for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community and for providing proper facilities for communication, transport, irrigation and drainage and that the 1948 Act is due to expire shortly. For the fulfilment of the purposes for which the 1948 Act was enacted it is necessary that the life of that Act should be extended by 3 years. So I am moving this Bill.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: I beg to move that the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by the 15th March, 1951.

স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই যে বিল—West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) amendment—এই আইনটা ১৯৪৮ সালে পাশ হয়েছিল, তখন এর উদ্দেশ্য সম্বন্ধে বলা হয়েছিল—"To provide for the requisition and speedy acquisition of land for purpose of maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community and for providing proper facilities for transport, communication, irrigation and drainage."

যখন এই আইনটা পাশ হয়, সেই সময় এই পর্য্যন্ত সকলের ধারণা হয়েছিল এবং গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষের কথা শুনে এবং আইনের যে provision আছে, তাই দেখে ধারণা করা হয়েছিল যে যে সমস্ত ক্ষেত্রে urgency আছে, সেখানে speedy acquisition প্রয়োজন হবে। কারণ যে জমি acquire করবার জন্য যে স্থায়ী আইন আছে Land Acquisition Act—যেখানে speedy acquisition হবে—অর্থাৎ যেখানে এমন প্রয়োজন হবে পনর দিনের মধ্যে বা এক মাসের মধ্যে জমি acquire না করলে সেই জমির ক্ষতি হবে কিংবা subjects essential to the life of the community—তার কোন বাধা হবে, এই সমস্ত ক্ষেত্রে এই আইনের প্রয়োগ হবে। তখন কেউ ধারণা করতে পারেনি যে সাধারণ ক্ষেত্রেও এই আইনের প্রয়োগ হবে। Member-in-charge মহাশয় মাথা নাড়ছেন, আমি যে সমস্ত কথা বলছি তা শুনে। বলুন, এরকমের প্রয়োগ হয়েছে কিনা?

(A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCH: না।)

আমি বলবো আমাদের এই ধারণা হয়েছে যে ক্ষমতা একবার গভর্ণমেণ্টের হাতে গেলে—সেটা পুলিস সংক্রান্ত ক্ষমতাই হোক্ বা detention সংক্রান্ত ক্ষমতাই হোক্ কিংবা যে কোন ব্যাপারের কোন ক্ষমতাই হোক—সেই ক্ষমতার অপব্যবহার হয়ে থাকে--গভর্ণমেণ্টের সদিচ্ছা থাকলেও তাঁদের কর্মচারীদের দ্বারা তা হয়ে থাকে। আমি একটি মাত্র রাস্তার উদাহরণ দিচ্ছি। একটা রাস্তা আজ ৫।৬ বৎসর যাবৎ হচ্ছে। ১৯৪৭ সাল থেকে সেই রাস্তার কাজ আরম্ভ হয়েছে To provide facilities for communication একথার অর্থ হচ্ছে রাস্তার জন্য জায়গা নিয়ে রাস্তার contractorকে দেওয়া হল ইট তৈরী করবার জন্য। সে রাস্তার earthwork এখনও complete হয় নাই, অথচ সেটা ৫।৬ বৎসর যাবৎ তৈরী হচ্ছে। এই রকম বহু উদাহরণ আছে, আমি তাঁদের দেখিয়ে দিতে পারি। এর জন্য এই আইনের ব্যবহার করা হচ্ছে। Brickfieldএর contractorকে ইট তৈরী করবার জন্য দেওয়া হলো সেই জমি, যে জমিতে ধান উৎপন্ন হয়। তারপর এটুকুও সহ্য করতাম requisition করবার পর এই আইনে বিধান আছে যার জমি তাকে ফেরত দেওয়া যায়। কিন্তু তা হয় নাই। Brickfieldএর জন্য যে জমি নেওয়া হলো, contractorএর যে ইট দেবার কথা তা তৈরী হয়ে গেলে--একথা আশা করা যায়, সেই জমিটা তার মালিককে ফেরত দেওয়া হবে। Land Requisition and Acquisition Actএ এই বিধান আছে যে জমি যখন "Where any land acquisition under section 2 is not required and is to be released the Provincial Government may after making such enquiries at it considers necessary satisfy in writing the person who appears to be in possession of such land." এটা আশা করা গেছে যে কাজ যখন ফুরিয়ে গেছে, তখন যার জমি তাকে সেটা ফেরত দেওয়া হবে। কিন্তু আমি দেখিয়ে দিচ্ছি যে লোকের ১৫।১৬।১৮ বিঘা জমি এইরকম নেওয়া হয়েছে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের এখন আর কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যদি ইচ্ছা করেন তাহলে তাঁকে এই এসেম্ব্লীর পরে নিয়ে গিয়ে সেই জমিগুলো

দেখিয়ে দিতে পারি। সে সবই ধানের জমি, তার এক বিঘার দাম হাজার টাকা। গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিয়ে রাজার কন্‌ট্রাক্টরকে দিয়েছেন ইট তৈরী করবার জন্য—ভাল কথা। ইট যা দরকার তৈরী হয়ে গেছে, গভর্ণমেণ্ট এখন সেই জমি acquire করতে যাচ্ছেন, তার নামমাত্র মূল্য দিচ্ছেন দু-শো টাকা বিঘা। এই সুযোগ নিয়ে যাচ্ছে সরকারী কর্মচারী, কন্‌ট্রাক্টর—ওর ডিপার্টমেণ্টের Executive Engineer——

(A VOICE FROM THE TREASURY BENCHES: আমার ডিপার্টমেণ্ট নয়।)

সেই সমস্ত জমি acquire করে নিচ্ছেন, গভর্ণমেণ্টের কি দরকার আছে? আমি সমস্ত জমির কেস্ নম্বর ও প্লট নম্বর দিচ্ছি। গভর্ণমেণ্ট statement করুন, কি তাঁদের দরকার সেই ইট তৈরী হয়ে যাবার পরেও এখন যে আইনের বিধান আছে এই আইন অনুসারে speedy acquisition আছে, যদি না ছেড়ে দেয়, requisition আছে। সাধারণ আইন আছে, স্পীকার মহাশয় জানেন সাধারণভাবে acquisition করতে হলে তার objection file করবার সময় আছে, আপত্তি করবার সময় আছে। অন্য জায়গায় তাঁরা করতে পারেন, কিন্তু এই জমিটা খুব মূল্যবান জমি, হাজার টাকা বিঘা, সেটা মাত্র দু-শো টাকা দিয়ে acquire করা গভর্ণমেণ্টের উচিত নয়। Speedy acquisitionএর অজুহাতে যা করা হচ্ছে তাকে acquire করা হবে সে বিধান এর মধ্যে নাই। মাত্র গভর্ণমেণ্ট "কলিকাতা গেজেটে" publish করে দিলে "where any land has been requisitioned under section 3 the Provinciai Government may use or deal with it in such manner as may appear to it expedient and may acquire such land by publishing in the official gazette—a notice to the effect that the Provincial Government has decided to acquire such land in pursuance of this section". অমনি acquisition হয়ে গেল। মাত্র এই জমি acquire করলাম ত করলাম--হয়ে গেল। আলাদীনের প্রদীপের মত বললেই হল—acquire হয়ে যাক্—acquire হয়ে গেল। যে গরীবদের জমি নেওয়া হল, তাদের জমিটা ইট তৈরীর শেষে ফিরিয়ে দেওয়া উচিত। এমন লোকের জমি নেওয়া হয়েছে যে তার আর কোন জমি নাই। এই আইনের extraordinary provisionএর সুযোগ নেওয়া হল। যে সমস্ত জমিগুলো acquision করা হচ্ছে তার একটা গুপ্ত কারণ হচ্ছে দু-শো টাকা মূল্যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট হাজার টাকা মূল্যের জমি পাবে। সেই জমি পরে ডিপার্টমেণ্টের অফিসারদের সঙ্গে পরামর্শ করে বিলি নেওয়া হবে। এটা হচ্ছে ভেতরকার কথা। তা যদি না হয়, তবে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কি আবশ্যক থাকতে পারে? মানুষে ধান চাষের জন্য জমি পাচ্ছে না, অথচ তাদের সেই জমি যা কেটে কেটে নষ্ট করে দিয়েছে, ফেরত পাচ্ছে না। তোমরা তাদের সেই জমি ফেরত দাও। অতএব আইনের যখন এই রকম অপব্যবহার হয়, তখন আর এই রকম আইন কেন?

ডায়মণ্ডহারবার কাকদ্বীপের রাস্তার ধারে ডায়মণ্ডহারবার থেকে ২।৩ মাইল অগ্রসর হলেই দেখা যাবে ১নং Brickfield, ২নং Brickfield, তিন নম্বর Brickfield। ৬ একর ৭ ডেসিম্যাল (৬·৭ একর) জমি। ১৮ বিঘা জমি চন্দ্রকান্ত মণ্ডলের। তার আর জমি নাই। সে হঠাৎ খবর পেল তোমার জমি acquire হয়ে গেছে নভেম্বর মাসে, তোমার কোন compensationএর claim থাকলে তুমি সত্বর দাবী কর। এইতো অবস্থা। অনেক জায়গায়ই এই রকম হচ্ছে। তারপর Brick field No. 2 সেখানেও এই অবস্থা—সেখানে হারাণ চন্দ্র সরকার and others মৌজা গৌরীপুর সেখানে ২·৬৬ একর প্রায় ৮ বিঘা জমি। সেখানে অবস্থা কি?

(A VOICE: কি অবস্থা?)

অবস্থা, ধানের জমিকে brickfield করবার জন্য requisition করা হয়েছিল, brick তৈরী হয়ে গেছে। তারপর গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেটা আগে কোন নোটিশ না দিয়ে "কলিকাতা গেজেটে" publish করে acquire করে নিয়েছেন।

(A VOICE: Purpose কি ছিল?)

তার purpose ছিল for manufacturing bricks. কিন্তু brick তো হয়ে গেছে। এখন আবার তা চিরদিনের জন্য acquire করে নিচ্ছেন কেন? কারণ আগেই বলেছি হাজার টাকা মূল্যের জমি বিঘা প্রতি নামমাত্র দু-শো টাকা compensation দিয়ে acquire করে পরে তাদেরকে বিলি

করা হবে যারা এর মধ্যে আছে। কণ্ট্রাক্টরের লোক, ওভারসিয়ারের লোক। এই আমার আপত্তি। এটা ভাল করে অনুসন্ধান করুন,—ডায়মণ্ডহারবার-কাকদ্বীপ রাস্তার ধারে যে brickfield হয়েছে, সেই সমস্ত জমি এখন আর acquire করবার কারণ আছে কি না। তাকে এই অনুরোধই করবো যে কোন departmental officerএর কোন কথা না শুনে তিনি নিজে যান, সেখানে গিয়ে জমিটা দেখে নিয়ে স্থির করুন Governmentএর আর কি প্রয়োজন সে জমির দ্বারা থাকতে পারে। এইসব ব্যাপার নিজে অনুসন্ধান করে গরীবদের বাঁচান। গরিবকে বাঁচিয়ে এই আইনটা আর extension করবেন না। বহু অত্যাচার হয়ে গিয়েছে। জনসাধারণ এটা এতদিন ধরে সয়ে সয়ে জমি কেড়ে নেওয়ার বেদনা বোধ যেন সহ্য করে নিয়েছে। বৃটিশ আমলেই সহ্য করতো। এসব নিয়ে গোলমাল করতে পারে সে সাহস আজ আর তাদের নাই। এইরকম extraordinary power—অসাধারণ ক্ষমতা—Governmentএর হাতে কোন ক্ষেত্রেই দেওয়া উচিত নয়। নিতান্তই যদি এই আইনটা extension করতে চান তাহলে requisition বন্ধ করে দিন acquire যদি করতেই হয় Land Acquisition Act যে আছে সেই অনুসারে আইন করুন। তাতে লোকেরা একটা opportunity পাবে বোঝবার জন্য যে কি কারণে Government তাদের জমি acquire করছেন। এই আইনটা যখন হয় আমি তখন Governmentএর দিকেই ছিলাম, তখন আমার সত্যিকারের এই ধারণা হয় নাই যে এই আইনে এমন সর্বনাশ করবে এ যদি আগে বুঝতাম তাহলে tooth and nailএর oppose করতাম। এ আইন যদি extension করতে চান তাহলে speedily acquireএর যে বিধান আছে মাত্র গেজেটে প্রকাশ করেই জমি acquire করা সেটা তুলে দিন। কোন স্বাধীন দেশে এই রকম আইন হতে পারে না। লোকের জমি কোন কারণ না দিয়েই acquire করা হবে—Provincial Governmentএর দরকার এটা শুধু এই বলে,—এটা মেনে নেওয়া চলে না। আমি challenge করছি মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে দেখিয়ে দেবেন কি কারণ সেখানে থাকতে পারে। এই Assemblyর একজন memberকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে তিনি যান তাঁরা দেখবেন কি কারণ থাকতে পারে। যদি এই আইন করতেই হয় সেজন্য public opinion নিন জনসাধারণের কাছে, গ্রামবাসীদের কাছে যান, ১৫ই মার্চের মধ্যে তাদের opinion নিন এবং ইতিমধ্যে মূল আইনটা সংশোধন করে requisitionটা তুলে দিন, acquisitionটা রাখুন। কন্ট্রাক্টর যারা রয়েছে তারা নিজেদের ইচ্ছামত জায়গা কিনে নিয়ে ইটখোলা করবে। তারা করবে লাভের ব্যবসা সেজন্য একটু বেশী দাম দিলে লোকে ইচ্ছা করেই তাদের জমি দেবে, তারা সেজন্য হয়ত আপনাদের কাছ থেকে ইটের দাম একটু বেশী নেবে এখন ৬০৲ টাকা হাজার কিনছেন সেখানে ৬২৲ টাকায় না হয় কিনবেন। তাই বলে অত্যাচার করে গরীব লোকের জমি যদি নেন তাহলে অত্যন্ত অন্যায় করা হবে। জোর করে গরীবের জমি নিলে অনেক চোখের জল এর মধ্যে থাকবে। তাই আমি বলছি আজকে এই বিলের consideration স্থগিত রাখুন।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY : স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি শ্রীযুক্ত ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয়ের প্রস্তাবটা সমর্থন করছি। তিনি যেরকম বলেছেন আমাদের মেদিনীপুর জেলার কাঁথির একটা গ্রামে এই রকম হয়েছিল। সেখানে ইট তৈরী হবে কণ্ট্রাক্টরের দ্বারা সেজন্য জমির দরকার, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় শ্রীযুক্ত ভূপতি মজুমদার সেখানে গিয়েছিলেন সেখানকার লোকেরা আপত্তি করেছে। আজও তারা এসেছিল। তারা বলছে—"এখন ইট তৈরী হোক, কিন্তু তৈরী শেষ হয়ে গেলে সেসব জমি আমাদের ফিরিয়ে দিতে হবে। যদি ফিরিয়ে না দেয়া হয়, তাহলে আমরা বাস্তত্যাগ করে চলে যাব"। আমার মনে হয় ইট হয়ে যাবার পরে যে জমি থাকবে, তা লোকেদের ফিরে দেয়া উচিত। এবং গর্ত করার জন্য যে ক্ষতি হবে সেটা যদি গভর্ণমেণ্ট মিটিয়ে দেন তাহলেই তারা সন্তুষ্ট হবে, কিন্তু তারা জমি চায়। এইজন্য আমি আমার মাননীয় বন্ধু যে প্রস্তাব করেছেন, সেটা সমর্থন করি।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Government is seeking from us till March, 1954, certain extraordinary powers, but in the Statement of Objects and Reasons certain things have been cited. The Hon'ble Minister has not been able to tell us as to how since 1948 when these extraordinary powers were given to the Government, this Act has been used. As far as the Statement of Objects and Reasons goes, one would have no objection to the Bill itself. But the Bill has been in existence since 1948, and at this stage when extraordinary powers are sought to be taken, we have a right to know how it has worked. Some sort of list or table should have been

placed before us to inform us as to what land and how many acres of land were requisitioned or acquired by the Government for the purposes mentioned herein in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, that is for facilities of communication, transport, irrigation and drainage. We are also entitled to know from the Government as to what was the kind of people whose interests were thereby affected, and what compensation, if at all, were given to these people. That is to say, whose are these lands which could not be requisitioned or acquired since 1948. Were these people rich people and zemindars, or were these lands belonging to very poor people who could not afford to give up these lands to the Government? Some examples have been cited by the previous speakers. Therefore, the whole difficulty arises when such powers are sought from us that we do not know and we have no details as to how this power has been used by the Government.

The further point that I want to make is that we do not know why these powers are being sought till 1954. I know that in a society where private property is sacred, where private property is the main basis of the society, it is probably necessary for any Government, even though it be a reactionary Government, to have such powers, in order to take or requisition land for the purposes mentioned herein, but at the same time we are afraid to give such powers to a Government for a long time, especially now today when such powers are being sought. We are told that it has been decided to have general election at the end of this year. If so, why is it that such powers are being sought till 1954. The next Government which comes into existence at the end of the year or the beginning of the next year can decide and should decide as to whether such powers will be necessary or not. Therefore, I think even if the Government thinks from the facts which it has stated before us above that such powers are necessary they should not have these powers till 31st March, 1954. It should be only up to 1952 when others will come into power, and they can decide what is to be done.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, বক্তৃতার সময় আমার কোন কোন বন্ধু আমার নাম গ্রহণ করে উদাহরণ দিয়ে গেলেন বলে আমাকে দু-একটা কথা বলতে হচ্চে। আমি যে সমস্ত কাজের ভারপ্রাপ্ত, তাতে এই জমি নেবার জন্য অনেক সময় দায়িত্ব আমার উপর এসে পড়ে। যে কথাগুলি চারুবাবু বলে গেলেন—তাঁর জেলার জমির সম্বন্ধে, এবং মেদিনীপুর জেলার জমির সম্বন্ধে প্রমথবাবু আমার নাম করে যে উদাহরণ দিয়েছেন তার সঙ্গে আমি সংশ্লিষ্ট। প্রমথবাবু যে জমির কথা বলেছেন আমি সে জমি দেখতে গিয়েছিলাম—রামনগরে। যতটুকু প্রয়োজন ইট করার জন্য ততটুকুই নিয়ে—সে জমি যে চিরকালের জন্য নেয়া হবে না সেকথা বলে দিয়েছি—বাকিটুকু ছেড়ে দিয়ে যদি ঐ রকমের নোটিশ তাদের কাছে গিয়ে থাকে, তাহলে কাল কিম্বা পরশু যদি আমাকে জানাতেন তাহলে আজকের সভায় তা নিয়ে বক্তৃতা করা অবশ্য সম্ভব হত না। (Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY : আমি সবেমাত্র আজই জেনেছি।) তারপরে বন্ধু চারুবাবু যে কথা বলেছেন যদি সত্যই কোন গলদ থাকে এবং শীঘ্র যদি সে গলদ দূর করতে চান, অনেক ক্ষেত্রে আমি জানিনা গলদ দূর করা যায়। কিন্তু আজকে এই সভায় যে খবরগুলি উনি বলছেন সে বিষয়গুলি যদি ৩।৪ দিন আগে আমাকে বলতেন তাহলে সভায় বক্তৃতা দেবার আবশ্যক হতো না। তিনি যদি মন্ত্রীকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে যেতে চাইতেন তাহলে তিনি মন্ত্রীকেও প্রস্তুতই পেতেন, কিন্তু তাতে যে এই বক্তৃতাটা দেবার সুযোগ হত না।

তারপরে acquire করার কথা। Acquire করতে গেলে অনেকটা সময়ের দরকার হয়। জনসাধারণ, পয়সা থাক বা না থাক, নিজের জমি সহসা দিতে চায় না। যদি জনসাধারণের জমি নেবার জন্য তাদেরই উপর নির্ভর করতে হয়, তাহলে কোন খাল বিলের জমি পাওয়া যাবে না। যার কোন সংস্কার হয় না, যদি সে জমিগুলিও নিতে যাওয়া যায়, তখন সকলে একজোট হয়ে বিরোধিতা করে, এমন কি হিন্দু মুসলমানে unity হতেও দেখি। আবার কেউ কেউ বা তার জমির উপর দিয়ে না গিয়ে জ্ঞাতিগণের জমির উপর দিয়ে যাওয়ার পরামর্শ দিয়ে থাকেন। কিন্তু এগুলি সম্বন্ধে ইঞ্জিনিয়ারের বিধান দ্বারাই পরিচালিত হওয়া বিধি। আজকাল ক্রমাগত আমাদের কাছে অনুরোধ আসে অমুক রাস্তাটা যেন একটু বেঁকিয়ে নেওয়া হয় কিন্তু যদি লোকের

অনুরোধ শুনে কাজ করতে হয় তাহলে রাস্তাটা ইঞ্জিনিয়ারের মতন সোজা না করে বেঁকিয়ে নিতে হবে। যদি লোকের কথাই এসব ক্ষেত্রে শুনতে হয় তাহলে রাস্তাঘাট বা canal করা যাবে না। এইতো কাঁথি-বেলদা রোড মাত্র ১৬ মাইল। কিন্তু তার মাঝামাঝি গিয়ে কাজ বন্ধ আছে কারণ কয়েক টুকরো জমি আজও দখল পাওয়া যায় নাই। চারুবাবুকে আমি আবার বলছি যদি কোথাও গলদ থাকে আমি যেমন প্রমথবাবুর বেলা কাঁথি নিজে গিয়ে গলদ দূর করে দিয়ে এসেছি, তেমনি চারুবাবু যদি জানেন যে কোথাও গলদ আছে এবং আমাকে জানান আমি নিজে গিয়ে অনুসন্ধান করব।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, after the speech of my honourable friend Sri Bhupati Majumdar, I think the Opposition will be well-advised to withdraw the motion. My friend Charu Babu may grow wise after crossing the floor but he fully realised the objects of the 1948 Act when that Act was passed with the support of the Legislature including that of my honourable friend. Sir, circulation motion in respect of an old measure is quite a new thing in this House, in fact it is an unprecedented one. Therefore, I think, Sir, that Charu Babu should withdraw his motion especially after the full explanation given by my honourable colleague Sri Bhupati Majumdar in reply to the local questions raised by the Opposition.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY: আপনারা এই রকম যদি একটু বদলে দেন যে যারা জমিতে ফিরে যাবে তাদের তা ফিরিয়ে দেওয়া হবে, এই রকম আইনে যদি একটা ব্যবস্থা হয় তাহলেই তো গোল মিটে যায়।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: All these detailed grievances might be considered later on, but Government cannot forego the power under the present Act.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion by the 15th March, 1951, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—10.

Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Bandyopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Basu, Sj. Jyoti
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Kazem Ali Mirza, Janab Sahibzada Kawan Jah Saiyid
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.

NOES—37.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada
Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Doloi, Sj. Harendra Nath
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra
Majhi, Sj. Nishapati
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Krishna Prasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada
Muhammad Qumruddin, Janab
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pentony, Mr. L. R.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Shamsul Huq, Janab
Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra
Wilks, Mr. G. C. D.

The Ayes being 10 and the Noes 37, the motion was lost.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2, line 5, for the figures "1954" the figures "1952" be substituted.

The motion was put and lost.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়, মাননীয় মন্ত্রী ভূপতিবাবু যে বক্তৃতা করলেন তা আমরা শুনেছি। কিন্ত তাঁর এই বক্তৃতা আদৌ convincing নয়। তিনি অন্য পথ দিয়ে যাবার চেষ্টা করেছেন। এতে যেন দু-একটা কিছু অন্যায় করা হয়েছে। এই বিলের যে বিধান, তা সব ঠিক আছে। শুধু মাত্র তাঁর কাছে যদি আগে একটু যেতাম, তাহলে সব হয়ে যেত। মাত্র বক্তৃতা দেওয়ার জন্য এবং আপত্তি করবার জন্যই এই কথাগুলো তিনি বলেছেন। আমি অন্তরের সঙ্গে এটা আপত্তি করি। তাঁর কাছ থেকে এই রকম ব্যবহার ও এই রকম মনোভাব আমরা আশা করি না। তিনি কি করে এই মনোভাব পোষণ করেন, অন্যের প্রতি যে মনোভাব আরোপ করতে চাচেছন ? যে একটা খেলোভাব তাঁর অন্তরে আছে কি করে তিনি সেটা আরোপ করছেন অন্যের উপর ?

(A VOICE : হায়, হায় !)

আমি যে প্রশ্ন তুলেছি যে Land Acquisition Actএর কোন speedy provision প্রয়োজন হবে না। মাত্র "কলিকাতা গেজেটে" একটা নোটাশ দিলেই acquisition হয়ে গেল। এ কেমন কথা। কবে যে acquisition হ'ল, কি acquisition হ'ল, জমির মালিক যে সে জানতে পারবে না। কাজেই এই provision হতে পারে না। যে স্থায়ী Land Acquisition Act আছে তার provision অনুসারে কিভাবে land acquisition করা হয়, সে record যদি তাঁরা দেখেন তাহলে সেখানে দেখতে পাবেন দু-মাসের মধ্যে যার জমি acquire করা হবে তাকে সময়মত নোটাশ দিয়ে তার বক্তব্য শুনে সেটা বিবেচনা করে তারপর সে জমি acquire করা যেত। শুধু এই হয় না যে তার টাকার compensation করে হবে Land Acquisition Actএর award বলে—তাও স্থায়ী Land Acquisition Actএর মধ্যে আছে। আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে প্রশ্ন করেছিলাম তাঁরা acquisition করুন, speedy acquisitionএর জন্য যদিও urgency থাকে তার জন্য কোন extraordinary power এর প্রয়োজন হয় না।

(A VOICE : কেন ?)

কারণ ভূ-মণ্ডলের মধ্যে, তাদের এমন কোন জায়গা তাঁরা দেখাতে পারবেন না, যে পাঁচ দিনের মধ্যে জমি acquire করতে হবে এমন জিনিষ কোন জায়গায় হয় না। তাঁরা দেখান এইরকম প্রয়োজন হয়েছে কিনা কোথাও। স্থায়ী Land Acquisition Actর মধ্যে এই বিধান আছে যে award হওয়ার পূর্বেই জমির compensation নেওয়া যায়। এই বিধানটা তাঁরা খুলে দেখুন। কিংবা তাঁদের কর্মচারীদের খুলে দেখতে বলুন। এর জন্য কোন extraordinary powerএর প্রয়োজন হয় না। ভূপতি বাবু বলেছেন "আমার কাছে এলে হয়ে যেত"। তিনি যদি অনুগ্রহ করে আইনটা খুলে দেখেন। ভূপতিবাবু যেসব কথার উল্লেখ করেছেন, আমার প্রশ্ন তা নয়। আমার প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে, এই আইনটা ব্যবহার করা হচ্ছে contractorদের সুবিধার জন্য। আমি যে প্রশ্ন তুলেছি তার কোন direct উত্তর না দিয়ে এখানে একটা ধোঁয়া সৃষ্টি করার কোন প্রয়োজন ছিল না। You go out of your way. কণ্ট্রাক্টরদের জন্য আপনারা জমি requisition করে দিচ্ছেন এবং কাজ হবার পরে সে জমি acquisition করা হচ্ছে। এটা সাধারণ ব্যাপার নয়। আগে জানতে পারলে লিখে জানাতাম এইরকম হচ্ছে ডিপার্টমেণ্ট। এই সমস্ত জমি নভেম্বর মাসে acquire হয়ে গেছে। আর জমির মালিককে জানান হচ্ছে ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসে—নভেম্বর মাসে তোমার জমি acquire হয়ে গেছে, অমুক তারিখের গেজেটে দেখতে পাবে। তার জন্য আমি আপত্তি করছি। তাকে বলা হল তোমার যদি কোন claim থাকে, তবে অমুক তারিখে হাজির হয়ে জানাও। অতএব এই প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে নীতিগত। Speedy acquisitionএর বিধান দেশের normal আইন Land Acquisition Actএর মধ্যেই আছে। অতএব আর নূতন বিধানের কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। Section 4 অনুসারে নোটিশ দিয়ে তার আপত্তি শুনে এক মাসের মধ্যে জমি acquire করা যায়। কাজেই এর জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের পুনরায় extraordinary powerএর কোন প্রয়োজন নাই। আমি পুনরায় বলবো এই আইন করবেন না। যে জমি ইট তৈরীর জন্য requisition করা হয়েছে সেই জমির ইট প্রস্তুত হয়ে যাবার পরে তা অনর্থক acquisition না করে অবিলম্বে সেই জমি মুক্ত করে দিন।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, two points have been raised by my friend opposite. First, that only a notice is published in the *Calcutta Gazette* in cases of requisition and acquisition under this Act. That is not correct. The notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* has to be published under section 4 and then comes section 5. Probably my friend Mr. Bhandari did not refresh his memory by referring to the Act itself. Section 5 says: After the publication of a notice under sub-section (*1*) of section 4—that is in the *Calcutta Gazette*—the Collector shall cause public notice to be given at convenient places at or near the land to be taken stating that the Provincial Government has acquired the land and that claims to compensation for all interests in such land may be made to him. Such notice shall state the particulars of the land and shall require all persons interested in the land to appear personally or by an agent before the Collector and State the respective——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: It is after acquisition.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes, but hear me in patience, please. The answer is, so far as this Act is concerned unfortunately it has been stated again and again that it is a measure for speedy acquisition of land. In such cases as has been stated in the Statement of Objects, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 cannot be resorted to because Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari ought to know as a lawyer that acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 cannot be completed before a year or even two years and more. There are cases, to which reference was made by Mr. Bhandari himself in one of his questions, which are pending for years for acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act. Now, in urgent cases of acquisition of land for the purpose of maintaining essential supplies or for the purpose of urgent schemes of irrigation or roads, such delayed procedure, as is laid down in the Land Acquisition Act, cannot be resorted to without defeating the very purpose of acquisition. It is just for serving the limited purpose of acquiring land required for maintaining

essential services and essential supplies that this Act was promulgated and, therefore, in such cases you cannot take the dilatory steps which are contemplated in the Land Acquisition Act. That is the point to remember in connection with the Act whose life is to be extended by this amending Bill.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed, was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES—36.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.
Banerjee, Sj. Sushil Kumar
Barman, The Hon'ble Syama Prasad
Bhattacharyya, Sj. Shyamapada
Chaudhuri, The Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath.
Clarke, Mr. C. E.
Das, Sj. Radha Nath
Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath
Dass, Sj. Kanailal
Dolui, Sj. Harendra Nath
Dutt-Mazumdar, The Hon'ble Niharendu
Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari
Gayen, Sj. Arabinda
Gomes, Mr. D.
Gupta, Sj. J. C.
Mahammad Sayeed Mia, Janab
Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra
Mahtab, Sj. Uday Chand, Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan.
Majumdar, The Hon'ble Bhupati
Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra
Mallick, Sj. Ashutosh
Mandal, Sj. Bankubehari
Mandal, Sj. Krishna Prasad
Mookerjee, The Hon'ble Kalipada
Naskar, The Hon'ble Hem Chandra
Panja, The Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath
Pentony, Mr. L. R.
Pramanik, Sj. Rajani Kanta
Roy, The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra
Roy, Sj. Jajneswar
Roy Singh Sarker, Sj. Satish Chandra
Sen, The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra
Shamsul Huq, Janab
Sinha, The Hon'ble Bimal Chandra
Walker, Mr. J. R.
Wilks, Mr. G. C. D.

NOES—11.

Badrudduja, Janab Syed
Bandyopadhyaya, Sj. Pramatha Nath
Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Basu, Sj. Jyoti
Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra
Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada
Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prosad
De, Sj. Kanai Lal
Khuda Bukhsh, Janab Md.
Molla Mohammad Abdul Halim, Janab
Mudassir Hossain, Janab

The Ayes being 36 and the Noes 11, the motion was carried.

The West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Sir, this Bill is being brought forward to implement the provisions of the Indo-Pak Agreement regarding evacuee properties. It seeks to make provisions for the restoration of evacuee properties and for due management of evacuee properties when the evacuees are away. These are the objects of the Bill. Now, Sir, it has been agreed upon by the Governments of India and Pakistan that persons who during the abnormal situation created by communal disturbance went away out of fear leaving their properties uncared for should get back their properties and either State will look after their properties so long as the evacuees do not return, but a time-limit has been placed under the Agreement for the evacuees' return. The Bill

provides, in the first place, that if an evacuee returns before the 31st of March, 1951, then he will get back his property. It further provides that even if the evacuee does not return before the 31st of March, 1951, but returns before the 31st of December, 1953, then also he can get back his property under certain conditions. In the meanwhile the property will remain under the management of a Committee. What should be the composition of the Committee has also been indicated in the Indo-Pak Agreement. Sir, it is for this beneficial purpose, namely, to enable the returning evacuee to get back his property that the Bill is being brought forward, and I hope there will be no opposition to this Bill.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this Bill has informed the House that this Bill is brought to implement the provisions of the Delhi Pact of 8th of April last year. In the Delhi Pact it has been laid down that both the Governments of India and Pakistan, particularly in this matter the Governments of West and East Bengal, will bring legislation—necessary legislation—for the purpose of giving effect to the principle accepted by the two Prime Ministers of the two countries. Sir, I find that some amendments have been circulated to the honourable members while the House was in session and the Secretary very kindly, for the information of the honourable members, has mentioned that these were received by him at 4-10 p.m. on 21st February, 1951, that is, this afternoon. I raise this point because it is very important and because both the Governments agreed that legislation in this regard will be identical in both Bengals. I would like to know, Sir, from the Government whether notice of these amendments has been given to the East Bengal Government and whether the East Bengal Government are in the know of these amendments. I must confess, Sir, that I have not been able to fully understand the implications of these short-notice amendments. Sir, I should have thought that there should be no need for these amendments, because two Governments—Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal—were exercised over this Bill ever since the Delhi Pact was concluded. I think, Sir, no less than 18 or 19 conferences of the two Chief Secretaries intervened between the time of Delhi Pact and the time when this matter first came up for their consideration and the moving of this Bill. I do not know, Sir, why the Government should feel it necessary today to bring in these amendments to the provisions of the Bill. When the ordinance was promulgated in our West Bengal and in the other Bengal, the newspapers said that identical ordinances were promulgated on the same day because, Sir, that was due to an agreement between the two Governments that whatever in this behalf is done by one will be done by the other and the matter was so long delayed only on that account. The Leader of the House some time ago in the last session said that agreement was not possible to be reached on all points and on account of that disagreement or difference of opinion or divergence of views, the two Hon'ble Ministers for India and Pakistan deputed for this particular purpose suggested to the Governments of West Bengal and East Bengal to defer this legislation until such time as complete unanimity was achieved. Sir, I would very much hope that the Government would enlighten the House as to exactly why these short-notice amendments have been necessitated and whether notices of these amendments have been given to the other Bengal in order that they may also incorporate these amendments if you consider that these amendments are necessary for the better implementation of the Delhi Pact, so that the East Bengal Government can incorporate these amendments in the Bill that is on their legislative anvil.

Then, Sir, coming to the provisions of the Bill, I should like to bring this fact to the notice of this Government that they have given a dead line as the 31st March. I do not know whether it is any use now telling this Government anything because they may say that this is the agreement between the two Governments and any amendments brought to alter the date may not be acceptable to the other side or it may be difficult or it would not be at all possible for the other Government to accept these amendments, because this is being done in agreement with the other Government. I, for one, Sir, did not bring any amendment because I thought that it would be useless in that our Government cannot accept any amendment which the other Government does not know or would not agree to. Therefore I point out to this House this thing that the dead line 31st March is too short a period. When the Pact was concluded on the 8th April last it was contemplated that everything will be done within a month or two and those evacuees who would not like to come back would be given a chance to come back by the end of the year. It was contemplated that at least 4 or 5 months' time would be given to the evacuees to decide whether they would come back by the end of the year or not. Now, Sir, I find that the ordinance was promulgated a few days ago and today we have the Bill before us in which the dead line is 31st March, i.e., hardly a month and a half. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What can be done?) The Hon'ble Minister says "What can be done". Now, Sir, my difficulty is that I am also a representative from this House to the Minority Commission which has been charged to see to the implementation of the Delhi Pact. Therefore, Sir, personally I have a lot of responsibility in the matter and also I can claim to know a little better about the difficulties of the evacuees than most of the other honourable members in this House, because I have been busy all the while as a Minority Commissioner charged with the problems of the evacuees. You are aware, Sir, that under the compulsion of circumstances, the depth of the tragic events I need not repeat now, many people were displaced in this Bengal as well as in the other Bengal and the two Prime Ministers devised this Delhi Pact so that normalcy could return and we have seen that the Delhi Pact has done a world of good to both the Bengals and both the Bengals are certainly on the road to normalcy. Sir, these tragic events happened in February and the exodus from both Bengals started in February and as soon as the things quietened down, displaced persons of East Bengal went back as also displaced persons of West Bengal started coming back. Now, when the displaced persons from East Bengal came back they found that their houses and lands were in occupation of trespassers and they were not restored for various reasons to them. They came here and lived here for a time in a very pitiable and helpless condition and then disappointed went back again. When they left originally they left as refugees with their belongings looted and what little they could salvage they lost it across the border. So, Sir, when they came back they were in a very pitiable state and they could find nothing on which they could lay their hands on for rehabilitation purpose. When the refugees found that this legislation and the one that will shortly come up for the implementation of the Delhi Pact do not make any provision for them for the restoration of their properties, they again trekked back as they preferred—instead of living here—many of them and not all—to go back and eke out what existence they could there. Now many of them would like to come back but they have not the wherewithal to come back and the time that has been given within which to choose to come back or not to come back is too short. The sponsor of the Bill said what could be done and I also feel that nothing much could be done but this much can be done—I do not want to delay this Bill—but, Sir, this Government should take up if they are convinced that the dead line of 31st March, should be extended, they can extend the dead line and bring this

thing to the notice of the other Government and with their consent extend the date further.

Now, Sir, coming back to the amendments, I should say that if these amendments are to be taken up today, then I shall certainly oppose them, because I have not been able to go through them and relate them to respective clauses and see what are their implications. Therefore, Sir, you in your charity and wisdom will give me at least time to study the amendments, because I have a very special responsibility in the matter.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, before the discussions proceed further I think I ought to intervene at this stage in order to put this matter in its correct perspective before the members of this House to obviate further misconception with regard to the provisions in the Bill. The first thing that has been raised by my friend Mr. Khuda Bukhsh as to why these amendments have been put at this late stage, I may say that he ought not to forget that we are working under a Pact with the Pakistan Government and therefore we cannot put in any amendments which we know would be contrary to the agreement arrived at between the two Governments and the officers of the Government, I mean, the two Chief Secretaries. The reason why these amendments are given today apart from those already in the agenda is that we found on further examination that the language had to be altered to a certain extent in order to fit in with the ordinance which had already appeared. I am absolutely certain that none of the provisions of the Ordinance which is practically a replica of the Ordinance which has been passed by the East Bengal Government have been departed from, and these amendments which have been put forward are more or less formal in order to fit in with the provisions of the Ordinance. It was examined again today and it was found at the last moment that the language could be clarified. There was no hide and seek about it. There was nothing that we could keep back for the simple reason that even if we departed on any matter from the agreement which we have arrived at with the East Pakistan Government, we would almost immediately be hauled up. The position is this that when an evacuee person moves from West Bengal to East Bengal and then comes back—after all we are concerned with these people only—the definition of the evacuee is being given in the Ordinance or in the Bill, as a person who ordinarily is a resident in West Bengal and who on account of continuous communal disturbances or the fear of such disturbances leaves, or has after the 15th day of August, 1947, left, West Bengal, for any place in Pakistan and includes the legal heirs of such person. That is the definition of "evacuee", and the word "appointed day" means the 31st day of March, 1951. When those discussions took place—and I had the privilege of taking part in those discussions—between the two Prime Ministers as well as their officers, it was suggested that no land or building should remain unallotted for a very long time. This was a feeling not merely on this side but on the other side as well, because the economic condition of both the provinces had to be stabilised some day or other. Therefore it was first suggested that the last date should be the 31st December, 1950, and then it was decided that it should be the 31st March, 1951, because both Pakistan and Indian Union felt that if we continued to leave the property unsettled for any length of time it would not be to the interest of either Dominion. Therefore a deadline had to be given. But after discussion and in view of the delay which occurred in the promulgation of the Ordinance to which Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has referred, they had introduced section 24 which says, "An evacuee who returns to West Bengal after the appointed day but not later than the 31st day of December, 1953, may apply in writing to the Committee for restoration of management of his evacuee property of which the Committee has taken charge". The arrangement is that until 31st March, 1951, the Collector or the Executive

Government on the two sides will be in charge of the property left by the evacuee, and that would be allotted by the Collector or the Subdivisional Magistrate, whoever they are, under the authority of the Act, to persons for a temporary period. And it was kept in charge of the Executive Government because they alone could re-allot or evacuate the property so allotted in order that the migrant who came back could be given possession of his own property. Sir, as I said before, this state of affairs could not remain in a more or less fluid condition for a very long time, and it was suggested therefore by an agreement of both sides that it would be the 31st March, 1951.

Now, it was also felt that in case a migrant does not come back before the 31st of December, 1950, or the 31st of March, 1951, nor does he give information that he intends to return, what is going to happen to the property? The Collector has kept the property in his hand up to the 31st of March, 1951; after that a Committee has been proposed which will take charge of the property so that the collection of rent and payment of revenues on the property can be taken up by the Committee which has been prescribed by both East Bengal and West Bengal. In our Bill it has been proposed that the Committee would be composed of a President and three members. The President will be an officer of the Government and the three members will be nominated by the Government from amongst the minority community. This Committee will take charge of the property and look after that. All the time there has been a distinct understanding—it is there in the Bill—namely, that the ownership of the property remains with the evacuee so that, although he may not be given the property back after a certain date whatever that be, he still retains his control and ownership of the property so that he may either mortgage it or sell it or dispose of it in any other way he likes. Therefore, while maintaining or retaining the ownership of the evacuee property, the management of the property was vested first in the Collector under the Executive Government, and for the second period, in the Committee. And as I said just now, it is in order to mitigate the losses, such as mentioned by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, to persons who may not be able to make up their mind by the 31st of March, 1951, that they desire to come back to their original homes, that it was provided under section 24 that even after the 31st of March, 1951, up till the 31st of December, 1953, it would be open subject to certain conditions mentioned in section 24—this again is a matter on which both the Dominions have agreed under certain conditions to be followed—that the property may be handed over to the owner when he comes back after the 31st of March, 1951. Therefore, there is not one paragraph or one provision here in this Bill or in the Ordinance which runs counter to the Ordinance on the other side. It is practically a replica of that.

Now, I will tell you another thing. Before the Ordinance was promulgated we sent our Ordinance to the East Bengal Government and they sent their Ordinance to us. We compared these two and felt that it was necessary that the provisions were practically the same on both sides; and also it was felt that both the Ordinances should be promulgated almost simultaneously. The East Bengal Government have not yet introduced any Bill in their Assembly. At the present moment they are working under an Ordinance. But I take it that as soon as their Assembly meets, they will put their proposition before the Assembly. If on any matter or in any small aspect it is found that in language or in approach there is a little difference from the agreement arrived at, I am perfectly sure that the matter will be taken up by the East Bengal Government and the two Central Ministers. But the two Central Ministers have seen the Bill and the Ordinances Therefore, there is no reason to suspect that we at the last moment are trying to do something behind the back of the Government of East Bengal, and I hope Mr. Khuda Bukhsh will dispel all fears from his mind.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : মুখ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যেসব কথা বলেছেন তারপর একটা কথা আমাদের মনে আসে। শেষ মুহূর্ত্তে যদি এইরকম amendment আমাদের সাম্নে এসে উপস্থিত হয় তাহলে আমরা তা মূল বিলের সঙ্গে মিলিয়ে দেখতে পারি না। যেমন এই বিলটায় হয়েছে। অবশ্য মুখ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন--"আমি দায়িত্বপূর্ণ ভাবেই সব কাজ করছি"। সরকারের কথাই যদি মেনে নিতে হয় তাহলে আমাদের অস্তিত্বের আর কোন প্রয়োজনই থাকে না। কিছুক্ষণ আগে শ্রীযুত স্বশীল ব্যানার্জীর একটা amendment পেয়েছি, এখন আর একটা amendment পেলাম। এইভাবে কাজ চলতে পারে না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, যে বিলটা আনা হয়েছে,—আমি গত অধিবেশনেই বলেছি—এমন কি যদি পাকিস্থানের সঙ্গে কোন agreement না হয়, আমাদের রাষ্ট্রের যা নীতি সেই নীতি অনুসারে যেটা বিচার ও ন্যায়সঙ্গত সেইটে করা হোক। অনেক কথাই এই বিলে দেখছি। একটা কথা, এই যে বিল হয়েছে এটা একটা reciprocal agreement থেকে। সব চেয়ে ভাল হতো যে agreementএর উপর basis করে এটা হয়েছে সেটা যদি টেবিলে রাখতেন। প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের কাছে আছে কিনা জানি না, কিন্তু আমি বলবো—যে agreementটা হয়েছে সেটা সভ্যদের কাছে এনে দেখান। (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : Agreement তো সমস্ত কাগজেই বেরিয়েছে।) আমার কথা হচ্চে এখানে আর একটা জিনিষ পরিস্কার করা দরকার। *Bustee*-dweller যারা তারা যদি অন্য জায়গায় চলে যায়, সেখানে তাদের landlords যাঁরা তাঁরা যদি প্রজা পত্তন করে থাকেন সেটাও এতে ধরা আছে কিনা? (A VOICE : দু দিকেই আছে।) আমি যদি improve করি, আমি যদি বলি তা সত্বেও সে তার জমিটা পাবে--আমরা যদি মন্দ না করি, যদি কেবল ভালই করতে চাই এর কোন পথ আছে কিনা—আমি জানতে চাই। Minimumটার agreement হলো যার maximum-টার সম্বন্ধে হয় না যদি এটা বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া হয় তাহলে আমার মনে হয় গভর্ণমেণ্টএর কোন আপত্তি থাকবে না (The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR : চারুবাবু ভাষাটা ভাল করে দিন--চারু ভাষণ দিয়ে।) ভাষন ভাল নয়, কাজই ভাল চাই। আমরা দেখবো কি agreement হয়েছে বা না হয়েছে। আমাদের evacueeর অর্থ হচ্চে এই যে পশ্চিম বাংলার displaced Moslem আর refugee অর্থ হচ্চে যারা পূর্ব্ববঙ্গ থেকে ঐভাবে বাস্তচ্যুত হয়ে এখানে এসেছে--এইতো কথা। আমাদের এখন পূর্ব্ববঙ্গের বা পাকিস্থানের সঙ্গে যে agreementই হোক সত্যিকারের যারা displaced মুসলমান তাদের যে সকল জমি-জায়গা বা বাস্তু যা অন্যের দখলে গিয়েছে তা প্রত্যর্পণের বিধান এই বিলে আছে কিনা। জানি এই বিলের scope অতি limited এর মধ্যে আছে যেসব মুসলমান বাস্তচ্যুত হয়ে পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে গিয়েছে তাদের সম্বন্ধে বিধান। একথা সকলেই আপনারা জানেন, মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়ও জানেন--পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মুসলমানের যে সমস্যা সে শুধু পাকিস্থানে যারা গিয়েছে তাদের সম্বন্ধেই নয় আরো বড় সমস্যা--যারা বাস্তচ্যুত হয়েছে, কিন্তু পাকিস্থানে যায় নাই, পশ্চিমবঙ্গেই অন্যত্র রয়েছে বা ভারতবর্ষের অন্য কোন প্রদেশে গিয়েছে--তাদের সম্বন্ধে কি হবে--তা কিছু এই বিলের মধ্যে নাই। Displaced মুসলমান যারা তাদের সকলেরই কল্যাণ করবার মত বিধান এই বিলে নাই। আর একটা বিল আসছে সেটা হচ্চে eviction of unauthorised persons. এই যে Unauthorised Persons' Bill তাতেও দেখতে হবে গভর্ণমেণ্টের মনে কি আছে (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : সে বিল তো এখনো Houseএ উপস্থিত হয় নাই।) আমি তো বলি নাই যে সে বিল এসেছে, আমি বলেছি আসছে। যাক, এখন আমার কথা হচ্ছে যে displaced মুসলমান, সে পাকিস্থানেই যাক, বা নাই যাক--অর্থাৎ যে displaced হয়েছে কিন্তু পূর্ব্ববঙ্গে চলে যায়নি, অথচ যার জমি unauthorised ভাবে কোন refugee হোক বা অন্য কেউ হোক দখল করে আছে----

Mr. SPEAKER: The other Bill should be discussed when it is before the House.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : না না এটা নয়, আমি----

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you opposing the consideration motion or what is it you want?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমি consideration motionটা oppose করছি না (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : তবে আর কি করছেন, গভর্ণমেণ্টের খবর ত জানাই আছে।) এখন যদি আমি improvement করি কোথাও ফাঁক থাকলে——(The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : কোনটা ?--কোনটায় থাকলে তো আইনের ফাঁক ?) এই বিলেই তো ফাঁক রয়েছে। এখন কথা হচ্চে এই বিলে মস্ত বড় ফাঁক আছে যে----

Mr. SPEAKER: It will be better if you discuss the principles of this Bill This is what is done in a consideration motion.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA Roy: On a point of order, Sir. He proposes, I take it, that the definition of the word "evacuee" should be altered. If that is his proposition, let him make out his proposition on that instead of saying that an evacuee has been defined in a particular manner in the Bill. He says that it should not refer merely to a person coming for residence in West Bengal and who is displaced in East Bengal and has come back. He says "evacuee" should include other people. Then, why, not do that instead of going on in a round-about way. An evacuee has been defined in a similar manner to what is provided in the East Bengal Bill. He says that the definition of the word "evacuee" should be enlarged. Whether that is possible under this Bill I doubt. Anyhow, you can refer to that form if you want to.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি সেই কথাই বলছি। আমার কথা হচ্চে--যে কথাটা আমি পরিষ্কার করতে চাই--সেটা হচ্চে যে agreement হয়েছে সেটা হচ্চে minimum সম্পর্কে। অথচ evacueeর definition করতে কোন আপত্তি থাকতে পারে না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : Again on a point of order, Sir. It is not minimum. Agreement is agreement. It cannot be minimum or maximum.

Sj. JYOTI BASU : এটা কি করে point of order হলো ?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : এই একটা মাত্র limit যেখানে refugeeর কথাই বলা হয়েছে। Refugeeরা এই যে এসে অনেকের জমি দখল করেছে গভর্ণমেণ্টের জমিও দখল করেছে তাহলে refugee ছাড়াও তার মধ্যে আছে--আমরা ধরে নিচ্ছি কিন্তু গভর্ণমেণ্ট মাত্র বলছেন----

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I want to raise another question. The word "refugee" does not appear in this Bill.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : যদি পরিষ্কার না হয় সব জিনিষ ঘোলাটে হয়ে থাকবে। আমি পরিষ্কার করছি সেজন্য ধন্যবাদ দেওয়া উচিত, তা না করে আমাকে খালি বাধা দিচ্ছেন।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : এই যা যা বলছেন বুঝতে পারছি, পূর্ব্বেও তাই বলেছেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: Please be clear as to what you say.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDHRI : আমি বলছি যারা পাকিস্থানে যায় নাই তাদের সম্পত্তি ফিরে পাওয়ার এবং তাদের সম্পত্তির managementএর বিধান এই বিলে নাই। অন্য বিলে থাকা উচিত। Governmentএর যে উদ্দেশ্য ব্যক্ত হয়েছে তাতে দেখি যারা পাকিস্থানে চলে যায়নি, তারা evacuee যে limit করেছেন তার মধ্যে পড়ে না।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : তার মধ্যে হিন্দু displacedও হতে পারে শুধু মুসলমানই কেন ?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি, Sir, আপনার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি এবং বলছি যে তারা এই ফাঁক বন্ধ করুন। এই বিলের যদি improve করতে পারেন ভাল নইলে অন্য যে বিল আসছে সেটা যেন এমনভাবে করেন যাতে সমস্ত মুসলমানের বা হিন্দুর যারই জমি যদি কেউ unauthorisedভাবে দখল

করে তবে সেই জমি ফিরে পেতে যেন আইনের processএর মধ্যে যেতে না হয়, কারণ তাতে অনেক হাঙ্গামা হয়। যখন আপনারা একটা বিধান করছেন, সেটা যাতে সমগ্রকে cover করে সেইভাবে করুন নইলে হবেনা। এখানেও মস্ত বড় সমস্যা রয়েছে, সেই সমস্ত displaced লোকদের যারা নাকি পাকিস্তানে যায়নি তাদের বড় কষ্ট হবে। আমি জানি না agreementএর মধ্যে কি আছে। কাগজে যদি সম্পূর্ণ বেরিয়েও থাকে তা আমি দেখি নাই। যারা বস্তির লোক চলে গিয়েছে তারা ফিরে এলে যদি landlord অন্যকে জমি বিলি করে দেয় তাদের আর কিছু বলবার থাকে না। আমি জানি যে সমস্ত মুসলমান displaced হয়েছে তাদের মধ্যে অধিকাংশই বস্তিওয়ালা এবং তাদের ফিরে আসবার পথে এইভাবে বাধা পড়েছে।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May I ask him a question through you, Sir, if he wants to enlarge the definition of the word "evacuee"? Does he want to refer only to Muslim displaced persons of West Bengal or Hindus also, because every time he has been talking about Muslims and Muslims? If he had said "all displaced persons of West Bengal", that would have been sufficient.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, there is nowhere any mention of the word "Muslim" in this Bill. Please read it. The definition will not show that.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: A Hindu who may have gone from West Bengal to East Bengal and may have again come back to West Bengal will also be a displaced person and evacuee under this Bill.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: কারণ এই বিলটা মুসলমানদের জন্য এনেছেন বলেই আমি মুসলমানদের নাম করে বলছি।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, you are going astray. Whenever a Bill is in the consideration stage, you are only to discuss the general principle. Now, if you want amendment of the wordings, you please move your amendment, and then you can speak on it. The question is: are you opposing or are you supporting the Bill, so far as the consideration stage is concerned.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: On a point of order, Sir. The honourable member at this stage has been discussing certain provisions of the Bill, and the Bill is being discussed in its entirety. It is an important Bill which affects the evacuees, and every member has got the right to discuss it.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not want to take away the right of members, but this is only the consideration stage. You must admit that, so far as the consideration of the question is concerned, we have got to deal with the principle involved in it and not with each and every section or clause unless and until that goes very much to the root of the question or is very important for general discussion at this stage. Therefore, you have got to judge whether you are discussing something which can be better discussed when the Bill is taken up clause by clause, or whether at this stage you should draw the attention of Government to that particular subject. But anyway, the meaning of the word "evacuee" is very clear.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of information, Sir. Since honourable members have felt constrained to go through the provisions of the Bill and, in particular regard, to the word "evacuee", and its interpretation given in the Bill, will it be in order for honourable members to put in amendments? It is a Bill brought before the House. The background of the Bill is known to everybody, namely, that it is an agreed Bill between the two Governments.

Mr. SPEAKER: Since the Bill is before the House, any member can move any amendment. Whether it can be carried or not is another thing. But any member who wants to move an amendment should take into consideration what has been happening and why the Bill has been brought. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: An amendment must be consistent with the principle of the Bill.) Quite so.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি এ পর্যন্ত যা বলেছি কোন detailed principlesএর কথা নয়। আমার শেষ কথা হচ্ছে--আমি Governmentকে word of caution দিচ্ছি নম্রভাবে, তারা যদি displaced personsকে পুনর্বসতি করাতে চান তাহলে যেসব বস্তীবাসী ফিরে এসেছে তাদের জন্য বিলে provision দেওয়া উচিত।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE : মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি কোন amendment দিইনি কারণ আমার ধারণা ছিল উভয় গভর্ণমেণ্টের সম্মতিক্রমে এ বিল আনা হচ্ছে। কিন্তু যেভাবে শেষ মুহুর্ত্তে amendment আসছে তাতে আমার মনে হচ্ছে এইসব amendment বিবেচনা করে দেখার জন্য সময় দরকার। আমার জেলা উদ্বাস্তু দ্বারা ভরে গেছে। আমি সেখানে কাজ করে বুঝেছি--আমি জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট বা কর্ত্তৃপক্ষের কাছে গিয়েছি এবং সকল বাস্তুহারা যারা জমি বা বাড়ী থেকে চ্যুত হয়েছে তাদের সঙ্গে মিশেছি--সকলেই বিলের দিকে তাকিয়ে আছে। এ বিল পাশ হলে যা হোক একটা ব্যবস্থা হবে এই সকলের ধারণা। অনেকে বাস্তুহারা হয়েও ভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রে যায়নি নিজেদের রাষ্ট্রেই বহু দুঃখ সহ্য করে দিন কাটাচ্ছে। আমি প্রধান মন্ত্রীর দৃষ্টি তাদের অবস্থার প্রতি বিশেষ করে আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। শত শত কেন সহস্র সহস্র এরকম লোক আছে; যারা নিজেদের বাসভূমি ছেড়ে, অন্য রাষ্ট্রে যায় নাই বাস্তুহারা হয়েছে জমি ছাড়া হয়েছে তথাপি নিজেদের রাষ্ট্রেই আশেপাশে ৭।৮ মাস বহু কষ্টে জীবন যাপন করছে। এখন evacueeর definition যা দেখছি, তাতে তাদের উপর যদি এই আইন প্রযোজ্য না হয়--হিন্দু কি মুসলমান বলব না; আমি সেইসব ব্যক্তির কথাই বলছি যারা ঘর থেকে, বাড়ী থেকে, জমি থেকে বহিষ্কৃত হয়েছে অথচ অন্যত্র কোথাও যাননি তাদের উপর যদি এ আইন প্রযোজ্য না হয় তবে কি বুঝব তাঁরা ভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রে যাননি বলেই তাঁদের অপরাধ হয়েছে? যারা অন্য রাষ্ট্রে চলে গেছে, তারা ফিরে এসে বাড়ী-ঘর পাবে আর যারা নির্য্যাতন সত্বেও নিজের রাষ্ট্রেই আছে, এবং কি করে তাদের জমি ও ঘর বাড়ী ফিরে পাবে তার চেষ্টা করছে—তারা এই আইন বলে ঘর-বাড়ী জমি ফিরে পাবে না? প্রধান মন্ত্রীর দৃষ্টি এদিকে আকর্ষণ করছি। একসাথে অর্ডিন্যান্স উভয় রাষ্ট্রেই প্রবর্ত্তন করা হল। এক সঙ্গে উভয় রাষ্ট্রেই অর্ডিনান্স বিল হয়ে আইনে পরিণত হবে। এবং যারা বাস্তুহারা তারা সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ঘর-বাড়ী জায়গা-জমি ফিরে পাবে এই সকলে আশা করে আছে। এখন শেষ মুহুর্ত্তে যদি amendment আসতে আরম্ভ করে এবং এইসব amendment যদি অপর রাষ্ট্র গ্রহণ করতে অসম্মত হন তা হলে ত সব জিনিষটাই গোলমাল হয়ে যাবে। আমরা ত amendment এইজন্য ইচ্ছা করেই দেই নাই। বাস্তুহারাদের ঘরবাড়ী জায়গা জমি ফেরত পেতে বিলম্ব হলে ফল সাংঘাতিক হবে। তাদের অন্তহীন দুঃখ এখন সহ্যের শেষ সীমায় এসেছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as I understand this Bill, it is based on the agreement arrived at between the two Governments of India and Pakistan, and it follows a particular line. If you think that there should be some relief to those persons not covered by this Bill, certainly that will be the subject-matter of another Bill and another legislation. If a man who is displaced from his own home goes somewhere else but does not go to Pakistan, that cannot be the subject-matter of this Bill at all. The Bill we are considering now relates to the cases of those persons only who have gone from West Bengal to East Pakistan and *vice versa*; it does not cover other cases.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You are perfectly correct, Sir. The attitude taken was this that if there had been a person displaced from his home in this Province but remained in this Province and did not go to the other side or the other Province in Pakistan, or *vice versa*, such a person is not covered by this Bill or rather this Bill is not concerned with such a person, because each Province or each State is supposed to look after its own nationals. Why should the other State dictate to this State

or why should this State dictate to the other State as to what this State or that State should do with regard to such people. Therefore it was agreed between the two Governments that with regard to persons displaced either on this side or on the other side through the disturbances who did not cross the border and go over to the other side the State concerned will look after them. That means that this Bill has got no application in their cases. Therefore, Sir, as you have suggested, it is quite open to the members who spoke on the cases of those persons who though displaced remained in the same Province, to suggest by way of amendments what provision should be made for such persons—not now—but to the next Bill that would be coming up shortly. Therefore the question of adding something in this Bill to protect the interests of such displaced persons and the question of your finding relief and provision for rehabilitation for those who are in this Province and who have never gone out of it cannot arise in connection with this Bill. Also it is for this State to look after such persons not for the other side. Therefore both the States agreed that these persons should be left out of this arrangement.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: While appreciating the observations of the Hon'ble Chief Minister, may I with your permission move an amendment at this stage just to clarify the position and make it consistent.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is the amendment that you want to make at this stage when the Bill as a whole is under consideration. We have not yet come to the stage of considering the Bill clause by clause.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: I suggest that after the word, "Pakistan" the following be added namely——

Mr. SPEAKER: We are now on the consideration motion and so no such amendment as you propose to make can arise at this stage.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: The Hon'ble Chief Minister observed just now that it is the lookout of that State to look after the refugees who remained in that State or settled in that State. I can point out instances, Sir, where thousands of people who have been displaced from this very State and settled down somewhere within this State. Quite consistent with the objects of this Bill I want to fit in such cases within the framework of this Bill itself.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, this Bill does not relate to them.

Janab Syed BADRUDDUJA: I wanted to make the Bill a little more comprehensive and a little more consistent.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I thought I made my position clear so far as this Bill was concerned. This Bill is a product of mutual arrangement. During mutual talks East Pakistan said that they had nothing to do with our nationals displaced but remaining in this State and that it was our job to look after them. Similarly, it was their job to look after their nationals who had been displaced from one place in East Pakistan but all the same remained in some other place in East Pakistan and we cannot dictate to them what should be done with such displaced persons or how such displaced persons should be rehabilitated. On such a basis this Bill was prepared with mutual consent. Those people to whom Mr. Badrudduja referred should be provided for in some other Bill or some other regulation, not in this.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, I congratulate the Government for bringing forward this Bill though it was a bit belated. It has been said, Sir, that it fulfils all the conditions under which it would enable an

evacuee who had gone over to Pakistan to come back here and be rehabilitated in his own home. That is the main object of this Bill. This is a commendable measure. But, Sir, in this measure I see a ফাঁক, as has been said by my learned friend Mr. Bhandari. The ফাঁক is this. On account of communal disturbances some persons who were resident of West Bengal left for Pakistan. What happened in the meantime was that the landlord took it into his head to eject him and to take possession of that house and he did so under the ordinary process of law. At the moment, Sir, it is the landlord who is in possession of such a house, the land belonging to the landlord but the structure belonging to the refugee who ran away from here. I find there is also no provision in this Bill as to the restoration of a land or house belonging to a refugee which had been sold in his absence. Will he be rehabilitated if he came back and will possession of such property be restored to him. So far as I see no such provision has been made. Therefore, Sir, I appeal to Government to make a provision for such persons in this Bill by adding a section "Notwithstanding any law for the time being in force, etc., etc." By such a provision a property belonging to a refugee which had been taken possession of by another in his absence should be taken possession of by the Government executive authority and restored to the owner and the possession obtained by another person through the court or through some other process of law should be held as invalid or void. That is the only provision, Sir, that I want to suggest in order to fill up the ফাঁক, and there is no other ফাঁক except this. Otherwise it is a perfect piece of legislation and the draughtsmanship is of the highest order. With this exception I congratulate the Government for the best of motives with which they have brought forward this Bill. But I request them to take into consideration the ফাঁকs which exist and to mend them up and fill up the gaps.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am in agreement with the objects of the Bill, as has been stated, and also hope, as we have been informed just now, that the provisions of this Bill will be reciprocated in Pakistan, as the provisions are urgent for developing friendly relations between the two States of East Bengal and West Bengal. But our object is to see that even after this Bill is passed and it becomes an Act both the Governments carry out the provisions of the Bill in the right spirit, and not mechanically. I shall make myself clear later on this point. We know that both the Governments, as they are at present constituted, behave in a manner which is not conducive to communal harmony between the Hindus and Muslims in both East and West Bengal. And we also know that on certain outstanding problems which have not yet been settled, as for instance, the Kashmir issue, the atmosphere is poisoned time and again. We know also that both the Governments do not take action against people who spread communal poison inside both the countries. We can compare and contrast the action taken by the Pakistan Government against the Kisan movement or the working class movement and the action taken by the Pakistan Government against people who spread communal poison in Pakistan. Have some of these people been given any other exemplary punishment for fomenting riots in Pakistan——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, is that relevant to the subject-matter under discussion?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I think it is very relevant, Sir. I think what is relevant or not will be understood by the members opposite when I finish.

As I have been saying, from the figures of those people who are lying in Pakistan jails for political reasons compared to those in jails for creating

communal riots, it will be difficult for us to believe that the provisions of such a Bill as this, even if it is passed in Pakistan, will be carried out in the right spirit. Similarly in West Bengal we have seen people belonging to the opposite party and opposing the Government languishing in jails without trial, but I ask how many of those people who have been responsible for creating communal riots in Calcutta and West Bengal are still lying in jails.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, what has that got to do with the present Bill which relates to evacuee property and nothing else?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I am afraid when we are passing such a Bill with the provisions of most of which, as I have said before, I am in agreement, we must be very careful that these provisions are carried out in the right spirit. That is why I mention those facts because we know the kind of people who carry on the Government. Merely the passing of laws will not help us. The other thing which I want to bring to your notice is this that whenever we pass any legislation the actual reality must be taken into account. Because, here especially we do not have to deal with ordinary human beings: we are dealing with people who have lost their homes: we are dealing with people who not on account of any natural disaster have been displaced from their homes but who, because of communal riots, have been dispossessed of their homes, and that is why it is likely that their minds will be poisoned with communal virus. Therefore I should ask the Government to consider this aspect of the matter and to see that when these dispossessed people, generally the Muslims, are coming back to their homes, if the majority of their homes have been occupied by refugees from East Bengal which is a general aspect in West Bengal, no force is used to evict them. If, however, any force is used to throw out those refugees just because we are passing a law here today, and we do not take any other matter into consideration but merely mechanically carry out the provisions of the Bill, then I am afraid a situation will be created which will not be conducive to what we really want to do under this Bill. Supposing I cannot explain to the people who are in occupation, especially if they are refugees from East Bengal, that they must give up those places which they had occupied, because they belong to other unfortunate people, if I cannot explain these matters to them and convince them, then I am sure every body will see that a very difficult situation will be created. So I hope that no force will be used because the first and primary duty of us all is to go to those people, especially the refugees, who are in occupation and ask them to quit them of their own accord. Therefore I suggest that whilst we carry out the provisions of this Bill as soon as possible, we form committees with both Hindus and Muslims in different areas so that we can explain to them, and I am sure that they will understand and leave the houses voluntarily. But I am afraid that with the way the police or the Government act whist dealing with refugees—as our experience has been so long in our province—difficulties are going to be created because we have seen that Government whilst dealing with East Bengal refugees that they have been using force off and on. Only yesterday they did it. Now the refugees might have been in the wrong, but it was for the Government and it was for our Chief Minister to go and meet them on the street when he got the news about their procession. It would not do for his police to open fire in Dhubulia——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please, Mr. Basu. You cannot raise that question now: that is irrelevant.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: If you deal with those people who are a special type of people in that fashion, as I have been saying, no useful purpose will be served. We may pass a law and if we want to deal with ordinary

people the provisions of that law can be applied without taking recourse to any other means and without any other consideration because law is law and no respector of persons and we know that basic point of law. But the point I am trying to make, and I am sorry to find that even the Speaker is not appreciating it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. It is not a question of my appreciation. The question is that you have got to see that there is a third reading of the Bill and you can say all that you have been saying now in the third reading as to how it should be given effect to and carried out. So I think you must be relevant to the point when we are considering the provisions of the Bill.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I am sorry that you have not understood my point. However, what I was trying to say is that when we apply the provisions of the Bill, Government should understand and its police force and its officers who will carry out the provisions of the Bill should understand that they are here dealing with a people who are a special type of people.

Mr. SPEAKER: This is a Bill which relates to the restoration of the properties of evacuees and what has the definition got to do with regard to this question?

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: The honourable member apparently wants an assurance that when he will unlawfully incite people to take wrongful occupation Government should not take action.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: The properties of certain of these evacuees have been occupied—that is a reality, whether we like it or not—by certain other refugees who have come from East Bengal, and my point is that we must explain the whole position, the provisions of the Bill, to them and we must not at the very beginnig try to use force if we want to apply the provisions of this Bill. That is the point I was trying to make and that is why——

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as the question of explaining the Bill and all these things are concerned, they are strictly relevant in the Third Reading. At this stage of consideration if you want to make open the provisions of the Bill either opposing or supporting or if you refer to the clauses of the Bill, then this is beyond the ambit of this motion.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Well, Sir, I am sorry I differ with you. However, in the Third Reading of the Bill I shall again have to say a few words with regard to this, but here whatever I have said with regard to the consideration of this Bill, I think the Government should keep this in mind, because to me these are the most important points whilst we pass this Bill and I have got certain amendments which I have suggested and I shall bring them later on when time comes.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I put the motion to vote I have got to make one thing clear with regard to sending of notices of amendments. I find that certain notices of amendments were given to us by the Government side today and most of the motions are identical with the notices already given yesterday. Therefore a certain amount of care ought to be exercised in giving notices of amendments because that confuses others also as to how many motions are given. Now, I find that there are three motions which were in fact given notice of yesterday; because I admitted the motions on behalf of Government I had also to admit the motion of Mr. Rafique. I have also to circulate the notice of the amendment given to me by Mr. Rafique because I cannot accept the previous ones and refuse this.

That is one thing which I wish to point out that in order to do justice to the consideration of the Bill, the amendments must be given by the Government at least a day earlier and all efforts should be made so that amendments do not come at the last stage.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: We shall make every effort to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have seen Bills have been passed and as soon as they have been brought to the High Court, decisions have been made which are contrary to the intentions of the House simply because the wording is not absolutely clear. I do not wish to give instances about it but it is in the interest of this House and its prestige that the Bills should be considered by the whole House properly, and therefore I would implore the Government and all other members that they should give notices of amendments in time or at the latest one day earlier so that they may be circulated, and it is only in exceptional circumstances that short-notice amendments were allowed when something had cropped up on the floor of the House or somebody had suggested something or accepted something. In such circumstances short-notice amendments should be allowed but not as a matter of course; that confuses everybody.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, how long are you going to continue today? We started at 3-30 and it is 7 o'clock.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: All I would put forward before you, Sir, is that this is also an Ordinance which is now being converted into a Bill. As you are aware an Ordinance ceases to have effect after six weeks of the commencement of the Assembly. Next week we begin the general discussion of the Budget. We have got only one day—the 5th of March which is for other purposes, and then we go on to voting and we do not finish till about 20th or 21st of March. There are still some more Bills before the House on the 5th. Therefore, Sir, we ought to meet tomorrow if we are going to disperse today. I would suggest we sit for another half an hour and finish this Bill and then a short session, if you like, from 3 to 5-30 tomorrow to finish, because I do not think there will be much difficulty with regard to other Bills. Therefore, we can continue till 7-30.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of privilege, Sir. First of all, today we thought would be a holiday for us because we have to read the budget, prepare cut motions and so on—for that we do not find any time. Secondly, the House yesterday also had continued from 3 o'clock till 7 or past 7 o'clock. Today also the same thing is happening and in any case I would have agreed to that if the Bill could have been passed today, but it cannot be passed because, as you said just now, there are certain amendments which we cannot even understand what they mean. We have to read them, understand them if we are to talk on them and accept them. Therefore, in any case, we need a few hours more. I am sure Government will accept that we meet on some other day and pass the Bills.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: We can meet tomorrow at 3 o'clock.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, Non-official dayতে আমার একটা প্রস্তাব আসার কথা ছিল, তা হয় নাই, ২২শে ছুটি থাকার জন্য। ২৩শে তো ছুটি থাকবেই, কবে cut motion দেবার আমরা opportunity পাচ্ছি না। (A voice: কেন ৪ দিন

নির্দিষ্ট ছিল।) গভর্ণমেণ্টের বিল আছে অনেকগুলি--অথচ সময় বেশী যে যাবদ দেওয়া হয় নাই। দু-দিন আগে এই পরিষদ আহ্বান করলেই তো পারতেন, তা না করে শেষ মুহূর্তে এক বোঝা বিল নিয়ে এসে উপস্থিত হয়েছেন, আর বলছেন যে তোমাদের সময় আর দিতে পারব না? আমাদের বাজেট পড়বার সময় দেবেন না; cut motion দেবার সময় দেবেন না এ কি রকম ব্যবস্থা Sir?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : আপনারা যদি কথা একটু কম বলেন তাহলেই তো কাজ শীঘ্রই হয়ে যেতে পারে।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: We do not agree that tomorrow there will be any business.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Then let us continue.

Sj. KANAILAL DASS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আপনি বক্তাদের এখন বক্তৃতা দেবার time যদি বেঁধে দেন তাহলে ভাল হয়। অনেকেই দেখি যে আধ ঘন্টা ধরে বক্তৃতা দেন এবং সে জন্য পরিষদের কাজে এত বিলম্ব হয়।

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard the position about these Bills. I suggest that, in view of the fact that we cannot finish these Bills today and these Bills have to be passed in time, let us sit tomorrow, say, from 3 and finish up the business which we have to finish before the general discussion of the Budget starts and instead of starting the general discussion on the 26th, we shall start on the 27th and so far as this one day is concerned, we may have either on the 2nd or 3rd. That will give proper time for the consideration of the Budget as well as for general discussion.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI : Sir, এইভাবে বাজেট নিয়ে deal করতে আমাদের অনেক অসুবিধা হবে। আমরা ভেবেছিলাম কাল ছুটি থাকবে এবং সেই ভেবে আমরা আমাদের কাজের ব্যবস্থা করেছি। কালকের জন্য আমরা যেসব কাজের বন্দোবস্ত করে ফেলেছি তার কি হবে?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY : আমাদেরও সেই অবস্থা।

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. Dr. Banerji, you see when the session is going on, the business of the House has got a priority and one must be prepared for the sitting of the House even on a day on which it was not originally intended. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Even throughout the night, if necessary.) You should realise that these Bills are there and they have to be gone through, and I find no further time in which we can go through these Bills at a later stage. Therefore, this seems to be the only alternative which, I believe, ought to satisfy the Opposition, because they are getting four days for general discussion; they are getting four days for going through the Bills. At the same time, these Bills are to be passed and we do not intend to prolong our sitting today. Therefore, this rather solves the problems if we meet tomorrow at three o'clock and finish the business. This business will be carried over till tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 7-7 p.m. till 3 p.m. on Thursday, the 22nd February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 22nd February, 1951, at 3 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 47 members.

GOVERNMENT BILLS.

The West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House will take up the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951. Members will find that a new list of printed amendments embodying all the amendments received up to yesterday have been supplied to enable the members to follow them without having to look to this or that list of amendments.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, it is a great improvement and we congratulate the office for having done so.

Clause 1.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 1, after sub-clause (*3*), the following sub-clause be added, namely:—

"(*4*) It shall not apply to any property acquired or requisitioned by the State Government for the purposes of the State or for any public purpose."

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 1 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 4(*1*)(*a*), line 3, for the words "preserving and making allotment of" the words "and preserving" be substituted.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I accept the amendment because it brings it in line with the Ordinance.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 4 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (2) of clause 5, line 2, for the words "Collector shall" the words "Collector may, after making such summary inquiry as he thinks fit," be substituted.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I accept the amendment.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir. Speaking on the amendment of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee I wish to point out that in the Bill before us the words "Collector shall" appear which means that the Collector will have to do such and such things but the amendment wants that the word "shall" be replaced by the word "may". This "may" means that the Collector may or may not do such and such things. So I suggest that the original form be retained.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause (2) of clause 5, line 2, for the words "Collector shall" the words "Collector may, after making such summary inquiry as he thinks fit," be substituted was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 5 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I beg to move that in sub-clause (2) of clause 6, lines 4 to 8, the words beginning with "if, and only if" and ending with "landlord of the evacuee" be omitted.

I also beg to move that to sub-clause (2) of clause 6, the following provisos be added, namely:—

"Provided that such property held by a person or persons other than the evacuee under a lease granted after January, 1950 (I add these words, Sir, "after January 1950" as a short notice verbal amendment with your permission and with the permission of the House) by/or with the authority of the immediate landlord of the evacuee shall not be valid in the eye of law:

Provided further that the landlord shall not be entitled to any rents from the evacuee for the period that the property remained or remains in illegal and unauthorised occupation of a person or persons other than the evacuee and till such time as the property is delivered possession of to the evacuee by the authority".

Sir, my idea to omit the portion beginning with "if" and to substitute the portion—"provided that after the disturbances of 1950" onwards is that —there have been cases which have come to our notice when there have been certain fraudulent transactions under duress and undesirable influences, and the evacuees have been compelled in the abnormal circumstances to transfer interest in their properties with the connivance or with the consent of the immediate landlord. Thus the very generous object of the Bill has been defeated to a very great extent by these fraudulent transactions. It is the intention of the Bill to protect the evacuees, but there is no provision or guarantee against such fraudulent transactions that might have taken place during the abnorml times.

I have also added a proviso, namely, "provided further that the landlord shall not be entitled, etc." Sir, there have been cases when these evacuees were forced out of their properties and homestead lands in the abnormal circumstances, but their tenancies did not cease to exist. The result is that

they have to pay rent all the time they are in possession of those properties and lands. This seems to be rather anomalous specially when the intention of the Government is to protect the evacuees' interest.

Sir, I appeal to the Government to accept this simple amendment which will be to the best interests of the evacuees' themselves.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I would have been very glad if I could accept the amendment but this section, as phrased, has been phrased exactly in terms of the decisions of the two Central Ministers who discussed this question and came to the agreement that it should be phrased in this way.

As regards restoration of possession to tenants under clause 5 in village and urban areas including *bustee* tenants it has been decided that such person shall be entitled to restoration or possession provided that the application was made for restoration of holdings which were lying vacant or had not been let out by or with the authority of the landlord to any person other than the original tenant. The object, Sir, is to restore the *status quo* so far as possible and not to confer any interest higher than the migrant originally possessed. Now this is the decision come to by the two Central Ministers and therefore we are bound by that decision.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that in sub-clause (2) of clause 6, lines 4 to 8, the words beginning with "if, and only if" and ending with "landlord of the evacuee" be omitted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that to sub-clause (2) of clause 6, the following provisos be added, namely:-

"Provided that such property held by a person or persons other than the evacuee under a lease granted after January, 1950, by or with the authority of the immediate landlord of the evacuee shall not be valid, in the eye of the law:

"Provided further that the landlord shall not be entitled to any rents from the evacuee for the period that the property remained or remains in illegal and unauthorised occupation of a person or persons other than the evacuee and till such time as the property is delivered possession of to the evacuee by the authority" was then put and lost.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sri, I beg to move that for sub-clause (3) of clause 11, the following be substituted, namely:—

"(3) The President shall be a Judge of the High Court and the other members shall be elected from among the members of the minority community by the M.L.A.'s belonging to the minority community in the State Assembly".

Sir, I can once again anticipate the answer of the Hon'ble Minister. Once again it will be urged that the Bill is the result of an agreement between the two Governments and the two Central Ministers of the two States. But my idea to substitute my amendment for the clause in the Bill is this that the only sanctum which is still unaffected by communal virus is the Judiciary and therefore if a High Court Judge were to preside over the management of evacuee property I think that would ensure fair decision in almost all cases. Then again, Sir, if we want to protect the interest of the minority community it would be fair if we allow the Muslim members of the Legislature—who even now represent the Muslims in the various constituencies in West Bengal to elect their nominees. But with a view again not to embarrass the position of the Government I should like to know if it would be possible for Government to accept my amendment. My idea, Sir, is to help the evacuee to get possession of his land, and a Judge of the High Court with his experience, status and position would be the best person to decide cases, relating to the properties of the evacuees.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would have been glad to accept the amendment of Janab Syed Badrudduja, had it been possible for me to do so. The terms of clause 11 of our Bill are exactly on all fours with section 3 of the East Bengal Ordinance. Sir, I am reading out from the East Bengal Ordinance: "(1) the Government may by notification in the *Official Gazette* constitute a committee. (2) The Committee shall consist of a President and three other members. (3) The President shall be an officer of the Government for the time being, be appointed in this behalf by the Government and the other members shall be selected and appointed by the Government from among the members of the minority community," etc. I cannot, therefore, Sir, accept this amendment which is substantially different from the provision made in the East Bengal Ordinance.

The motion of Janab Syed Badrudduja that for sub-clause (3) of clause 11, the following be substituted, namely:—

"(3) The President shall be a Judge of the High Court and the other members shall be elected from among the members of the minority community by M. L. A.s belonging to the minority community in the State Assembly" was then put and lost.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

The question that clause 12 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

The question that clause 15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 17.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, with your permission may I move the amendment standing in the name of Shaikh Mohamad Rafique?

Mr. SPEAKER: Move it in your own name.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 17(*1*)(*c*), line 2, after the words "West Bengal" the following words be inserted, namely:—

> "and his property is lying unoccupied, uncultivated, uncared for or has come to be wrongfully used or occupied by any person".

স্যার, যদি clause 17 দেখা যায়, তাহলে দেখা যাবে যে তাতে দুই-একটা lacuna আছে, সেটা পূরণ করা প্রয়োজন। clauseটা পড়ি—

"*Section 17.*—The Committee may take charge of any evacuee property of an evacuee in the following cases:—

> (*c*) where after the appointed day the evacuee has not returned to West Bengal."

ঠিক এই ব্যবস্থা যেখানে Collector এই সম্পত্তি রক্ষণাবেক্ষণ করবেন সেটা হচ্ছে clause 4 সেখানে আছে—

"The Collector or an officer to whom the powers of a Collector are delegated under section 10, if he is satisfied with respect to any evacuee property that such property is lying unoccupied, uncultivated or uncared for, or has come to be wrongfully used or occupied by any person."

Section 17এর সঙ্গে ঠিক এরকম provision থাকা প্রয়োজন তা নইলে একটা lacuna থেকে যায়। অর্থাৎ সমস্ত property যে অবস্থায় থাকুক না কেন যেন তার ভার নেওয়া যায়। যেমন section 17এ আছে--

"Whether there is or is not a declaration by the evacuee of his intention not to return——"

পরে, একথা বুঝা দরকার যে—

"Property is lying unoccupied, uncultivated, uncared for or has come to be wrongfully used or occupied by any person."

যদি এটা না থাকে তাহলে property যে অবস্থায়ই থাকুক না কেন, তার charge নেওয়া যাবে, কিন্তু এখানে intention দেখা দরকার। তাহলে আমার মনে হয় এটার কোন পরিবর্তন হচ্ছে না মাত্র একটা lacuna থেকে যাচ্ছে। মহাশয়, ভেবে দেখুন এই lacuna আছে কিনা। এতে agreement অদল বদল প্রয়োজন নেই, কোন improvementএর কথাও নেই শুধু draftingএর একটা গোলমাল হয়ে আছে। এটা মহাশয়ের দেখা দরকার--

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid, my friend Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari has not understood

the scope of clause 17. Clause 17 has got nothing to do with the Collector excepting that clause 17(*1*) says that a report may be received from the Collector under sub-section (*2*) of section 4. New allotment could be made only under the Ordinance up to the 7th February, 1951, my friend will remember if he has not forgotten the provisions of the Ordinance. Therefore, no question of allotment after the date mentioned in the Ordinance or after the commencement of this Act can arise. Here the question is, the committee will take charge of an evacuee property under what circumstances? Look at the clause. The clause says—on receiving a report from the Collector or where before the appointed day the evacuee makes a declaration before the prescribed authority of his intention not to return to West Bengal or where after the appointed day the evacuee has not returned to West Bengal, whether there is or is not a declaration by the evacuee of his intention not to return or whether there is or is not an application to the committee to take charge of his property. That is, in these circumstances the committee will make over the management of the property—no question of making allotment does arise in this connection at all. Therefore, I think the clause has been framed rightly and no amendment is necessary.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়, মাত্র একটা প্রশ্ন জিজ্ঞাসা করে clarification চাচ্ছি--তাহলে এমনও হতে পারে property--যদি evacuee কোন জায়গায় থেকে হস্তান্তর বা বন্দোবস্ত করে দিল অর্থাৎ property যখন একজনের lawful possessionএ থাকে তাহলে সেই property সেই কমিটি charge নেবে কিনা এটা যদি দেখেন——

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, may I answer that question? The committee may take charge of the management of every evacuee property left here. The committee does not become the owner thereby. It has been clearly stated in the Bill that the committee will not be the owner. Ownership will remain with the evacuee, but the committee will simply take charge of the management. Therefore, if the evacuee returns after the appointed date, he may claim to get back the management of the property. In that case, management will be taken over from the committee by the evacuee and that is provided for in clause 23.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমি বলছি--যদি এমনও হয় যে evacuee অন্যত্র চলে গেছে--পাকিস্থানে চলে গেছে; তার propertyর একটা ব্যবস্থা করে দিয়েছে, একজনকে lease দিয়ে দিয়েছে, বা একজনের permanent chargeএ রেখে গেছে কিম্বা lawful possessionএ রয়েছে, সেটা এখানে committee charge নেবে কিনা--এ lacuna যদি পূরণ না হয়, আমার মনে হয় evacueeর property যে কোন অবস্থায় থাকুক even if বন্দোবস্ত দিয়ে যায় এ কমিটির charge নেবে। এটা যদি intention of the Legislature হয়——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Look to clause 17(*1*)(*b*).

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: He will have simply to inform the comimttee "I have made such an arrangement with my property."

Mr. SPEAKER: This is enough. If the Government is not convinced, I cannot help.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 17(*1*)(*c*), line 2, after the words "West Bengal" the following words be inserted, namely:—

> "and his property is lying unoccupied, uncultivated, uncared for or has come to be wrongfully used or occupied by any person.",

was then put and lost.

The question that clause 17 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 18.

The question that clause 18 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 19.

The question that clause 19 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 20.

The question that clause 20 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 21.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in the proviso to sub-clause (*2*) of clause 21 in line 4, after the words "made by the Collector" the words "under the West Bengal Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1951" be inserted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 21, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 22.

The question that clause 22 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 23.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find that amendments Nos. 16, 17 and 18 are practically identical.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I want to move only No. 17.

Mr. SPEAKER: That seems to be enough.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that clause 23 be renumbered as clause 24 and for sub-clause (*6*) of the clause so renumbered the following sub-clause be substituted, namely:—

"(*6*)(*a*) Upon an order under sub-section (*3*) or sub-section (*4*) being made, the management of the evacuee property shall vest in the evacuee.

(*b*) Upon the vesting of the management of the evacuee property in him, the evacuee shall have all the rights, powers and liabilities of an owner in respect of the evacuee property, and the Committee shall subject to sub-section (*7*) be absolved of all further responsibility in respect of such property and sub-sections (*2*) and (*3*) of section 18, section 19, section 20 and section 21 shall cease to apply in respect of the evacuee property."

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I accept the amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: 16 and 18 will not be moved?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: The difficulty is that three notices of amendments were received. I think in future Government should take care not to send more than one notice in such cases.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It was presumed that previous notices will be ignored, because the latter notice will, of course, prevail.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: It is a printer's devil. The printers do not possess any brain!

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that clause 23 be renumbered as clause 24 and for sub-clause (*6*) of the clause so renumbered the following sub-clause be substituted, namely:—

> "(*6*)(*a*) Upon an order under sub-section (*3*) or sub-section (*4*) being made, the management of the evacuee property shall vest in the evacuee.
>
> (*b*) Upon the vesting of the management of the evacuee property in him, the evacuee shall have all the rights, powers and liabilities of an owner in respect of the evacuee property, and the Committee shall subject to sub-section (*7*) be absolved of all further responsibility in respect of such property and sub-sections (*2*) and (*3*) of section 18, section 19, section 20 and section 21 shall cease to apply in respect of the evacuee property.",

was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 23, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 24.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, we have three motions Nos 19, 20 and 21 which are almost identical and I want to move only No. 20.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that clause 24 be renumbered as clause 23 and in sub-clause (*1*) of the clause so renumbered in line 6 after the words "on application made to him by the Committee" the words "or the evacuee, as the case may be" be inserted.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: This is a welcome amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, please move all your amendments. I wish to point out to you that so far as renumbering is concerned no motion is necessary for that purpose.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: I beg to move that in sub-clause (*2*) of clause 23 as so renumbered, in line 3 after the words "the Committee" the words "or the evacuee, as the case may be," be inserted.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 24(*1*), lines 8 and 9, for the words "and may use or cause to be used such force, as may be necessary for the purpose" the words "after making the necessary arrangements for the lodging of the person concerned" be substituted.

I think, Sir, I made it amply clear yesterday when I was speaking on this Bill that with regard to the delivery of possession, although that principle is acceptable and that is the purpose of the Bill, yet in view of the fact that we face a peculiar and particular situation with regard to the people or the vast majority of the people who have occupied such properties

which have been left by the evacuees the Governemnt should consider at the same time while giving back these properties to the evacuees whether any arrangements can be made for sheltering the people who have wrongfully, as the Government says, occupied these properties. I say this because unless this is done simultaneously with giving back the properties to the evacuees, it would mean Hindu-Muslim tension, and unless the Government says: "We shall make some sort of arrangement for these people" because it was not always their fault that they came into possession of these properties, that some of these properties were left vacant and the Government did not make any arrangement for the incoming refugees to West Bengal, and consequently these properties were occupied. I do not know whether the refugees are occupying properties by force, but I think the major purpose should be to find some sort of accommodation for the refugees who are in occupation of these properties. That is why I have said that not only should the above words be deleted, and my amendment accepted, but it should be seen that Hindus and Muslims together work out this scheme or the provisions of this Act. Otherwise there is bound to be some trouble, and the purpose of the Bill will be defeated.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHUHRI: Sir, I think Mr. Jyoti Basu is going to give notice of trouble. Had he attempted to rightly understand the scope of the Bill he could have easily seen that two persons cannot be put in possession of the same property at the same time. Either you have to retain the refugee in wrongful possession or evict him to put the evacuee in possession. If Mr. Jyoti Basu and persons of his way of thinking tried to bring about a rapprochment between the refugees and the evacuees and if they were successful by their non-official effort then surely a Bill of this nature would not have been required at all. So force is necessary to evict an unlawful possessor in order to put the real owner in possession. This principle has also been recognised by the East Bengal Government and they have——

SJ. JYOTI BASU: On a point of order, Sir. I think the Hon'ble Minister did not follow my point——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not a point of order.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, exactly the same provision as we are going to have in this Bill appears in the Ordinance of the East Bengal Government, namely, in sub-clause (*2*) of clause 5. It says "If any person who has been ordered under clause 3 of sub-section (*4*) to vacate any property does not vacate it within the fixed period, the District Magistrate or the Subdivisional Magistrate or any other officer empowered in this behalf by the District Magistrate or the Subdivisional Magistrate may evict such person from such property and place the applicant in actual possession of such property and may use or cause to be used such force as may be necessary for that purpose." Therefore, Sir, the provision that we are going to have here is a replica of the East Bengal provision.

(Sj. Sibnath Banerjee rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: You should have risen earlier. I cannot allow you now to speak, because the Hon'ble Minister has already replied.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I did not get any opportunity to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: You should have availed yourself of the opportunity. Well, what is it that you want to say. You may say it within a minute. I cannot allow you to make a speech at length.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Why not, Sir? The clause is before the House and an amendment has been proposed and I may speak for or against the amendment. I have a right to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have got no such right after the Hon'ble Minister has replied to the debate and it is only the mover who is entitled to say something now.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: But, Sir, it is not the last reply. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURY: It is the last.)

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of privilege আমি এ সম্বন্ধে কিছু বলব বলে মনে করেছিলাম, কিন্তু জ্যোতিবাবুর বক্তৃতা শেষ হবার সঙ্গে-সঙ্গেই উনি উঠে দাঁড়ালেন, এবং আমাদের বলবার সময় দিলেন না। আমরা বলবার কোন scope পাইনি। আমি বলব বলে ঠিক করেছিলাম কিন্তু মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় লাফিয়ে উঠে বলতে লাগলেন। (Uproar in the House.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. Our practice has all along been that when amendments have been moved and speeches made thereon and after the Hon'ble Minister replies no other speech is allowed. Because it cannot go on *ad infinitum*, that is, one or two members speak, then the Hon'ble Minister replies and then again two or three members speak and then again the Hon'ble Minister speaks. I think this procedure should not be encouraged.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, such a situation has not happened so far. During all these 17 clauses, I have spoken once and that for a minute only. I could have spoken on every one of them but I did not do so because I did not think it necessary. Now, Sir, as this is a very important matter I wish to speak on this amendment, and I appeal to you, Sir, not to take away my right to speak on this.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you could have spoken on those matters for one hour if there were not many speakers and when it was your turn. Now, the position is that so far as this amendment is concerned when Mr. Jyoti Basu, the mover, sat down there was no other speaker and so the Hon'ble Minister rose to speak and he spoke. When the Hon'ble Minister rose to speak nobody suggested that he should wait to let other members speak——

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, how could I do that? He was already speaking and I could not interrupt him. So I would appeal to you to reconsider your ruling on the subject. The leader of the Krishak-Praja-Majdoor Party also wants to speak as this is a very important matter. This matter was also discussed during His Excellency's speech but as at that time the discussion was not exhaustive, we want to speak again.

Mr. SPEAKER: What can I do? We have made our rules and we are following the same and according to the rule no member can speak twice and after the Hon'ble Minister's reply no member can speak. You have seen that when the Hon'ble Minister rose to speak nobody rose to speak and after the Hon'ble Minister's reply if again somebody wants to speak, do you think that to be a very desirable procedure to be followed. (Cries of "no", "no" from the Government Benches.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, today's position is a bit peculiar. The Hon'ble Minister was very quick today to rise to reply and when he was replying I could not interrupt him as that would have been discourteous. Now, Sir, the roof will not fall if the Hon'ble Minister replies a second time

especially when the reply he has given has been mainly confined to Mr. Jyoti Basu's point. Therefore, Sir, I would again appeal to you not to deny me this opportunity to speak on this very important subject. The Hon'ble the Chief Minister was saying that we could say what we have to say at the time of the third reading but, Sir, this is the time when we can speak on it.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right, if you are so very anxious to speak you may speak for a minute as a special case. I shall not allow this to be a precedent.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: He was absent for the last 2 or 3 days and so he wants to compensate that.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: He was also absent for several months.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: Yes, last year.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, আমি কিছুই বলতাম না কিন্তু শ্রীজ্যোতি বসুর বলার পরে মিনিষ্টার যে remark করেছেন যে "So force is necessary to evict an unlawful possessor, etc." কিন্তু যখন জ্যোতি বসু জেলে ছিলেন, এবং তাঁর বন্ধুরাও জেলে ছিলেন--তখন আপনারা যে এইরকম evict করতে চেয়েছিলেন সেটাতো তাঁদের হাত ছিলনা তখন তো লাঠি চালাতেও হয়নি—গুলি ছোড়া হয়েছে। এটাতে গোলমাল হবেই--আমরা forewarn করছি। দুই-চার দিন আগে এখানে লাঠি ও গুলি চলেছিল, আমি তখন এখানে ছিলাম না,--ছিলাম মাদ্রাজে আর আপনারা লাঠি ও গুলি চালিয়েছেন। শ্রীজ্যোতি বসু যেটা দিয়েছেন, সেটা নিতান্তই moderate alternative—অর্থাৎ তাদের একটা ব্যবস্থা করে এইটা করা হোক। Minister মহাশয় বলেছেন এটা তো illegal. Illegalকে legal করাতো আপনাদেরই হাত--নৈলে আজ এটাই বা করছেন কেন? করছেন এইজন্য যে, তাহলে আর জোর করে তুলে দেবার দরকার হবে না। আপনারা তাদের alternative ব্যবস্থা করে দিলে আমরা আর আপত্তি করবো না। তখন তারা যদি না যায় এবং you use force--কারো কিছু বলবার থাকবে না। আমি আশা করি গভর্ণমেণ্ট এটা গ্রহণ করবেন।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, পূর্ববর্ত্তী বক্তা শিবনাথবাবু যা বলেছেন--আমি সর্বান্তঃকরণে তা সমর্থন করি। Positionটা খুব delicate. Evacueeদের গৃহ দখল করার ব্যাপারে একটা কথা মনে রাখতে হবে, যারা পূর্ববঙ্গ হতে গৃহহারা হয়ে এসে এখানকার evacueeদের গৃহ দখল করে আছে, তাদের জোর করে তাড়িয়ে দেয়া অন্যায় হবে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের উচিত ছিল --পূর্ববঙ্গ হতে যারা এসেছে তাদের গৃহের ব্যবস্থা করে দেওয়া; কিন্তু তাঁরা তা করেন নাই। (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: আপনারাও তো করেন নাই।) সুতরাং এখন পূর্ববঙ্গ হতে এসে যারা নাকি অন্যের বাড়ী দখল করে বসবাস করছে তাদের পুনর্বাসনের একটা ব্যবস্থা করে যেন তাদের সেখান থেকে উঠানোর ব্যবস্থা গভর্ণমেণ্ট করেন এবং যদি তাদের alternative accommodationএর ব্যবস্থা সরকার করেন তাহলে পূর্ববঙ্গের ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গের উভয় বঙ্গের evacueeরাই রক্ষা পাবে এবং গভর্ণমেণ্টও রক্ষা পাবেন। কিন্তু যদি তা না করেন, সকলের পক্ষেই অবস্থাটা সঙ্কটপূর্ণ হবে।

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, I submit for the consideration of my friends——(Sj. JYOTI BASU: Which friends?—the Ministers?)——for those who are supporting this amendment—to think for one moment what would be the effect, if such a provision is made, on the other side. I am only citing one instance. I know of one case where the widow of a Deputy Magistrate was concerned. The police gave orders for vacating the house, but the Magistrate said that necessary alternative accommodation had got to be made if the lady was to get possession of her house. That lady was there for about two months, and not finding any accommodation she was staying at Narayanganj.

Now, if you want to restore possession to the evacuees of both sides and then you cannot make necessary arrangement for that, that will create complications, for they will say that this is not a necessary arrangement. If we

are all agreed that evacuees on both sides should be allowed to reoccupy their property, I would beseech my friends not to create complications; and whenever they make any proposal for an amendment, they should only keep in mind what complications might arise on the other side. I have quoted an instance which has happened, and you certainly do not want that to take place.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: We want the same thing to be done in both the places.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: But you cannot control things on the other side. This is a mutually agreed legislation.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Let us show the better way.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: If my friend wants to show the way, he cannot by doing it possibly change the legislation in East Bengal. If it is done in East Bengal, I am sure our Ministers will be glad to accept it.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, I am afraid, there has been a lot of misunderstanding about this provision in the Bill. As my friend Mr. Gupta has just remarked, when we should view this provision, we must view it with special reference not merely to the Muslim evacuees here but also to the Hindu evacuees there. My friends forget that all this will be bound to have repercussions there also. Illegal possession can never be sanctioned in the eye of law. But when Government, with a realistic approach to the problem, wants to come forward to do some justice to the evacuees on the basis of agreement of both sides, I would not like to embarrass the position of the Government by creating complications which are bound to prejudice the interest of both Muslim and Hindu evacuees. I would beseech my friends not to press this point further, which, instead of clarifying the issue, will complicate the position all the more.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, একথা সর্বাগ্রে বলা দরকার যে বাস্তুহারা যারা পাকিস্থানে আছে বা এখানে ভারতে আছে তাদের সকলের জন্যই যথাযোগ্য স্থান করে দেওয়া উচিত। সঙ্গেসঙ্গে মনে রাখতে হবে--এই বিলটা দুটি সরকার মিলে এরই জন্য করেছেন। তবে এখানে কেন এর amendment করছেন? দু'জায়গায় বাস্তুহারারাই অসহায় হয়ে কষ্টের মধ্যে রয়েছে। যারা এখানে minorityদের বাড়ী-ঘর ছেড়ে দিতে চান না তাঁদের মনে রাখা উচিত পাকিস্থানে minorityদের বাড়ী-ঘর ছেড়ে না দিলে যেমন অন্যায় হয় এতে তেমনি অন্যায়ই হবে। একজনকে বাস্তুহারা করে অপর এক-জনকে বাস্তুতে বসান যুক্তির দিক থেকে সমর্থন করা যায় না। যদি এইরকম গোলমালের মধ্যে দু'জায়গায় বাস্তুহারাদেরই অকল্যাণ হয়--সেটা এখানকারই হোক, বা সেখানকারই হোক দুই সরকারেরই নিন্দার ব্যাপার। দুই সরকারেরই উচিত বাস্তুহারাদের স্থান করে দেওয়া আবার দুই স্থানের minorityদের নিরাপত্তা রক্ষা করা। কিন্তু আমরা যেন এখানে এমন কাজ না করি যাতে উভয় সরকারের পক্ষেই অসুবিধা হয়। আমি আমার জেলা—অর্থাৎ নদীয়া জেলার দিকে দৃষ্টি রেখে বলছি--সেখানকার যে অংশ পাকিস্থানে পড়েছে আমি সেখানকার কথা কিছু জানি। সে constituencyটা আমারই ছিল। (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: এখন আর ওকথা বলবেন না, তাহলে মুস্কিল হবে।) সেখানেও যাঁরা ফিরে যেতে চান তাঁদের বাড়ীঘর, জমি-জমা ফিরে পাবার ব্যবস্থা করে দিতে হবে। এখানেও অনুরূপ করতে হবে। দিল্লী চুক্তি মানতে হলে উভয় রাষ্ট্রে বাস্তুহারাদের অনতিবিলম্বে আপন ঘর-বাড়ী, জমি-জমা ফিরে পাবার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। তাই বিলটির আর amendment না করে যেভাবে আছে সেইভাবেই পাশ করা দরকার। (Clapping from the Government benches.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I want to make one point clear. I think Dr. Banerji is under a misapprehension. This section does not apply merely to occupation of an evacuee's house by a refugee: any person could have occupied the house of an evacuee. If you look at

the provision of section 24, you will find that it says: "If any evacuee property, the charge of which is taken by the Committee or in respect of which an order under sub-section (*3*) or sub-section (*4*) of section 22 has been made, is found to be in the wrongful use or occupation of any person, etc., etc." That person may not be a refugee at all: he may be a person belonging to this part of the province and occupying the house. I am citing one instance where a man has rented his own house at a higher rate and occupied a Muslim house. Do you mean that I will not use force to remove that man from that house to give accommodation to the Muslim evacuee?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Arrest the man to give accommodation to the genuine evacuee.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Thank you for your advice!

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি যা বলেছি তা শুধু refugeeর বেলায় খাটবে। আমার নিবেদন ছিল—evacueeদের স্থান করতে হবে, refugeeদেরও স্থান করতে হবে। আর বাকি যারা তাদের জোর করে তুলে দিন, তাতে আমরা আপত্তি করবো না।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Mr. Speaker, Sir,———

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I am sorry, I allowed Mr. Banerjee two minutes to speak. I think it is a very irregular procedure to allow members to address one another. You have converted the House into a debating society when the members are speaking to one another. It is not possible in such a confusion to have an orderly debate in the House. I regret that enough time has been wasted in this way, and I hope it will be the last occasion to indulge in such things. Members must know the rules of procedure that nobody has got any right to address any other member except the Chair. Now that I have allowed so many speakers to indulge in that fashion, I regret I cannot allow it any further.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege, Sir. We have listened to your admonition, but would you kindly tell us where we have been wrong? Sir, you have perhaps made a mistake. We are certainly entitled to make interjections in the midst of a regular speech; such interjections are always allowed.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have not referred to interjections but to observations made by members addressing one another.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই যে গোলমাল সৃষ্টি হচ্ছে, আমার মনে হয়—এই amendment করার কোন প্রয়োজন হত না। একটা কথা স্পীকার মহোদয় ভাল করে জানেন—যে আইনে দখল দেওয়া—সে আইনে কোন জায়গায় বলা নেই যে force use করে Stateএর কাজ হয়েছে because after all the State is based on violence. আইনে যখন ejectionএর decree দেওয়া হয়, সেখানে আইনে কোন forceএর কথা নাই। সেখানে কোন forceএর জায়গা নেই। এখানে আমার মনে হয় এই force কথাটা বলে গোলের সৃষ্টি হচ্ছে। Governmentএর intention—সেখান থেকে তাকে তুলে দেওয়ার মানেই হচ্ছে force কিন্তু এই force কথাটা এখানে বলাতেই যত গোলের সৃষ্টি হচ্ছে। কারণ Governmentএর duty—এইরকম একটা imperative clause থাকার কি প্রয়োজন? Punishment কি করে দিতে হয় Government knows it—নীলামের পর গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেরকমভাবে জমি দখল দেয় সেখানে কি করা হয়? পুলিশকে যদি বাধা দেওয়া হয়, তখন military force দরকার হলে armed force দেওয়া হয় If the

Government really intends it, if the Government really means it. সুতরাং forceএর কথা বলার কোনই প্রয়োজন নেই। The whole State is behind him. এই force কথা বললেই যত রকম unnecessary complicationsএর সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। আমার মনে হয় এই force কথাটি withdraw করে নেওয়াই ভাল।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, is there anybody else speaking? I want to give an answer because he is under a misapprehension. The word used here is deliberately done for this reason, for it is a question of a person who has come from the other side. He happens to be a non-Indian citizen and to use any force to a non-Indian citizen requires a certain amount of sanction and therefore this is a peculiar Bill. The Bill generally seeks to find a solution of a very difficult problem as between two countries or two different States, and therefore this is not to be compared with any other subject. This matter had been discussed over and over again both by the Central Ministers as well as in the Prime Ministers' conference as well as by the Chief Secretaries, and it was felt that in order to avoid all difficulties in this respect—international difficulties, if I may say so—it is definitely laid down in this Bill. I admit it was a new provision but it was necessary for this Act.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that clause 24 be renumbered as clause 23 and in sub-clause (*1*) of the clause so renumbered in line 6 after the words "on application made to him by the Committee" the words "or the evacuee, as the case may be" be inserted, was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Jyoti Basu that in clause 24(*1*), lines 8 and 9, for the words "and may use or cause to be used such force, as may be necessary for the purpose" the words "after making the necessary arrangements for the lodging of the person concerned" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in sub-clause (*2*) of clause 23 as so renumbered in line 3 after the words "the Committee" the words "or the evacuee, as the case may be," be inserted, was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 24, as amended, do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 25.

The question that clause 25 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 26.

The question that clause 26 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 27.

The question that clause 27 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 28.

The question that clause 28 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 29.

The question that clause 29 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 30.

The question that clause 30 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 31.

The question that clause 31 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 32.

The question that clause 32 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 33.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: There are three amendments in my name. I would move only one, i.e., No. 28. I beg to move that clause 33 be renumbered as sub-clause (*1*) of clause 33 and after that clause as so renumbered the following sub-clause be inserted:—

> "(*2*) Any allotment of an evacuee property made or purported to have been made before the commencement of the West Bengal Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1951, by the Collector which could have been validly made if the said Ordinance had been in force when such allotment was made or purported to have been made, shall if confirmed by the Collector in writing on or before the 31st day of March, 1951, be deemed to have been duly made under the said Ordinance."

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I accept the amendment.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order. I have said so before the Minister got up. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No. no.) He did not stand up at all. He had no right to say things while sitting.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. What is your point?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: My point of order is that the honourable member says that 33 be renumbered as sub-clause (*1*) of clause 33. This is beyond his jurisdiction. It is for the office to do it. After the amendments are taken what number it will be—it may be 34, it may be 35—we do not know. So, the renumbering portion of this amendment is out of order and if Mr. Speaker wants any reference to the Handbook, I can give the reference.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already spoken that while renumbering——

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: If it is out of order that portion should be deleted.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is immaterial.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: That portion should be deleted in which he has said that "clause 33 be renumbered as sub-clause (*1*) of clause 33"—that is out of order. Only "to move that after that clause the following sub-clause be inserted"—this portion is in order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, it is not out of order. The position is that the House can order renumbering. Of course if the House does not order, even then the Secretary can do it, but this does not mean that the House cannot order renumbering.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, I shall point out the anomaly. Supposing এই renumbering ব্যাপারে যাতে anomaly না আসতে পারে—যেমন ৩৩—ধরে দেখি ৩৩ নয় ৩১ তাহলে এটাকে কি ৩৩ রাখতে হবে? কাজেই এই যে anomaly আসতে পারে—সেজন্য এই portion বাদ দেওয়া দরকার। The whole thing should be left outside.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, may I point out that my friend Mr. Banerjee is entirely wrong. Originally there was only one clause, namely, clause 33. Now we are going to add a sub-clause, and therefore renumbering is necessary. It will be sub-clause (*2*) and the original clause will be renumbered as sub-clause (*1*). It has nothing to do with the Legislative Department. We have got to do it here.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের একথা—এটা ৩৩ থাকতে হবে সে সম্বন্ধে কোন guarantee নেই—একথাটা বুঝতে পারি না।

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that clause 33 be renumbered as sub-clause (*1*) of clause 33 and after that clause as so renumbered the following sub-clause be inserted:—

> "(*2*) Any allotment of an evacuee property made or purported to have been made before the commencement of the West Bengal Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1951, by the Collector which could have been validly made if the said Ordinance had been in force when such allotment was made or purported to have been made, shall if confirmed by the Collector in writing on or before the 31st day of March, 1951, be deemed to have been duly made under the said Ordinance."

was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 33, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 34.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I have two amendments to this clause, namely, amendment Nos. 29 and 30. I shall move amendment No. 29.

Sir, I beg to move that in clause 34(*2*)(*d*) in the last line for the figures "23" the figures "24" be substituted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 34, as amended, do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly be passed.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. আমি West Bengal Parliamentary Handbook, Page 41, Article 66(*2*)র প্রতি দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি।

> West Bengal Parliamentary Handbook, page 41, Article 66(2).........
>
> "If any amendment be made, any member may object to the passing of the Bill at the same meeting, and such objection shall prevail" unless the Speaker in his wisdom says 'no', it is not necessary."

সুতরাং আমার এখানে আপত্তি করবার right আছে। সুতরাং আজকে হতে পারে না। যদি হয় তবে আইনের মর্যাদা থাকবে না। সুতরাং আমি এটা press করছি। কাজেই আজকে my objection shall prevail.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, that rule does not apply in this case. It is with regard to passing of Bills. Article 66(*1*) lays down: "If no amendment be made when a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration has been agreed to by the Assembly, the Bill may at once be passed." Then article 66(2) states: "If any amendment be made, any member may object to the passing of the Bill at the same meeting; and such objection shall prevail, unless the Speaker in exercise of his powers to suspend this rule allows the motion that the Bill be passed to be made." You know, Sir, that such an objection has never been allowed in the past. Then comes article 66(3): "Where the objection prevails, the Bill shall be brought forward again at a future meeting, and may then be passed with or without further amendment." Therefore it does nowhere provide that whenever an objection is raised, that has to be accepted. Of course authority for everything vests in you.

Mr. SPEAKER: So far as this House is concerned, we have always passed Bills on the same day. As a matter of fact, I know that even six or seven Bills have been pssed on the same day——

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Kindly speak through the mike.

Mr. SPEAKER: Can't you hear me?

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Not clearly.

Mr. SPEAKER: I say that it has been the practice in this House that we have passed Bills on the same day on which it has been considered in the second reading stage. I am not in a position just now to say that in this case I will not be justified in suspending that rule and allowing this Bill to be passed today.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: May I make a submission?

Mr. SPEAKER: No submission please.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: May I make my submission, Sir, এর আগে এই রকম হয়েছে, কিন্তু তার মধ্যে amendment সহ কোন বিল third readingএ হয়েছে এটা আমাদের জানা নেই। তাছাড়া এই rule সম্বন্ধে আমরা তখন ignorant ছিলাম, এখন সেটা পড়ে দেখলাম। অতএব যখন এই rule রয়েছে——

Mr. SPEAKER: There were 44 sections in the Security Act, and still it was passed on the same day; and no objection was made.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Because there was no parliamentarian here at that time! (laughter).

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of privilege, Sir. I would not have risen but for the fact that you have just now said that because it has been the previous practice in this House to pass Bills in the same sitting therefore we should do it today. But the point is that nobody has ever objected to the passing of Bills in the same sitting as Sj. Sibnath Banerjee has done today. Therefore, Sir, it is a new situation altogether where a particular question is being brought to your notice, and I think that in view of the word "shall" the objection should prevail when a member on this side has objected to the passing of the Bill today.

Mr. SPEAKER: Any member can raise any question. But considering the convention and practice that we have so long followed, I do not think I am justified in not considering this at the third reading stage. As I have already said, I am allowing it. Will you proceed, Mr. Basu?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I thought I would not have to speak over again at the third reading, but unfortunately the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this Bill has, I do not know why, misconstrued what I said whilst moving one of my amendments. And not only that. I was amazed and surprised to find that the Minister was not at all serious when he was replying to me and was in fact behaving in an irresponsible manner.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I do not take you seriously at all.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: The Hon'ble Minister said that I was giving notice of trouble because I moved my amendment. The Minister may not take me seriously but I should say that he has no business to behave in an irresponsible manner. What I said, Sir, was that, whilst I was in the fullest agreement with the provisions that were being made, namely, that the returning evacuees should be given back their property alternative arrangements should be made to shelter the East Bengal refugees who are now occupying such properties. The fact is that a vast majority of the people so occupying such houses are East Bengal refugees who have come over to West Bengal. I do not see what harm would accrue to the Government if my amendment was accepted. I can understand this that the Government does not——

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. The rules of debate lay down that one cannot go on repeating his arguments. Repetition of arguments by a member is out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will look into that point. You please go on Mr. Jyoti Basu.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: I may call your attention to Rule 16 of our Assembly Procedure Rules which lays down as follows: "The Speaker, after having called the attention of the Assembly to the conduct of a member who persists in irrelevance or in tedious repetition either of his own arguments or of the arguments used by other members in debate may direct him to discontinue his speech". Sir, I submit that you will be perfectly within your rights to direct the honourable member to refrain from tedious repetition of the same arguments which have already been repeated *ad nauseum* and I believe good sense will prevail and the same arguments will not be repeated.

Mr. SPEAKER: You please go on Mr. Jyoti Basu.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: It is always a matter of opinion and you are the judge, Sir, whether I repeat the same things or not. Of course I do not take the Hon'ble Minister very seriously because it is his habit to interject.

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: You take only yourself seriously. The honourable member reminds me of an old story. Someone pointed out to old Grannie witnessing soldiers marching past "Look, your Tommie is out of pace." Grannie replied, "Dear, Dear, my Tommie is all right, only the regiment is out of pace with him." How can Mr. Jyoti Basu be out of pace in taking anyone seriously? (Interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: You please go on Mr. Basu. You need not listen to these things.

Mr. JYOTI BASU: How can I go on, Sir, in the midst of interruptions and shouting. I think the Hon'ble Minister ought to behave himself occupying a responsible position. Now, as I was saying, Sir, the Minister in charge of this Bill said that I had given notice of trouble because I was moving my amendment. I should have thought that a Minister ought to be more responsible when he is replying to us. What I tried to make clear was that whilst giving back the properties to the owner evacuees who are returning to West Bengal the Government should also make arrangements for alternative accommodation for the vast majority of persons who are in occupation of such properties and who have come as refugees from East Bengal. I do not know why this point was not replied to. If it was in the mind of the Government not to make any alternative arrangements for sheltering the refugees from East Bengal they could have told us so. The point was made by Sri J. C. Gupta and by other members of the Government Benches that as a result of a solemn agreement between the two Governments of Pakistan and India on this question this Bill has been brought forward and the same provisions that are made in this Bill are in the contemporary Ordinance promulgated in Pakistan. I agree it is true. But supposing we gave a lead in this matter and asked the Pakistan Government at our meetings with them that they should also incorporate the same provisions that we suggest today in the matter of finding alternative accommodation for the refugees who were occupying premises not belonging to them but belonging to the refugees who had gone away to the other side, Pakistan or India as the case may be, I think that they would not have any objection to do the same thing which we propose to do here. We are not saying that this should be done only here but we are suggesting that it should be done also in Pakistan, namely, that force should not be used in the matter of evicting refugees occupying others' premises in an unauthorised manner and that alternative accommodation should be found for them. It has been said that in Pakistan the people returning from West Bengal will be put to similar difficulties and that is why we are suggesting the same thing to them that force should not be used in the matter of eviction. First of all, we should try to reason with the people. Secondly, arrangements should be made to give shelter to the people who had occupied the lands and houses of the Hindus in their absence. Therefore, it is no question of embarrassing any Government either of West Bengal or East Bengal. I am in full agreement with the point raised by one of the members on this side, namely, that it was absolutely not necessary to use the words "by force, if necessary", because we are well aware that there are several means under the law to evict a person who is in unauthorised occupation of another's land or house. Out of the several means in the last resort force will have to be used to put out that person. From the way the police have been behaving with the refugees and the way Government have been behaving with the refugees—as our experience shows—it would be very clear to any person that the police banking on these words "by force, if necessary" will make it a point to always use force and even at the very beginning they will use force against the people who have thus occupied the houses and lands of the Muslims. That is why I have my objections to the retention of these words "by force,

if necessary". I thought that it was a simple thing to do. Therefore Dr. Roy's explanation that we are dealing with non-Indian citizens and so on and so forth has no meaning whatsoever because we are suggesting the same thing for Pakistan, and whilst being in agreement with all the other provisions which have been laid down in the Bill, again, at this stage too, I would request the Government, even if they do not take me seriously as the irresponsible Minister just now said, to consider the matter all over again and to see whether we can reason with the people, argue with the people and whether we can have joint committees of the Hindus and Muslims so that we can work this Act in a peaceful spirit and in a peaceful way. Though an Hon'ble Minister said so, I assert that I am giving notice of no trouble. Nobody wants to play with the lives of refugees, whether they be of East Bengal or West Bengal, Hindus or Muslims. The Government may play about with the lives of refugees but there is not a single member on this side who wishes to play about with the lives of refugees. Therefore I would ask through you, Sir, the Minister to withdraw the irresponsible remarks that he made and try to see that things are done peacefully in this province.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, যদিও উভয় বঙ্গ গভর্ণমেণ্টের মধ্যে একটা চুক্তির ফলে এই বিলটি এই ব্যবস্থা পরিষদে উত্থাপিত করা হয়েছে তবু এই বিল উত্থাপন করার জন্য আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে সর্বান্তঃকরণে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। আশা করি এই বিলটি আইনে পরিণত হলে রেফুউজিদের দুঃখ-দুর্দশার অনেকটা অবসান ঘটিবে।

গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে আমার অনুরোধ তাহারা যেন ইভাকুইদের দুঃখ-দুর্দশার প্রতি লক্ষ্য রেখে, যতখানি সম্ভব সহৃদয়তার ও উদারতার সঙ্গে এই বিলটি প্রয়োগ করেন।

গভর্ণমেণ্টের কাছে আমার আর একটি অনুরোধ আছে। সৈয়দ বদরুদ্দোজা সাহেব প্রস্তাব করেছিলেন যে, যে কমিটি নিযুক্ত হবে, সেই কমিটির সভাপতি পদে একজন হাইকোর্টের বিচারপতি নিযুক্ত হলে ভাল হয়। কিন্তু এই বিলে বলা হয়েছে যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট একজন State Governmentএর অফিসারকে নিযুক্ত করবেন। আমি যতদূর জানি হাইকোর্টের জজ্‌ও State Governmentএর অফিসার। সুতরাং গভর্ণমেণ্ট যদি এই প্রস্তাবটির কথা মনে রেখে, একজন হাইকোর্টের জজ্‌কে এই কমিটির সভাপতি পদে নিযুক্ত করেন, তাহলে কমিটির মর্য্যাদা বাড়বে এবং আমাদের গভর্ণমেণ্টের সম্মানও অনেকখানি উচায় উঠবে। সেই জন্য আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে এদিকে দৃষ্টি দেবার জন্য অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি।

আমার আর একটা অনুরোধ হচ্ছে যে চারুচন্দ্র ভাণ্ডারী মহাশয় যে প্রস্তাবটা করেছিলেন যে by force কথাটা উঠিয়ে দেবেন। কারণ এই force ব্যবহার করে লোকের মনোভাবটা আজ কি দাঁড়িয়েছে—সেটা গভর্ণমেণ্ট বেশ ভালভাবেই জানেন।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I find that there is a storm here over a tea cup. Sir, it is a well-known proverb that a terrible disease requires a terrible remedy. You know very well that our police—by our police I mean the police of West Bengal—tried to eject a refugee from a house in order to restore the house to the Muslim evacuee and that policeman was convicted for using force——(Shaikh MOHAMMAD RAFIQUE: Is it so?)——Yes, he was convicted and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. Under executive orders that policeman carried out the order of vacating the house and removing the man forcibly from the place where he had no right to live. Still, Sir, the Presidency Magistrate convicted him for using force and so treated him as a trespasser——

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a point of order, Sir. Is it not *sub judice*. After that sentence there was an appeal and I think the matter is under appeal now.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: No, Sir, it is not *sub judice*. Sir, I do not say that the conviction was wrong neither do I say that the conviction was right. I am not going to say that but the Magistrate said that by using force he committed wrong and therefore I am not calling into question the Magistrate's order. But in order to remedy that defect it was necessary to use the word "force" in this connection in the Bill, and the draftsman was quite justified in putting down the word "force" in the clause.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: স্পীকার মহাশয়, মোটামুটীভাবে, এই যে বিলটা এখানে পাস করা হচ্ছে, আমার আপত্তি সত্ত্বেও এটা welcome করছি। এর মধ্যে প্রায় সকলগুলিই Ordinance আকারে আমরা পেয়েছি। বিল পাস হয়ে যে Act করা হবে সেটাকে welcome করলেও দুধের মধ্যে এক ফোঁটা চোনা পড়লে যেমন সবটা দুধকে নষ্ট করে দেওয়া হয় সেইরকম এখানেও একটিমাত্র শব্দ force থাকায় এটার সর্ব্বনাশ করা হয়েছে। এইটা থাকার জন্য ওরা এই বিলের সবটাই যে নষ্ট করে দেবেন, এই বিপদটা ওরা foresee করতে পারছেন না। বাস্তুহারা ও বাস্তুত্যাগীদের দরদের দিক থেকে এখানে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু আমি যতটা বুঝতে পারছি, বলতে বাধ্য হচ্ছি Governmentকে, যদি মুসলমানের property থেকে হিন্দুকে জোর করে সরিয়ে নিতে যান, তাহলে pactএর দ্বারা যে communal amity করা হয়েছে, সেটাও জোর করে সরিয়ে নেওয়া হবে। গত ফেব্রুয়ারী বা মার্চ মাসে যেরকম feeling হয়েছিল, তাতে তারা বলেছিল যদি আমাদের এখান থেকে তাড়ান, একজন হিন্দুকে এই জমি ও বাড়ী থেকে তাড়ান, তাহলে একটা class-war হবে। এই জায়গায় আমি Governmentএর কাছে appeal করবো—force use করবার আগে একবার নয়, দু'বার নয়, তিন বার যেন চিন্তা করেন। যাঁরা বলেন মুসলমানের জায়গায় যে বসেছে সে priority পাবে কেন? মুসলমানের বাড়ীতে বসলে সে priority পাবে এ যুক্তি আছে। তার আগে যেন ওরা ভাবেন যে জিনিষটা ওরা চাইছেন যে communal amity নষ্ট না হয় সে উদ্দেশ্য পণ্ড হবে। তারা আইনে না পারলেও অন্যরকমভাবে they can make it difficult for the Muslims to live here. তারা অন্য দেশের লোক, পাকিস্তানী, এই অনুসারেও protection claim করতে পারে। Refugeeরা 99·9 তারা চলে যেতে চাইছে না, তাদের পক্ষে এই আইন খাটবে না। অন্যের property বলেই যদি তাদের জোর করে নেওয়া হয় তাহলে অসুবিধা হবে বিস্তর। এ আইন অনুসারে সত্য হতে পারে কিন্তু factএ সত্য নয়। কাজেই কু-যুক্তি দেখিয়ে আসল অসুবিধা চেপে না দিয়ে যেন কাজ করা হয়। মুসলমানের না হয়ে হিন্দুর property হলেও গোলমাল হবে। Notice দিয়ে বা না দিয়ে যে রকমেই করা হোক তাতে class-war হবে। জনাব খন্দকার একদিক চিন্তা করেছেন কিন্তু আর একটা দিক থেকেও যেন চিন্তা করেন। আমাদের চেষ্টাই ছিল যাতে মাইনরিটিকে বাঁচান যায়। এবং সেই জন্যেই বলছি যাতে মেজরিটির মন মাইনরিটির প্রতি কঠিন না হয় সেইটা যেন করেন। ওরা যেন reconsider করে ঐ force কথাটা বাদ দিয়ে দেন। যে কথাটা বলেছেন জনাব মোদসির হোসেন এমন কি self-defenceএর জন্যেও যদি কেউ force use করে তাহলেও he will be hauled up before the court. বিলাতে এর চেয়েও ভয়ানক বিধি রয়েছে। বিলাতে যদি উপর থেকে বে-আইনি order দেন তাহলে Courtএ যেতে পারে। এদেশে অবশ্য সেটা নাই। Force কথাটা আইনে থাকলেও যে Courtএ যাবেনা তার কোন কারণ নাই। কাজেই force যদি properly used না হয় তাহলে অত্যাচারের মাত্রা আরো বাড়বে। Force properly used না হলে Courtএ policeএর সাজা হতে পারে। তার ফলে policeকে আরো উস্কে দেওয়া হবে force use করতে। Evacuee ১০ লক্ষের মধ্যে এক লক্ষ ঐ রকম property অধিকার করে আছে, তারা নানা বড়লোকদের বা জমিদারদের জমি অধিকার করে আছে, তাদের যদি আগে সরিয়ে দেওয়া হত তাহলে তাদের "ডোল" দিতে হয় কিন্তু এ বিষয়ে Governmentএর সুবিধা হচ্ছে। তাদের জন্য তাদের "ডোল" দিতে হয় না। অন্ততঃপক্ষে তিন বৎসর পর্য্যন্ত Governmentএর কোন খরচাই হয়নি তাদের জন্য। সুতরাং আমাদের প্রস্তাব হচ্ছে তাদের জন্য একটা alternative accommodationএর ব্যবস্থা করে যদি তাদের তাড়ান হয় তাতে কারো আপত্তি হবে না। কিন্তু যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত সেটা না করা হচ্ছে ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত force use করলে তার ফলটা খুবই dangerous হবে, এই কথাটা আমি Governmentকে জানাচ্ছি। (A VOICE: কাদের হয়ে) সোসিয়ালিষ্ট পার্টির তরফ থেকে।

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Sir, we congratulate the Government for bringing this measure at the earliest opportunity and for seeing that this is passed into law. This measure, as we understand, has been brought in in implementation of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. The passing of the Bill does not mean anything unless there is a sincere desire and honest attempt to see that the Act is used for the purpose for which it is meant. For the proper utilisation of this Act, we require Chairman and members who should command the confidence of the minority. Sir, it has been our experience unfortunately that whenever there has been an agreement between the two countries, each Government sees what kind of personnel are selected by the other Government and they in their turn appoint persons of the same calibre and standing as was appointed by the other Government. If we appoint the Chairman and members who would command the confidence of the evacuees and who are persons whose honesty and sincerity are above suspicion, then, Sir, we might expect that the other Government would also appoint persons whom, I think, we would like to see as Chairman and members of that committee. So, I would request the Government to see that in the appointment of the Chairman and members they choose the persons who are eminent and capable and who command the respect and confidence of not only the evacuees but also of the people of the other State.

Sir, I know that many of the Muslims who have gone to Pakistan have retained their houses here while they have occupied the houses of evacuees in that State. Similarly, many non-Muslims who have come from Eastern Pakistan have occupied the houses of Muslims here while retaining their houses in East Bengal. Calcutta offers a great attraction to the people of East Bengal. People having come to Calcutta and having seen the football matches, picture houses and all other attractions that it offers are reluctant to leave Calcutta even though on their return they are provided their own houses. If this Act is honestly acted upon and enforced, many of the refugees here who have retained their houses in the other State will go back. Similarly, many of the refugees in the other State who have their houses here will come back. An honest enforcement of the Act will compel the people to leave for their houses in East Bengal and this can only be achieved by a strong impression upon them, that decision of Government with regard to eviction is unalterable. This enforcement will check the influx of refugees in both the States. Therefore, Sir, I think our guiding aim should be to see that this Act is honestly and sincerely worked and I hope Government will also see that the officers who are appointed to see to the enforcement of this Act are people who belong to West Bengal and are not refugees from East Bengal.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was not inclined to intervene at this stage but for the fact that there has been some sort of confusion in the course of discussion. Sir, I am one of those who have been loudest in asking the Government for a measure of this description time and again and we have never spared the Government, nor minced matters in criticising them for their failure to implement the terms of the Delhi Pact. Now that the Government have come forward with a measure of this description, Government do command our admiration. On behalf of the Mussalmans of West Bengal—and I think I am voicing the feelings of my Muslim friends on this side—we are here to extend our hand of co-operation to the Government for any measure conceived in the best interest not merely of Mussalmans, but of all sections of people of the province.

Sir, I am not oblivious of the fact either—I want to stress and restress it over and over again—that my friends on this side stood by us in the gravest hour of our need even in the teeth of considerable volume of public opinion against them,—that men like Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari, Sri Haripada Chatterjee, Sri Sibnath Banerjee and

Sri Kanai Lal De and all the friends on this side risked not merely their reputation and their position but even their life for the sake of defending the poor unfortunate Mussalmans in their distress. We are not ungrateful people. But when the Government make a realistic approach to the problem which is calling for a solution for the last 12 months, I do not see any reason why there should be any misunderstanding whatsoever. My point in emphasising this is that we are not here to embarrass the Government and that if this Bill requires any alterations, any changes, that must be done in consultation with the other Government over there. I would request the Government in all seriousness to consider as to whether all the amendments that have been tabled by our friends and by my humble self also can be reconsidered in the light of the observations and suggestions that have been made on this side by various members.

Sir, "force," I think, has got certain sinister implications, sinister associations. I know that Government can use force; Government will be compelled to use force in certain circumstances, but the word "force" in the Bill carries certain associations and implications. After all, we the Mussalmans want to make it abundantly clear that we have no rancour, we have no bitterness, we have no jealousy, we have no hatred against our Hindu brethren who have come from across the border, who have been cut off from the real moorings of life and in extremely abnormal circumstances have done something which is not countenanced by any canons of reasoning or principles of equity, fairplay and justice. But the Government are perfectly justified in taking any measure to restore possession to Mussalmans of their properties. This Bill which has been long overdue seeks to do justice to that section of people which has been hard hit by the communal disturbance, and as I repeatedly told this House, this Bill has got far-reaching significance; this Bill must be viewed in all its implications because this has a repercussion upon our brethren and sisters on the other side. If the Government of East Bengal have got to reciprocate the Government of West Bengal, it must be in a manner that may not in any way defeat the very purpose for which the Bill has been brought before this House.

Therefore, Sir, I would only request the Government to consider certain provisions of the Bill. Fortunately for us, the Hon'ble the Chief Minister by his observations has clarified the Government attitude about certain provisions of the Bill about which there were some misgivings lurking in our mind. About that I need not enter into details at this stage. I would only refer to that class of Muslim evacuees over here who have been displaced from their houses and properties, but have settled down somewhere in the Indian Union or in West Bengal. The Government of West Bengal, I understand, are bringing a Bill to cure that snag or anomaly that exists in this Bill. Then, Sir, I shall refer once again to that amendment of mine by which I wanted to make it abundantly clear without meaning any reflection upon any particular officer of whatever status and position he may be—that there is the only sanctum of justice—the High Court—which by their independent judgment, by their independent observations in most ticklish questions have proved beyond all doubt, that they, the High Court Judges, are the people who inspire confidence in all sections of the people. Therefore one from among the judiciary should be entrusted with this most delicate task of handling this question, because otherwise, as my friend Sj. Sibnath Banerjee has rightly pointed out, this might lead to some misapprehension, some sort of complication. If a Judge of the High Court holds the scales even between the competing claims, of two opposing parties, it will be up to him to see that the evacuee gets a square deal without disturbing the social harmony, without disturbing the relationship that subsists between the evacuee and the refugee in any way.

Then again as I have repeatedly stressed and my friend Mr. Rafique has rightly pointed out that sort of people are selected by Government very often who do not inspire confidence in the Muslim mind. Without meaning any reflection upon individual person or persons here or outside, without trying to disturb the placid contentment that prevails in this House, without in any way trying to complicate the situation over here, without trying to introduce any heat in the debate may I respectfully point out to you and through you to the Government that members who will be in the Committee should be such as will look to the interest of the evacuees. "Evacuees" mean in the language of my esteemed friend, Mr. Bhandari, Mussalmans here and Hindus there. During the communal disturbances, no Hindus certainly were compelled to leave West Bengal and no Muslims were compelled to leave East Bengal. So the "evacuees" mean the Muslims of West Bengal and the Hindus of East Bengal. Therefore, I want the Government to reconsider the whole position as to whether it would be possible in agreement with the East Bengal Government to come to a conclusion which will contemplate inclusion of another provision in the Bill or substitution of this provision in the Bill by that amendment of mine which suggests that members of the minority community should not be nominated, but must be elected by the Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly who alone at present inspire confidence in the Muslim public in the countryside.

Then again coming to section 4, it appears that wide and extensive powers have been given to Magistrates. There are Magistrates who are above reproach; there are Magistrates who hold the scales even between the competing claims of the different parties. But, Sir, from our experience, during the disturbances and after, we have come across cases when Magistrates have not proved quite above reproach. Very often Magistrates have been very just, but many of the Police officers have obstructed the process of the law by their interference and uncalled for intervention. Very often summonses have been issued, but the summonses have not been served; warrants have been issued, but these have not been executed for months together with the result that the ends of justice have been defeated. Not that I condemn the Magistrates, as a class or that I arraign them as a class. But Magistrates should not be given wide and extensive powers. If there is convincing evidence, the Magistrate shall proceed to a certain course of action, but if there is irregularity or miscarriage of justice somehow, then the evacuee should have the right of appeal to a Tribunal or to the highest judiciary in the land. That is the safeguard which should be incorporated in the Bill in order to make it more consistent with the principle of justice, fairplay and equity.

Then again, Sir, as my friend Janab Khuda Bukhsh rightly pointed out yesterday, the time to return seems to be rather very short. By the 31st March people cannot decide as to whether they have got to come back here or not. Therefore I think it will be better if the Governemnt consider as to whether in agreement with the other Government time can be further extended.

Then again, Sir, the expenses incurred by the Committee in the exercise or discharge of any of its powers, duties and functions under this Act or the rules made thereunder in respect of any evacuee property shall be the first charge on the receipts derived from such property. I suggest that there should be some limit to the expenditure. At least such charge should not exceed 25 per cent. of the income.

Then again, Sir, I refer to another amendment. There have been certain cases where the unfortunate evacuees here and there have been driven out of their houses and properties, but they have to pay their rents, specially because their tenancy has not ceased. This naturally operates against

them very harshly. What will be the lot of these unfortunate people? It would have been much better if the representatives of the evacuees, representatives of the minorities over here were taken into confidence at the time of drafting the Bill. All that I want to impress upon the Government of West Bengal is that whether in the light of the suggestions, in the light of the observations, in the light of remarks made in this House, it would not be possible for them to reconsider the whole position in agreement with the other Government, so that the interest of the evacuees on both sides may be safeguarded.

Sir, once again I wish to congratulate the West Bengal Government for the bold, courageous and realistic approach they have made to the problem which has called for a solution for a long time. It has been long long overdüe. It seeks to do justice to the unfortunate people in distress. I can assure this House, our Hindu brothers outside, the majority community, that we propose to provoke no conflict and that we want to live in peace with the majority. I appeal to my friends over there to move in such a way, so cautiously and in such a guarded fashion that any step taken by them may not embarrass not merely the Government, but the people at large including the poor unfortunate minority who always look up to them for support, for sympathy, for co-operation in the darkest moment of their existence.

Janab HUSAN ARA BEGUM: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I shall not be long. I shall not take much time of the House. In welcoming this piece of legislation and in congratulating the Government on this most essential Bill I must say that it will be a landmark in the Republic of India. We have been suffering for the last three and a half years from untold sufferings and misery, and it is only for the farsightedness of our statesmen that today we are here to discuss this Bill and I hope that much progress will be done in this direction. I endorse the voice of my friend Janab Syed Badrudduja in giving his opinion on the different subjects concerning the evacuees. On behalf of the Muslims of West Bengal I congratulate the Government and I hope that they would see that peace and tranquillity prevail in this State. In this connection it will not be out of place to join with and make the same suggestion as Mr. Jyoti Basu did in the matter of maintaining communal harmony especially between Hindus and Muslims. These are all social works and these can be done outside the Assembly by the leaders of the different social organisations meeting and devising ways and means to continue to maintain the communal harmony prevailing now. These are very necessary in view of the anxious days through which we were passing in the months of February and March last. I shall not take any more time of the House but will conclude by quoting a line from a famous poem

کیا مزا اس ملاپ کا ھے' جو صلح ھو جائے جنگ ھو کر

and I hope that this will be a good omen for the future of our State.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as the congratulations and comments from the benches opposite have cancelled each other I think I need not prolong the debate in the House by a long speech. I rise, Sir, only to say for the first and last time that I owe no manner of responsibility to an irresponsible M. L. A. like Mr. Jyoti Basu. Sir, denunciation of force from the red lips of Mr. Jyoti Basu is certainly a strange thing to hear. Sir, I can understand the plea for using the minimum of force or no force from persons like Mr. Charu Chandra Bhandari and Mr. Annada Prosad Choudhury. But, Sir, when denunciation of force comes from a person like Mr. Jyoti Basu, one has got to wonder as one has got to wonder when the Bible is quoted by a certain person. (A VOICE: Satan.) That may be unparliamentary and therefore

I shall not use such an expression. Government, Sir, is the repository of force, of force legal and moral, in every democratic country and a democratic Government always knows how and when to use force and not to use force. It is only a totalitarian Government and their agents here do not and may not know how to measure the use of force by Government. A democratic Government has always to carry the people with them. It knows it depends upon the support of the majority of the people. It is only a totalitarian Government which does not care for the people that uses maximum force and their agents in this country are the persons, Sir, who make things impossible and therefore attract force from a Government unwilling to use force. Sir, I quite follow the argument that has been put forward by my friend Mr. Sibnath Banerjee and I can assure him that Government will consider carefully every situation as it arises and decide when force may or may not be necessary and act accordingly. (Mr. Sibnath Banerjee: Thank you.) It is the bounden duty of the Government to do so. In the Bill before the House we have put in exactly the same provisions that appear in the Ordinance promulgated in East Bengal. Now suppose we in pursuance of the amendment moved on the floor of this House and supported by some members opposite yield, and omit the words "and may use or cause to be used force for such purposes, if necessary", then the other side, i.e., the East Bengal Government may very well accuse us that we are not serious in this matter and that we do not propose to really implement or give effect to the provisions of the Bill. When such may be the case, why then press for omission of the words in question, why then accuse us that we have made a provision for the use of force. This Bill, as I have told you more than once before, is really a Bill which is being enacted by mutual agreement between this side and the other side. Therefore there is no escape from the propositions that have been agreed to between the two Governments. Suppose also there was no mention of the use of force in the East Bengal Ordinance or in the East Bengal Bill that may come up later, would not the Hindu refugees, who have come over to this side and are here now and may be intending to go back, accuse the East Bengal Government that they are not at all serious in this matter? I therefore believe that the honourable members will realize why the phrase has been used, and realizing that, will, even at this stage, resolve to support the Bill unanimously. (Loud cheers from the Government Benches.)

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly be passed was then put and agreed to.

Point of Privilege.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মি: ডেপুটি স্পীকার, স্যার, on a matter of privilege, আপনাদের Secretaryর through দিয়ে এইমাত্র একটা circular পেলাম তাতে দেখছি— কালকে আমাদের একটা non-official day ছিল।

(The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy: এখন কালকের কথা ভাবছেন কেন? আগে আজকের কাজ শেষ করুন।)

এটা আমাদের আগের কাজ। আমাদের right যা আছে তাতে শুক্রবার দিন non-official day; এবং সেটা ১৬ই তারিখে ছিল, কিন্তু সেদিন পিছিয়ে দিয়ে বলা হল ২৩শে তারিখে হবে। আজ আবার হঠাৎ নোটিশ পেয়েছি যে এই তারিখে হবে না। বলা হয়েছে তিন তারিখে শনিবার দিন হবে। সেদিন শনিবার হয়ত অনেক মেম্বর ১১টার সময় চলে যাবেন, হয়ত কোরামই হবে না। এই যে Parliamentary Practice Bookএর 19 clause পড়ে দেখেছি—

"Except at the meeting on Friday of each week, Government Business, unless the Governor otherwise directs, shall have precedence at every meeting of

the Assembly, provided that, with the permission of the Speaker, Government Business may have precedence on any Friday."

এতে বলা হয়েছে গভর্ণমেণ্ট Business অন্য দিনে হবে, শুক্রবার reserved for non-official day.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have understood your point. Perhaps you were not present yesterday when the matter was discussed and it has agreed to by the Opposition that the non-official business will be taken up on the 3rd of March and it was settled as such.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: We on this side did not agree.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Even if others agreed a single member can object to it and point out the provisions laid down in the parliamentary handbook.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Whip of the Opposition Sj. Kanai Lal De agreed to such an arrangement.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: মাননীয় ডেপুটী স্পীকার মহাশয়, আমি এই কথাই বলেছিলাম যে আমাদের বরাবরের convention অনুযায়ী শুক্রবার দিনই non-official day রাখুন। ২৩শে তারিখে Non-official Bills discussion করার কথা ওরা বলেছিলেন। (A VOICE FROM MINISTERIAL BENCH: তাতে আপনি agree করেছিলেন।)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It was annonced yesterday. I am helpless in the matter and cannot alter the programme now.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমার যা বক্তব্য আছে তা শেষ করতে দিন।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It was the proper occasion then to raise your point.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I think this is the proper occasion to draw your attention to the mistake that was committed yesterday. কালকে যদি announce হয়েও থাকে, সেই ভুলটার দিকে আপনার ও হাউসের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করবার আমাদের right আছে। সেদিন যদি কেউ agree করেও থাকেন, কিন্তু কানাইবাবু বলছেন agree করেন নাই, এবং যদি সকলে agree না করে থাকেন——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, all these things were brought to the notice of the Hon'ble Speaker yesterday and discussed with him, and it was the proper occasion then to raise this point. I am sorry, I have nothing to do in the matter, and I hope you will not raise any objection now.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, তাছাড়া শনিবার হলে, আমরা time কম পাচ্ছি--আমাদের right কেড়ে নেওয়া হচ্ছে; Budget discussion করবার পূর্ব্বে চারদিন সময় দেওয়া হয়—কিন্তু তার মধ্যে এখন শনিবার, রবিবার ঢুকিয়ে দেওয়া হচ্ছে। কাজেই এই timeটা বদলান দরকার। It was not decided yesterday. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, আপনি বলছেন কালকে discussion হয়ে গিয়েছে অথচ leader of the Krishak Praja-Majdur Party তিনি বলছেন কোন agreement হয়নি। We do not know where we stand আপনি হয়ত ভুল informationএর উপর নির্ভর করে এই কথা বলছেন।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: My information is quite correct. I was present all along in the House, and I know it definitely. Please take your seat.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I had already taken my seat when you stood up.

আমি আবার উঠছি এইজন্য যে আমাদের rightকে curtail করা হচ্ছে। বাজেট পড়বার জন্য সাধারণতঃ ৪ দিন সময় দেওয়া হয়ে থাকে, কিন্তু আজ আমাদের তা দেওয়া হচ্ছে না। যে চারদিন বাজেট পড়বার জন্য allot করা হয়েছে তার মধ্যে শনিবার, রবিবার ধরা হয়েছে। Sessionএর মধ্যে চারটা শুক্রবার পেতাম, তার মধ্যে দুটো চলে গেল, thirdটাও চলে যাবে। আমাদের right এইরকমভাবে কেড়ে নেওয়া হচ্ছে।

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: মাননীয় ডেপুটি স্পীকার মহোদয়, oppositionকে যদি এইভাবে suppress করা হয়, তাহলে ভবিষ্যতে আমরা আর কোন agreementএর মধ্যে আসব না। It was not agreed to yesterday. It was not announced yesterday—we did not know it. I ask the Secretary to let us know. Sir, if we are oppressed in this way, in future we refuse to come to this Assembly.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I think you are a bit misinformed. Yesterday there was no discussion on this matter that Mr. Speaker was going to arrange something. The arrangement was announced in a piece of paper when we were just entering the House today. As Sj. Sibnath Banerjee has pointed out the error, I think some corrections should be made. There was no agreement with regard to any of these things. Moreover, Saturday is not a non-official day. Mr. Speaker said very kindly that he would consider the matter. There was no discussion yesterday, but that discussion is taking place today.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: With regard to Dr. Banerji, I say that he is an old parliamentarian and he has been a member of the legislature for the last fourteen years. He is the leader of the party, and his Whip Mr. Kanai Lal De came to the Hon'ble Speaker and agreed to the non-official day being fixed for the 3rd March. So it has been announced accordingly, and I cannot alter the programme.

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: On a point of personal explanation, Sir, আমার সঙ্গে কালকে এই কথাই হয়েছিল ওরা বলেছিলেন শনিবার দিন non-official day রাখতে, কিন্তু আমি আপত্তি জানিয়ে এই কথা বলি যে আমাদের বাজেট discussionএর জন্য ৪ দিন সময় চাই। এবং আমি একথাও বলেছিলাম যে যখন শুক্রবার দিন বরাবরই non-official dayর জন্য রাখা হয়, তখন শুক্রবার বাদ দিয়ে শনিবার দিন Budget discussionএর জন্য রাখা হোক। এছাড়া আর কোন discussion হয়নি। (A VOICE FROM GOVERNMENT BENCH :আপনি তখন আপত্তি করেন নি।)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You may raise this question when Mr. Speaker will be in the Chair. I am sorry, I have nothing to do in this matter.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On another matter of privilege, Sir, আমাদের গতবারের Sessionএ যতটা মনে পড়ছে অবশ্য subject to correction আমাদের স্পীকার মহোদয় বলেছিলেন question দিলে তার উত্তর ১০।১২ দিনের মধ্যে পাওয়া যাবে এবং কবে পাওয়া যাবে তাও আগেই জানা যাবে। আগে যদি জানা থাকে তাহলে আমরা supplementaryর জন্য তৈরী হয়ে থাকতে পারি। কাজেই গতবারে যেটা announce করা হয় সে সম্বন্ধে আপনারা কোন আইন করেছেন কিনা এবং সে আইন করে থাকলে মন্ত্রীমহাশয়রা বে-আইনী-ভাবে সেটা অমান্য করেছেন কিনা সেটা আপনার through দিয়ে মন্ত্রীমহাশয়দের কাছে জানতে চাই।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall inform Mr. Speaker. Next.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce——

(At this stage there was an uproar in the House.)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I could not hear your reply, Sir. I claim to have your reply on the point.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. I am on my legs. Please take your seat.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I could not unfortunately hear what you said about my question of privilege.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I said, I shall inform the Speaker and for the present I shall proceed with the business of the day.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On another matter of privilege, Sir, regarding cut motions. The time given is very insufficient.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You will get it.

The West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947, which was enacted by the Central Legislature to enable Government to retain under requisition immovable properties requisitioned under the Defence of India Rules, will cease to operate with effect from the 1st April, 1951, in relation to immovable properties requisitioned under the said rules for purposes of the State Government. There is, however, still in the occupation of the State Government, a very large number of immovable properties requisitioned under the Defence of India Rules and these properties cannot be released at present in view of the acute shortage of accommodation. It is, therefore, necessary to obtain powers for the State Government to continue requisition of these properties after the 31st March, 1951, and to retain these powers till the 31st March, 1954.

The Bill has been framed with this object in view.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Deputy Speaker, with regard to this Bill which is before us, again I find no explanation is given by the Hon'ble Minister as to how those properties which are under requisition under the Defence of India Rules have been utilised by the Government and for what actual purpose these properties have been utilised. If these have been utilised for purposes which affect the people in a way by which they benefit, then surely nobody would mind giving such powers to the Government even though the Government is a reactionary Government. But one thing I should like to point out is that I do not know why in this Bill, as in the previous Bill, powers are being sought by Government—extraordinary powers—till the 31st of March, 1954. We are expecting a general election at the end of this year. A new Government is to come into existence by the beginning of next year. Therefore, I should have thought that 1952 would be enough. So I hope that the only amendment which I have got will be accepted by this Government because we expect that this Government will get out and some other new Government will come into existence and they will decide in 1952 as to what is to be done with regard to these powers. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Hear, hear!)

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: আমার বক্তব্য হচ্ছে requisition শুরু করেছিল বৃটিশ Government warএর সময়। তাদের ত kick out করা হয়েছে। তবে আর সে requisition এখনও কেন? তিন বৎসর পর এখনও কি রাষ্ট্র শিশুই রয়েছে? (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY; হাঁ, রয়েছে।) যে ব্যাপার নিয়ে Dr. Royর কাছে গিয়েছিলাম requisition periodএর rent এখনও অনেকেই পায় নাই। কাজেই যথেষ্ট time হয়ে গিয়েছে, ১৯৫১র যা ছিল তাই enough. Jyoti Basu 1952 পর্যন্ত গিয়েছেন, আমরা অতটা এগুতে রাজি নই। কিজন্য এটা দরকার? আমি বাজেট discussionএ এ নিয়ে আলোচনা করবো। যেখানে অল্প প্রয়োজনের জন্য requisition করা হয় সেখানে আমরা নিন্দা করবো। কিন্তু যেখানে প্রয়োজনের জন্য refugeeদের বসবাসের জন্য প্রয়োজন, তার সম্বন্ধে কিন্তু এখানে কোন কথাই নাই। ১৯৪২তে বা তারও আগে requisition করা হয়েছিল যে সব কৃষকদের জমি, সে সব কৃষকরা বাস্তুহারা হয়ে যেখানে সেখানে ঘুরে বেড়াচ্ছে। তাদের সম্বন্ধে ব্যবস্থা করা Governmentএর খুব উচিত ছিল। Governmentএর অকর্মণ্যতার জন্য যে লোকের কষ্ট হচ্ছে সেটা সহ্য করতে আমরা রাজি নই। ১৯৫১ ত দূরের কথা, একদিনও বাড়াতে আমরা রাজি নই। They have got ample powers to acquire. এই তিন বৎসর তাঁরা গদিতে বসেছেন এর মধ্যেও তাঁরা বুঝে উঠতে পারেন নাই যে কোন কোনটা দরকার--জরুরী দরকার, বলছেন যে in view of the acute shortage of accommodation কাদের জন্য? Government servantদের জন্য। তাই যদি হয় তাহলে requisition করে না রেখে acquire করে নিন। বহু লোকের বহু immovable property রয়েছে, সেগুলি requisition করে না নিয়ে acquire করে নিন কিন্তু তা ওরা করবেন না, করবেন requisition আর requisition করলেই Government officerরা দখল করে বসবেন। আরো time চাওয়ার মানেই তাদের নিজেদের অক্ষমতার প্রমাণই তাঁরা দেন and it is a proof of their incompetence. তাদের হাতে ample power আছে তবু তাঁরা acquire না করে requisition করবেন কেন? So I oppose the whole thing.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় ডেপুটিস্পীকার মহাশয়, এ সম্পর্কে জ্যোতিবাবু যা বলেছেন তার সঙ্গে আমি একমত। ওরা যুদ্ধের সময় যে সমস্ত জায়গা-বাড়ী immovable property অর্থাৎ land যা নাকি যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজনে requisition করা হয়েছিল ১৯৪১ সালে, আজ ৯।১০ বৎসর পরে সেই যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজন যখন মিটে গেছে, রাজা বদল হয়েছে, রাজ্য বদল হয়েছে, তখনও ফিরে আবার তাই নিয়ে legislation করতে যাচ্ছেন। যে যে বাড়ী বা জমি গভর্ণমেণ্ট requisition করে রেখেছেন--সেই জমি বা বাড়ী কি কাজে গভর্ণমেণ্ট ব্যবহার করছেন। এখন তো আর যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজন নাই। যুদ্ধের পরে বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেণ্ট ছিল--তারা যখন চলে গেল সাধারণ একটা আইনের বলে Independenceএর সময় একটা provision হলো--যে Defence of India Rulesএর দ্বারা যেগুলি requisition করা হয়েছে Central Government সেগুলি continue করতে পারবেন--এবিষয়ে কোন আইনের provision আলাদা নাই। সুতরাং আমরা জানতে চাই কি প্রয়োজনে সেটা রাখতে হবে। যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজন ত নাই, তবে কি প্রয়োজন? অনেক সময় দেখি, প্রয়োজন নাই তবু একজন লোককে জেলে রাখা হয়, ধরে রেখে detain করা হয় নয়ত বা একবার release করে--সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আবার ধরা হয়। কিন্তু এগুলি এখন পর্যন্ত release করা হয় নাই। যদি প্রয়োজন থাকে মনে করেন, তাহলে এগুলিকে ছেড়ে দিন। ছেড়ে দিয়ে আবার requisition করুন। তাহলে জনসাধারণ বুঝতে পারবে যে এইজন্য সরকার requisition করছেন। আজকে একটা আইন করতে যাচ্ছেন যাতে নাকি requisitionই continued হয়। কত জমি আছে, কি পরিমাণ আছে ১০ হাজার বিঘা না ১৫ হাজার বিঘা না ১০ লাখ বিঘা আমরা কিছুই জানি না। কি প্রয়োজনে সেগুলি আছে? এগুলি যতক্ষণ পরিষ্কার করা না হয় ততক্ষণ দেশের প্রতি injustice হয়।

আর তা ছাড়া requisition করার দরকার কি? আমি বলছি--requisition চলে যাক,--এখন থেকে আপনারা acquire করুন, তাহলে সেটা দেশের লোকের পক্ষে অপেক্ষাকৃত কম কষ্টকর হবে। তারপর যে land or house ১৯৪১-৪২ সালে requisition করা হয়েছিল, তখন যে rateএ compensation দেয়া হয়েছে এখনো সেই rate আছে, যদিও সম্পত্তির দাম এখন অনেক বেড়েছে।

যতক্ষণ সম্পত্তি আছে ততক্ষণ দু'পাঁচ-দশজন লোককেই বা ন্যায়সঙ্গত আয় থেকে বঞ্চিত করবেন কেন? সেটা ভাল নয়। Private property উঠে যাক, সে ভাল কথা, কিন্তু যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত private property আছে ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত ন্যায়সঙ্গত দাবি মেটানো উচিত। কিন্তু আশ্চর্য্যের বিষয় ১৯৪১ সালে যা বার্ষিক compensation দেওয়া হতো এখনো কি তাই দেওয়া হচ্চে? আমরা এসম্পর্কে সরকারকে কোন ক্ষমতা দেই নাই। Legislatureএর অধিকার আছে এসব দাবি করার। ১৯৪১ সাল থেকে সংশ্লিষ্ট লোকেরা যথেষ্ট কষ্ট ভোগ করছে। যুদ্ধের সময় ভাড়াটে বাড়ীতে অতি কষ্টে তারা বাস করেছিল, তাদের occupationএ যে বাড়ী ছিল সেটা নিয়ে নেওয়া হয়েছে। আজ দেখা গেছে, কোন একজন বিশিষ্ট officer অতি অল্প ভাড়ায় বড় সুন্দর বাড়ী occupy করে আছে। কিন্তু যারা আগেই বাড়ী occupy করেছিল, তাদেরকে বেশী দিতে হচ্ছে। সমস্ত material যতক্ষণ না আমাদের সামনে আসে, ততক্ষণ এ বিল আনা উচিত হবে না। আশা করি এই বিল Government withdraw করে নেবেন। নতুবা অন্ততঃপক্ষে জনসাধারণের এ সম্বন্ধে মতামত কি আছে জানবার জন্য এটা জনসাধারণের মধ্যে circulate করা হউক।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it has been enquired why the life of this Bill should be extended. Now, Sir, there are more than 500 properties requisitioned under the Defence of India Rules, which are still under requisition. Now some of these properties are under requisition, because they are necessary for the Government of India. But most of these properties which are now under requisition are being used by the State Government. (Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: For which purpose?) It is reported that the entire rationing system will be dislocated as most of the Government Stores, godowns and Rationing Offices are continuing in requisitioned premises. The war may have ceased, but war conditions have not ceased. Sir, I would like to put one question to my friend Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari. Is he prepared to say that the food situation is not more difficult today than what it was in 1947? If so, how can we release these houses serving as stores, godowns and offices? (Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: You should examine the necessity of requisitioning each and every store.) It the Land Revenue Department cannot depend on the Civil Supplies Department and *vice versa* no Government, no administration is possible then. At least the ex-Minister in charge of the Civil Supplies Department ought to know the necessity of continuing the requisition of those premises which are being used by the Civil Supplies Department. He is in the know. He knows about the godowns and stores that were housed by requisition. He cannot plead ignorance. Therefore, Sir, I have said if these houses are released from requisition, it will dislocate the whole rationing system. So, we have got to extend the life of this Act.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: On a point of privilege, Sir.

Voting on demand for grantএর জন্য এবার আমাদের মাত্র দশ দিন সময় দেওয়া হয়েছে। কিন্তু নিয়ম হচ্চে the voting of demands for grants for any financial year shall take place on such days not exceeding twenty but not later than the 30th day of June অর্থাৎ ২০ দিনের বেশী হবে না। কিন্তু মাত্র ১০ দিন সময় দেওয়া হয়েছে। যে পরিমাণ সময় পেতে পারি তার অর্দ্ধেক দেওয়া হচ্ছে, এতে আমাদের কুলাবে না। এতে আমাদের প্রতি অন্যায় করা

হয়েছে। আমি আগে থেকেই বলে দিচ্ছি এই দশ দিন সময় insufficient আমরা কুড়ি দিন দাবী করি। মাসের শেষ দিন পর্যন্তও session চললে আপত্তি নেই, কারণ আমাদের অনেক কথা বলবার আছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: Twenty days is the maximum time, but it can be less. Last year it was 10 days. We shall see to that later on.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Last year there was no opposition. But this time you are feeling that an opposition has developed. So, the Opposition Party claim more time this year than last year. That is our demand practically.

Mr. SPEAKER: We shall consider that later on.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, there were two other points of privilege, when the Deputy Speaker was occupying the Chair. My question is: will you please give your verdict on them?

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that some objection has been raised to the non-official day being fixed for Saturday. The difficulty has arisen, as I explained yesterday, on account of the fact that we want four days for preparation and four days for discussion. It cannot be done unless and until we hold a sitting on Saturday. Naturally four days mean Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. The only day left is Saturday. Government have got no other alternative.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, the Deputy Speaker said that it was declared yesterday that non-official business would be taken up on Saturday and not on Friday.

We did not hear that any such declaration was made yesterday. Now, Sir, there is another point. Sir, I was to have moved some resolutions on Fridays but on two occasions the matter was postponed at the request of some members and on the last occasion when it was postponed I then definitely stated that non-official resolutions must be taken on the 2nd March. Now to our utter surprise I hear today that the non-official resolutions would be taken up on Saturday. I said that we did not agree to that but the Deputy Speaker said that there was a declaration to that effect. I want to know from you, Sir, what is exactly the position, whether there was any such express declaration in so many words.

Mr. SPEAKER: Though there was no such definite declaration, it was implied that if we had four days' continuous general discussion of the Budget then on the next day, i.e., on Saturday, we shall have to transact the non-official business.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, the non-official business may be held on Friday and the general discussion of the Budget may continue on Saturday.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will it be proper to interrupt the general discussion? When you want a day for non-official business what is the harm if you get that on Saturday?

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, a convention has been established in this House for a long time that non-official business is generally transacted on Firday.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is true that we have Fridays as non-official days and I do not want to say that that convention should be given a go-by because this time the non-official day happens to fall on Saturday. The position is that there has already been delay in the scheduled time allotted to the different

Bills on account of the prolonged discussion that is going on in this House. Therefore in order to accommodate the opposition and in order to allow 4 days' time for general discussion of the Budget this arrangement was suggested and none objected to it.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Sir, it is not only a convention but it is the rule—rule 19 of our Assembly Procedure Rules—that non-official business will be taken up on Friday.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, on another matter of privilege and this matter was referred to by you in the last Budget session. You told the House that some rules will be framed with regard to the answering of questions by the Government. Now, this may be the last session with the present Government in office and there are so many questions remaining unanswered. Have you, Sir, framed any rules whereby the Government can be asked to answer these questions within a specified period of time and to inform us beforehand as to when answers to particular questions will come up?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have not yet arrived at any conclusion but I am considering the matter.

Clause 1.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 1(3), line 3, for the words "three years" the words "one year" be substituted.

Sir, the Hon'ble Minister during the time of consideration of the Bill had referred, though he has not supplied us with any list, to certain requisitioned premises containing Government stores, godowns, etc. I do not know what the others are which had been requisitioned by the Government. Now, Sir, I feel that the explanation given by the Hon'ble Minister is not sufficient, because we had asked the Government—since they are asking us for powers—to inform us as to why they require them for such a long period of time, till 1954. Sir, I think it is a very sad commentary on the Government's working to tell us today that the Government could not have their own buildings for providing their officers and godowns and stores and so on and so forth. That is why I say that if at all Government takes these powers it should be not more than for another year at the end of which a new Government will come into existence.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY : মাননীয় স্পীকারমহোদয়, শ্রীযুক্ত জ্যোতি বসু যে কথা বলেছেন আমি তা সমর্থন করি। কি কি অবস্থায় এর প্রয়োগ হবে? মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এর আগে বলেছেন এর দরকার হয় Civil Supply বিভাগের godown আর দোকান ঘরের জন্য। ১৯৪৮ সালের ১০ই মার্চ থেকে একটা প্রশ্ন আমার রয়েছে তাতে আমি জানতে চেয়েছিলাম গভর্ণমেণ্টের requisition করা বাড়ী আর জমি মোট কতগুলি? তার মধ্যে কতগুলি বা কাজে লাগে কতগুলি বা পড়ে আছে। সেই প্রশ্নটার উত্তর বহবার আবেদন করেও পাই নাই এবং সেই '৪৮ সনের ১০ই মার্চ থেকে আজ পর্য্যন্ত তখনকার মন্ত্রী, বা বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রী তিনি সংশ্লিষ্ট বিভাগের কাজ করছেন যদি মনে করে থাকেন--যে এই প্রশ্নটা একটা যুক্তিযুক্ত প্রশ্ন হয়েছে তবে প্রশ্নটার উত্তর '৪৮ সাল থেকে আজ পর্য্যন্ত তাঁরা কেন দিতে পারলেন না বুঝে উঠা কঠিন। সেই সমস্ত জমি ও বাড়ি আরো বেশী দিন requisition continue করার জন্য যে প্রস্তাব আনা হয়েছে এর যুক্তিযুক্তা প্রতিপন্ন করবার জন্য Government পক্ষ থেকে আমাদের এমন কোন তালিকা ও প্রমান দেওয়া হয় নাই যেজন্য আমরা তাঁদের এই প্রস্তাবকে support করতে পারি। ১৯৪৮ সালের মার্চ থেকে আজ পর্য্যন্ত যে তালিকাটা তাঁরা দিতে পারছেন না তা বোধ হয় সরকারের হাতে তৈরি নাই। অতএব সেই বিষয় আজ যে ক্ষমতা তাঁরা চাইছেন তা দেওয়া সম্পূর্ণ অযৌক্তিক।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Bill was enacted in 1948. For 5 or 6 months in 1947, my friend Mr. Annada Prosad Choudhury and others were in the Government.

(Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: No, Sir, it was 1948, 10th March.) I am not referring to your question at all. Sir, my friend Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhury and his colleagues were in the Government for about 6 months in 1947 and up to January, 1948. Now, Sj. Choudhury could have at that time satisfied himself very easily why these houses were requisitioned. In fact I may presume that he satisfied himself perfectly well about the necessity of——(Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: Absolutely unjustified)——continuance of requisition of those houses otherwise his Government would have derequisitioned those houses. Now soon after coming out of the Government he put in the alleged question, but so far as the question was concerned, I do not remember, at least I was not in charge of the department at the time and so I do not know, whether the question has been answered or not or what was the difficulty in answering the question. But I think that this is not a genuine request for information because those persons whom he is now accusing for not supplying him the information can also accuse him, for he himself may have supplied these information as he was in charge of an important department of the Government. So far as my information goes, I have told the House, more than 500 premises are under requisition and most of these premises are being used in connection with the Civil Supplies work, i.e., for the offices, godowns and stores and all such things. Now if you do not extend the life of the Act for more than a year or two, then after a short time we shall not be in a position to continue the rationing system. I have made it perfectly clear that the whole rationing system will break down and it would be impossible for the Civil Supplies Department to function without the houses under requisition.

I therefore oppose the amendment.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: I should like, Sir, to explain one point with regard to Mr. Annada Prosad Choudhury''s question. He has referred to a question he had put in some time back. As he knows perfectly well, I was not in charge of the department for some time past, but I can say from my previous knowledge of it that it is couched in such language that it did not make clear whether he wants information about lands or about premises in the city only or in the whole of West Bengal. However we sent the question to all the District Officers to get the required information. All this information has perhaps now been collected and a reply will I hope be given soon.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY : On a point of privilege, Sir, আমি একটু আগে জিজ্ঞাসা করেছিলাম, আমি যে প্রশ্নটা দিয়েছি বহুদিন আগে তার কোন উত্তর আজ পর্যন্ত পাই নাই। এই বিষয় আপনি কোন নিয়ম করবেন বলেছেন। এই উত্তর মন্ত্রীমহাশয় দিয়েছেন যে department-এর লোকদের কাছে যাওয়ার পরেও সে প্রশ্নের মর্ম বুঝতে পারে নাই। বুঝবার পক্ষে তিন বৎসর কি যথেষ্ট নয়? আমি আপনাকে জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই এই যে এতো দিনেও উত্তর দিতে পারেন নাই তবে কিভাবে প্রশ্ন করলে তাড়াতাড়ি উত্তর পাওয়া যেতে পারে।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Choudhury, I shall see to it, but under the rule, as it stands today, I cannot compel anybody.

The motion of Sj. Jyoti Basu that in clause 1(*3*), line 3, for the words "three years" the words "one year" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকারমহোদয়, আমি এই বিলের 1st readingএ যে কথা বলেছি, তারপর Member-in-charge of the Bill যে উত্তর দিয়েছেন, তাতে আমাদের convince হওয়া ত দূরের কথা আরো সব গোলমাল হয়ে গেল। তিনি যে উত্তর দিয়েছেন তাতে যেন বোঝা গেল কয়েকটি godown আর কয়েকটি storeএর কথাই তিনি উল্লেখ করেছেন, কিন্তু যুদ্ধের সময় যেসব residential houses requisition করা হয়েছিল তার সঙ্গেসঙ্গে অনেক horticultural land and agricultural landও requisition করা হয়। তার উত্তরে সেগুলির কথা উল্লেখ না থাকায় কি বুঝতে হবে এগুলি থেকে requisition উঠে গিয়েছে শুধু godown আর storeএর উল্লেখ দেখি, এতে বুঝবো কি? আমি যে বলেছি বহু এইরকম বাড়ী আছে যার প্রয়োজন নাই তবু দখল করা হচ্ছে, বহু জায়গা রয়েছে যার কোন প্রয়োজন নাই, তবু সেগুলি Governmentএই রয়েছে। Member-in-charge যিনি বিল এনেছেন what are the imports of the Bill তা পর্যন্ত জানেন না। তাঁর মাথায় রয়েছে কতিপয় দোকান আর godown কিন্তু আমার মাথায় যেটা রয়েছে দোকানই শুধু নয়, godownই শুধু নয় ভাল ভাল বাড়ী ও জমি এগুলো রয়েছে (VOICE: এতো মাথা ঠোকা-ঠুকির ব্যাপার--laughter) আমরা ত সমর্থনই করতে চাই। যুদ্ধের সময় প্রয়োজন হয়েছিল। এখনও

নতুন প্রয়োজন হতে পারে, একটা essential প্রয়োজন হতে পারে, কিন্তু সেটাও জানা চাই। আমাদের মনোভাব এ নয় যে, Governmentএর হাতে ক্ষমতা দিতে চাই না। আমাদের মনোভাব হচ্ছে এই যে আমরা কিছু জানছি না অথচ ক্ষমতা দিচ্ছি, এটা ঠিক নয়। (The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDER: নতুন করে প্রশ্ন করুন।) প্রশ্ন অনেক করেছি কিন্তু জবাব পাওয়া যায় না। এই কারণে এটা oppose করা ছাড়া কোন উপায় নাই।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, if the honourable member will send a question I promise to give a complete list of the requisitioned houses and lands.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, a question is there.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: As Mr. Sinha has said, the question was confusing and probably therefore the answer could not be prepared in time. One word more. I have stated for the information of the House that there is a De-requisition Board——

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to speak on this motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, we have just now heard that a question is standing in the name of one of the members here for the last three years and it has not yet been answered. It may have been a very confusing question but if it was enquired of the member giving notice of that question, that confusion could have been cleared and answer given and it would then have been much easier for us to support the Bill.

It is true that Government needs such powers in times of difficulties and of war. But the Hon'ble Minister has reminded us that war conditions have not ceased even after such a long time. Again I say it is a sad commentary on congress rule for two and a half years. In the democracies, in Eastern Europe, in the Soviet Union and even in China, in one year it has ceased. They have done things for the people which you cannot even dream of sitting there on the opposite side. I do not blame you, but I was thinking whilst Ministers were speaking as to why did they not requisition for such purposes—because we are short of accommodation—houses like the Darbhanga House, Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan's house and the Government House for building hospitals for our children. On the other hand we hear that the Lake Hospital, which is there, is going to be closed very soon. Therefore, it is merely an eye-wash, it is merely trying to hoodwink the people, telling them that the Government needs this power for the good of the people. Houses we need, godowns we need. If godowns are not there, we have got to seize houses, we have got to requisition houses—I agree. But there is another point. This Government has been ruling for the last 3½ years. What have they done about building godowns of their own? Nothing, and today if they turn round to us and say, "because we are an infant State, we have been ruling for the last 3½ years only and we have not been able to do anything without having such powers", we are sorry such powers cannot be given to such an inefficient, corrupt Government.

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, perhaps Mr. Basu has not quite appreciated the scope of this Bill. The scope of this Bill is only to extend the life of the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Ordinance which was issued by the Central Government. This does not relate to buildings; there is a separate Provincial Act for that. The main object of the Bill is that when godowns and other structures are constructed on any requisitioned land, instead of the Government acquiring it outright they should keep it under requisition till such time as we are able to dispense with these things. You know godowns have to be kept

and other things have to be maintained so long as the system of rationing goes on. Therefore this Bill is meant only to extend the life of the old Act that was passed by the Centre and does not relate to any other thing.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Why don't you build your own godowns?

The Hon'ble BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA: That will mean dismantling of the old godowns and building of new structure. That will mean a lot of money.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I say for the information of the House that there is a De-requisition Board. If any premises in the opinion of any of my friends opposite be considered as unoccupied by the Government or unnecessary for Government use or not being put to proper use, then that information may be sent to the De-requisition Board and if they recommend that that should be de-requisitioned, Government will be glad to do it.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed, was then put and agreed to.

The West Bengal Dentists (Repealing) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the West Bengal Dentists (Repealing) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Dentists (Repealing) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Sir, when the All-India Dentists Bill was passed year before last they allowed the West Bengal Dentists Council, as it then existed, to continue to function until 31st December, 1950. On the 1st of January, 1951, the election has taken place under the All-India Act. Therefore the present Dentists Act of 1939 is not necessary; it has to be repealed and therefore I propose that it might be repealed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Dentists (Repealing) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to introduce the Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the provision of the Bill is very simple. In the present Act, the Bengal Nurses Act, 1934, there were two seats—one was allotted to the Director of Health Services and the other one to the Surgeon-General in those days. Now that the Director of Health Services and the Surgeon-General have been combined into one post, there is a vacancy in the nominated or *ex-officio* seats on the Bengal Nursing Council. It has therefore been proposed that in place of one of the posts which has been vacant the Superintendent of Nursing Services, West Bengal, be the *ex-officio* member to the West Bengal Nursing Council.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilization) Bill, 1951.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to introduce the Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951.

(The Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilization) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951, contemplates requisition for a short period, not exceeding 10 years, for the development of waste lands. (Laughter in Opposition benches.) Why this giggle? Without understanding the provisions of the Bill you may laugh, but the last laugh is with me and not with you.

Sir, if you turn to the provisions of the Bill, you will find that the Bill has been necessitated by the fact that the purposes which are envisaged in this Bill are not included in the provisions of any of the Existing Requisitioning Acts. We have two types of Acts as you know. One is the measures for permanent acquisition of land, for instance, the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, and the recent Land Development and Planning Act of 1948. These are Acts which contemplate permanent acquisition of land. And, there is another category of Acts which are meant for requisition such as the Act, for the continuance of which I am pleading before you.

Now, Sir, development of a particular land or forest or ill-developed water area will require certain time, and therefore it is provided in the Bill which is now under consideration that the Government will be able to requisition waste lands or water area for purpose of better utilization, if such waste lands are not being properly utilized for the purpose of raising crops or fishes. It is just for improving the food condition in this State that this measure is being brought forward. And if you will turn to clause 10 you will find that a specific assurance has been given in that clause that no waste land shall be kept under requisition for a period beyond 20 years from the date of the possession of the waste land by the Collector under section 5. With that assurance, Sir, this Bill is being moved just to improve food production in the State.

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, বিলের উদ্দেশ্য মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বিবৃতি করে বলেছেন যে উদ্দোশ্য হচেছ--পতিত জমি বা জলাভূমি যেটা কোন সদ্ব্যবহার করা হচেছ না সেসব ধানের জমি ও জলা জমি দখল করে তাতে ধান ও অন্যান্য ফসল উৎপাদন করা। এ উদ্দেশ্য অতি মহৎ। এবং Government যদি ঠিকভাবে এই উদ্দেশ্যকে কাজে পরিণত করতে পারেন, তবে পশ্চিমবাংলায় যে পরিমানে খাদ্যশস্যের অভাব আছে তা সম্পূর্ণ না হলেও--অনেকখানি মিটবে। সে বিষয়ে কোন সন্দেহ নাই। অবশ্য Government কোন কাজ এখন পর্যান্ত ভালভাবে করেন নাই। এই কাজও যে ঠিকভাবে করবেন সে বিষয়ে, আমার যথেষ্ট সন্দেহ আছে। তবে বলবো Government যদি এই কাজটা অন্তত: ঠিকভাবে করতে পারেন তবে পশ্চিম-বঙ্গের সকলেরই যথেষ্ট মঙ্গল হবে। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের foodএর অভাব মিটবে। সেজন্য এই বিল সকলেই সমর্থন করবে। আমিও করবো। তবে এই বিলের মধ্যে কয়েকটা নীতি আছে, সেই নীতি সম্বন্ধে আলোচনার জন্য আমি বিশেষভাবে এখানে উঠেছি। সেই নীতিসমূহের প্রথমটা হচেছ ক্ষতিপূরণ সম্বন্ধে কথা। এই নীতিটা আমাদের সম্মুখে এখন খুবই গুরুতর আকার ধারণ করেছে। মুখ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয় সেদিন compensation সম্বন্ধে বলেছেন যে India Government Actএর বহু নীতি সন্দেহের বিষয়। (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: এটা Constitutionই আছে, সন্দেহের বিষয় নয়।) (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: এ বিষয়ে question করেছেন High Court.) হাঁ, আমরা আইন করে দিই, High Court questions করেন, এবং আমরা তা সংশোধন করি। সেই ক্ষতিপূরণ সম্বন্ধে কি নীতি অবলম্বন করা উচিত ছিল, সেই নীতিটা কি হবে সে সম্বন্ধে আমাদের এখানে অতীতে কখনও ভালভাবে আলোচনা হয়নি। আমি মনে করি যেহেতু সেই নীতিটার উল্লেখ আছে, সেটা ভালভাবে এখানে আলোচনা হওয়া উচিত। অবশ্য আমরা যারা হিন্দু, গীতা মানি, তাদের সম্মুখে একটা নীতি আছে।

গীতার নীতি হচেছ এই :—দরিদ্রান্ ভর কৌন্তেয় মা প্রযচ্ছেশ্বরে ধনং অর্থাৎ——

(The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: আপনি misquote করছেন।)

(The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: আপনি ভুল শ্লোক cite করছেন।)

(The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: এটা গীতার শ্লোক নয়।)

Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: এটা গীতায় আছে। তার মানে হচেছ--"হে কৌন্তেয়, যারা দরিদ্র তাদের পালন কর, আর যারা ধনীশ্রেষ্ঠ তাদের অর্থ দিও না।" এই নীতিটা বহুদিন আগে বলা হয়েছে। সুতরাং এই নীতি অনুসারে যদি দুনিয়াতে সব কাজ হত তাহলে বর্তমানে যে ধর্মবৈষম্য, শ্রেণীবৈষম্য, মানুষের দু:খ-দুর্দশা, উৎপীড়ন, নিষ্পেষণ কিছুই থাকত না। সমগ্র দুনিয়ার চেহারা বদলে যেত। কিন্তু সেই নীতি গৃহীত হয়নি।

আমরা অনেক সময় justiceএর কথা বলি, তার মানে সুবিচার করে সকলকে সমানভাবে দাও। অর্থাৎ ধনীকে যে পরিমাণ অর্থ দেবে গরীবকেও সেই পরিমাণ টাকা দেবে। এই নীতি যদি গৃহীত হয়, তাহলে ধনীর অর্থ জমতে পারে না এবং গরীবের দুঃখ হয় না। আমাদের Constitutionএর উল্লেখ যখন আমাদের মুখ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয় করেছিলেন, সেইজন্য আমিও বলতে চাই যে আমাদের constitutionএ বলে * * * "No property movable or immovable shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of compensation or specifies the principles on which and in the manner in which the compensation is to be determined and given." আমি মুখ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে এই আইনটা ভাল করে পড়তে বলি। Compensation বা ক্ষতিপূরণ সম্বন্ধে ধারাতে তিনটা কথা আছে। প্রথমতঃ আইন প্রণয়ন না করে, জোর করে কোন জমি দখল করা যাবে না। দ্বিতীয়তঃ compensation যে আইনের সাহায্যে জমি দখল করা হবে সেই আইন বলে দেবে either fixed rate or কত পরিমাণ ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া হবে তা ঠিক করে দেবে কি নীতিতে, কিভাবে compensation দেওয়া হবে। ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতেই হবে এবং ক্ষতিপূরণের পরিমাণ নির্দেশ করে দিতে হবে এমন কোন কথা এই আইনে নেই। ক্ষতিপূরণের অভাব নির্দেশ করে দিতে হবে অথবা কি নীতি অনুসরণ করে এবং কিভাবে কাজ হবে তার উল্লেখ করে দিতে হবে। সুতরাং ক্ষতিপূরণ সম্বন্ধে আমরা যদি এই কথা বলি যে দরিদ্রদের দাও এবং ধনীদের দিও না, এবং যে আইন আমরা পাশ করব, সেই আইনে যদি এই নীতির কথা বলে দিই তাহলে Government of India Actএ কোন বাধা হয় না। আমি বারেবারে এই কথা ভেবেছি এটা গুরুতর কথা, এতে গভর্ণমেন্টের কোন ব্যাঘাত হবে না। আমাদের ভারতবর্ষের বিভিন্ন রাজ্যে জমিদারী প্রথার অবসান আমরা যেভাবে ঘটিয়েছি কোথাও টাকা দিয়ে, আবার কোথাও টাকা না দিয়ে bond লিখে প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছি, নানারকমভাবে করেছি, তেমনি ক্ষতিপূরণ সম্বন্ধে যদি এই নীতি অবলম্বন করি যে গরীবদের দেব আর ধনীদের দেব না—কারণ যারা ধনী তারা বেশ আছে, তাদের আর দেওয়ার দরকার নেই, কিন্তু যারা গরীব তাদের না দিলে তাদের সত্যিকার সর্বনাশ হবে; সুতরাং তাদের দেব—যদি এই নীতি মানি তাহলে গীতার যে বাণী তার প্রতি সুবিচার করা হবে।

Constitution of the Government of Indiaর যা আছে তা যদি মানি সেখানে নীতি হচ্ছে সকলকে যে দিতেই হবে এমন কোন কথার উল্লেখ নেই। সেখানে বলা হয়েছে--Total expropriation.

এই হল Constitution of Indiaর কথা। এই নীতি যদি মানি তাহলে আমাদের এই যে compensationএর কথা বলা হয়েছে সেটা এই নীতিবিরুদ্ধ হবে। কারণ এই নীতিতে বলা হয়েছে সকলকে সমান দিতে হবে। আমরা জমি requisition করব হাজার একর থেকে দশ বিঘা পর্যন্ত করতে পারি। কিন্তু আমাদের নীতি হচ্ছে এই ১০ হাজার একর যখন দখল করব তাকে যে পরিমাণ compensation দেব, আর একজন গরীবের দশ বিঘা জমি যখন requisition করা হবে, তাকেও সমান compensation দেব। এই যে নীতি, এটা আমার যা নীতি তার বিরুদ্ধে যায়। আর একটা কথা বলা হয়েছে—"Such sum as may be substantially equivalent to the pecuniary loss reasonably attributable to the use and occupation". যারা আইন প্রণয়ন করেন তাঁরা এটা কি করে ব্যাখ্যা করেছেন জানি না। আমি lawyer নই। সকলেই জানেন যা দিতে হবে reasonably attributable to the use and occupation অর্থাৎ সেই জমিটা তার দখলে ছিল, কিন্তু তার অব্যবহারের ফলে তাকে দেওয়া হল না। আইনের প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে যে জমি ব্যবহার করে তার জমি নেওয়া হবে না। কিন্তু তার occupationএ যে জমি ছিল তার থেকে সে তার সম্পূর্ণ অধিকার হারাল। এই নীতির বিরুদ্ধে আমি।

আর একটা কথা হচ্ছে এই জমি নিয়ে আমরা কাকে দেব। এখন আমরা যারা কংগ্রেসের আদর্শকে নিজেদের জীবনের আদর্শ বলে মনে করে democracyকে বিশ্বাস করি, না আমরা যারা ভারতবর্ষের শ্রেণীহীন সমাজ বা সমাজতন্ত্রকে বিশ্বাস করি। তা যদি করতে হয় তাহলে পুঁজীপতিদের শেষ করতে হয়। সুতরাং গভর্ণমেন্ট যদি কোন জমি নিয়ে দখল করেন এবং পরে সেই জমি কোন বড় কোম্পানীকে দেন আমরা তার বিরুদ্ধে।

কিন্তু যদি সেই জমি co-operative society বা local charityকে দেওয়া হয়, আমরা তার সমর্থক। বড় বড় কোম্পানী বা রেজিষ্টার্ড সোসাইটিকে এই সব দেওয়া হলে আমাদের যে আদর্শ classless democracy আমরা তার বিরুদ্ধে হয়ে যাব, আর যে পুঁজীপতি আমরা তাকে ধ্বংস না করে, তারতে আরও ভালভাবে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করব।

এই দুটো নীতির জন্যই আমি বলতে দাঁড়িয়েছিলম।

আমি মুখ্যমন্ত্রী যিনি এই বিল এনেছেন তাঁকে অনুরোধ করছি যে সমস্ত প্রকার দুর্নীতির কথা মনে রেখে এবং কংগ্রেসের সেবক হিসাবে, কংগ্রেসের যে আদর্শ classless democracy, তাকে সমুখে রেখে এই আইনটাকে পুনরায় বিচার করুন।

(When Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: May I request the members to finish this Bill today and with that end in view it will be better if only some members from each side spoke—not all. It is already late in the day and I would appreciate if the members delivered short speeches covering all the important points they have in mind and not long speeches.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: We shall not say anything from this side of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Of course it will not be possible for me to take up the Calcutta University Bill as I apprehend that by the time the Bill before the House just now is finished it would be near about 8 p.m. If the honourable members want to go away early—perhaps many of them would like to do so—they may be brief in their speeches so that this Bill at least could be finished to-night.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকারমহাশয়, এই বিল সম্পর্কে শ্রীযুত সুরেশ চন্দ্র ব্যানার্জী মহাশয় দুটি বিষয় আলোচনা করেছেন। কিন্তু এই বিলের আর একটা দিক আছে আমি সেই সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করব।

এটা ঠিক কথা যে waste land বা পতিত জমি যদি থাকে এবং সরকার নিজে হোক বা অন্য কারও সাহায্যে হোক সেই পতিত জমি সদ্ব্যবহার করেন, খাদ্যশস্য উৎপাদন কিম্বা মৎস উৎপাদন খুব ভাল কথা। কিন্তু এই পতিত জমি নেওয়ার অজুহাতে আমরা যেন এমন জমি acquire না করি যা প্রকৃত পতিত নয়। সুতরাং আইনের বিধান এমন হওয়া উচিত, যাতে বিলের মূল উদ্দেশ্য সফল হয়। আমাদের সামনে যে বিল আনা হয়েছে তার মধ্যে এইরকম অপব্যবহার হওয়ার অনেক সুযোগ থেকে যাচ্ছে কারণ waste land বললেই লোকে বুঝবে পতিত জমি নিচ্ছেন। কিন্তু waste landএর যে definition এই বিলে রয়েছে সেটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক। এতে বলা হয়েছে, যে কোন জমি নেওয়া চলবে যদি সেই জমি দুই বৎসর ব্যবহার না হয়। আবার, ব্যবহার হলেই হবে না, adequately ব্যবহার হওয়া চাই এই সমস্ত কথা, ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে; সুতরাং এদিকে আপনাদের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। Waste land নেওয়া হবে খুব ভাল কথা, কিন্তু waste land মানে কি?

Waste land.—"Waste land" means any land classified in the record-of-rights published under the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, as *nutan patit*, *puratan patit*, *layek patit*, *gar layek patit* or *layek jungle* and includes any land or water area which has not been adequately used for the production of crops or fish for a continuous period exceeding two years but does not include land, forming part of, or nearabouts and conterminous with, any homestead, farmhouse, burning or burial ground or any place of worship.

মোটের উপর এই দাঁড়াচ্ছে, যেগুলি পতিত হিসাবে পড়ে আছে তাই যেন শুধু নেওয়া হয়। কিন্তু জমি যদি দুই বৎসরের অতিরিক্ত ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে কিন্তু adequately এই যে একটা অস্পষ্ট vague term দেওয়া হচ্ছে এই ফাঁকের মধ্য দিয়ে, কত লোকের যে সর্বনাশ হতে পারে সেইটে বিলের যিনি Member-in-charge তিনি যেন লক্ষ্য রাখেন। আইনের ফাঁকের মধ্য দিয়ে গ্রামা লোকের যাতে সর্বনাশটা না হয় সেইটে

করবেন। গ্রামে গ্রামে গ্রাম্যদল আছে, এই বিলের প্রয়োগ করবার ভার যে সমস্ত কর্মচারীদের উপর পড়বে তারা রয়েছে, এই উভয় বিলে যাতে আইনের অপপ্রয়োগ না হয় সেইটে ধীরভাবে ভেবে দেখুন। আমরা দেখতে পাই সরকার যেসব বিল আনেন যেখানে জনকল্যাণের জন্য সঙ্কুচিত করা দরকার সেখানে প্রসারিত করেন আর যেখানে প্রসারিত করা প্রয়োজন সেখানে সঙ্কুচিত করেন। এবং তার ফলে আইনের বিধানের মধ্যে, ধারাগুলির মধ্যে অসামঞ্জস্য থাকে। সেইদিন High Courtএর একটা judgmentএ একটা শক্ত মন্তব্য হয়েছে। তাতে Judge যে কথাটা বলেছেন এটার তাৎপর্য হচ্ছে এই যে আজকাল hurried legislation হচ্ছে কিন্তু আইনের যাঁরা framer তারা যদি আইনের উদ্দেশ্য বুঝে কি ভাষাটা হবে সেটা বুঝে যদি কাজ করেন তবে ঠিক হয় নইলে আইনটা এসে আমাদের কাছে যেন *ultra vires* না হয়। এইটে সরকারকে মনে রাখতে বলি।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, are you going to point out that anything is *ultra vires?*

Sj CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : না Sir, এখানে আমি *ultra vires*এর কথা বলছি না, বিলের উদ্দেশ্য সম্বন্ধেই বলছি। এর ভিতর যেন *ultra vires* না থাকে ওদের hasty legislationএর ফলে।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI : *Ultra vires*টা কোথায় আছে দেখুন না?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI : আমি Judgeএর বক্তব্যটাই বলেছি। আমার নিজের কথা বলি নাই। এখানে waste land দেখেন কিন্তু waste land includes any land or water area which has not been adequately used.

এই যে রয়েছে এর ফলে যেখানে গ্রাম্য দলাদলি, পারিবারিক দলাদলিতে জমি পড়ে থাকতে পারে, বাড়ী পড়ে থাকতে পারে। সেই জমি বা বাড়ী যদি আইনের মধ্যে আসে তাহলে সমাজ ব্যবস্থা বিপর্যয় হয়ে যাবে। যদি এই বিল থেকে সেই সমস্ত বাদ না দেন, তাহলে উদ্দেশ্য মহৎ হলেও এই বিল পাস হতে বাধা দেওয়া উচিত। অতএব clauseএর exceeding 2 years পর্যন্ত যদি বাদ না দেন তাহলে বিলের সমস্ত উদ্দেশ্য ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে। অতএব আমি অনুরোধ করবো Member-in-charge of the Billকে যাতে এটা তিনি বাদ দেন।

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, the performance of my friends over there in the matter of this Bill reminds me of a Bengali adage—নাচতে জানেনা আঙিনা টেঁড়া। That means that the dancers do not understand their business but when they are found fault with they say, "Your yard is crooked; so how can we dance". That is exactly the position of our Ministers, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Mudassir Hossain, are you opposing the Bill?

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Yes, I am opposing the very principles on which the Bill is based, and I shall just now explain that to you, Sir. They want to acquire waste lands. They can do so in order to increase the food production of the province which is a deficit area. They can certainly produce more food, more fish and such other things in the waste lands after acquiring them. That is said to be the object of the Bill. Now, Sir, they say that diseases, scarcity of water, earthquake and other things have led to this scarcity of food in the province. But that is not the sole reason. The reason is otherwise. Sir, the United States Agricilture Department in its annual report published in Washington on 11th February, 1951, a summary of which appeared in the *Statesman* of 12th February, 1951, stated: "India's food problem is chronic and is rooted in the static pattern of primitive production practices. The outlook appears slightly better in the Far East and South Asia. India is faced with a deteriorating situation

and her production will be dangerously low and her indigenous production will be the smallest this year." Therefore, Sir, the scarcity from which this country has been suffering is due to the static pattern of her primitive agriculture. It means that in spite of our scientists and the State Department of Agriculture cultivation goes on in the same way as our forefathers did thousands of years ago. Sir, if we really want to increase our food production we must take to scientific mode of production. But if we do not do so any other measure will be like a quack's measure, not the measure of a Doctor of great eminence as our leader Dr. Roy is.

Sir, I shall just now tell you why I dub this measure as an altogether quack and ineffectual measure. Sir, you know very well and anyone who is conversant with agriculture, anyone who has read the literature dealing with afforestation of the country and how to improve the agriculture of the country knows very well that in order to improve the agriculture of the country, you require that at least 25 per cent. or rather 20 per cent. of the land must be under forest and if you put less land under forest, then, Sir, your agriculture can never improve—there will be scarcity of water, erosion will set in and there will be land-slips and in a thousand and one way production will go on decreasing and go on decreasing.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please come to the point.

Janab MUDADSSIR HOSSAIN: That is the scientific method. Agricultural officers are there and they know very well that in order to improve agriculture and produce more and more, what is required is that you just put at least 20 per cent. of the land under forest.

Mr. SPEAKER: We are not here discussing agriculture.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Yes, Sir, in a way we are discussing agriculture because what does agriculture mean? Agriculture means food production and increasing food production. You like to take over this land for the purpose of increasing food production. Therefore, you are discussing agriculture. If you kindly read the co-operative planning report which was published by the Government of India in the year 1946 which was immediately before the grant of independence to our country, you will find that eminent scientists, eminent agriculturists and, I should say, eminent economists said that in order to increase food production, it is not necessary——

Mr. SPEAKER: You see this Bill aims at acquisition of waste lands. You are discussing agriculture.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: For what, Sir? For increasing food production.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. This Bill aims at acquisition of waste lands and you have not said a word about the propriety of this legislation.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: This is just the preliminary, Sir. In everything there must be something preliminary. In everything there is a preamble, there are objects and reasons. Now, this is the preamble. I shall now come to the waste lands.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please come to the point.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Now, Sir, I come to waste lands. Waste land is this. As I was just now saying, in the year 1946 a committee was appointed for co-operative planning—as to how the production of food-grains can be increased and how the scarcity and distress which prevail in the country can be prevented. Eminent economists and eminent scientists

have said in that report that it was necessary for the afforestation of the country that 20 per cent. of the land should be set apart and unless 20 per cent. of the land is set apart, there is no prospect of improving agriculture or production. They said that the entire waste lands which are in India—or, for the matter of that, in West Bengal—should be taken up for afforestation. But waste lands for afforestation you do not understand. Do not take up the waste lands for the purpose of production but take up waste lands for the purpose of afforestation. My friend the Irrigation Minister will support me.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think enough has been said as preamble.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: It is not preamble. It is the substance that waste lands should not be taken up for food production.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, he has managed to waste our brains all the time.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Sir, if you think this is waste of time, then in a few minutes I shall conclude.

Then, Sir, the Planning Committee says how food production can be increased. They came to the conclusion that it is by intensive cultivation of the actual lands which are being used for production that we can increase food production—and not taking up waste lands for production. For this reason, scientifically I have shown that these lands should be put under forest.

Sir, I oppose this Bill.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel, however noble may be the object of this Bill, it will be ineffective and will not fulfil the purpose for which it is being enacted and it will also mislead the people and divert their attention from the real problems and their solution. I think it was not the lack of powers for the last three and half years which has led to this situation which we are facing, of food shortage, fish shortage and shortage of other essential articles. I think it is also known to the Congress leaders and to the Ministers sitting there opposite—at least it was known to them at one time—that as long as the present land system lasts in West Bengal, that is the zemindary system, the other middle interests, *jotedars* and so on, you cannot get sufficient food for our people, you cannot increase food in sufficient quantity for our people. I think this is a well-known fact—I need not repeat this—but today in forgetfulness of these things which used to be known to them at one time, they are trying to tell us that—in this Bill, for instance—because they lacked certain powers that is why they could not produce more food, that is why they could not take up large areas of waste lands and water areas and so on. I think the people would not have grudged giving them all the power that they need. I think the people have been trying to tell them, the democratic organisations in this country have been trying to tell them "take as much power as you like, take away the zemindaries from the big landlords without compensation, take away as many water areas as you like and see that we get more and more fish", but unfortunately the Government refuse to take them up both in the Centre and in the Provinces. I think that is the chief reason for our acute food shortage and for our going to America begging for food. I feel that as long as these large private interests last, nothing will be effected. No amount of tinkering with the problem of West Bengal will be of any use. Any economist worth the name will tell the West Bengal Government this simple truth, but I do not know why they don't understand it. They are passing bill after bill—for acquisition, requisition and all sorts of things of our

lands, water areas, buildings and everything, but I am afraid that none of these things will solve our basic problems. I know why instead of trying to solve this basic problem, they are just trying to tinker with problems and to mislead the people. Therefore it is not a question of not supporting this thing. If the Government is serious about really producing more food, really giving us more fish, then who is there in West Bengal who will say, even though they are opposed to Government, "no; we shall not give you this power"? But the point is that for the last three and a half years, we have seen what Government has done for us with all the powers that it has. We have seen what it had done for the people. Government do not lack in vigour about other things, for example, suppression of civil liberty. Only when it is the concern of the people, when it is the question of giving them food and shelter, then they say "we are lacking in power", then they try to tinker with the problem. I do not want to dilate on this Bill further. As it is a fact that we are giving them this power or rather they are taking this power by their voting strength, I am sure that next year if we are here—and if there is no election this Government also may be here—we will see that they will again come and tell us "there is acute food shortage; nothing can be done; some other problem has arisen; internationl complications have arisen" and all sorts of excuses they will give.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, two points have emerged in the discussion. The first point is about the principle of compensation. Now, Sir, my friend Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji has pointed out article 31 of the Constitution of India. Article 31 deals with acquisition of land. In the first place, this Bill is not a Bill for acquisition of land, but only for requisition. Of course article 31 says "No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given". But because it speaks of "possession" not to offend against the article we have laid down in clause 8 the principles of compensation. We are all aware how enactments for acquisition of property are being challenged in the High Courts. And not to give offence to anybody—because after all it will be a short-term acquisition or requisition—we have laid down the principle which is considered equitable and which, we have been advised, will stand any challenge in the Courts of law. It is because we have been so advised as regards the principles of compensation which are not likely to be challenged successfully in the court, that section 8 has been drafted in this way; otherwise, if we go by the advice of Dr. Banerji who himself has admitted that he is not a lawyer, we may come to grief and the law may be challenged and challenged successfully. Not to give that opportunity we have tried to lay down as fair and equitable principles as possible. That disposes of the first point.

As regards the second point raised by Sj. Bhandari, namely, his proposal to exclude the words "and includes any land or water area which has not been adequately used for the production of crops or fish for a continuous period exceeding two years", well, Sir, the suggestion cannot be accepted, simply because of the fact that there may be lands described as "Natun Patit" or "Puratan Patit" in the old settlement records which may have been used only partially for food growing but not sufficiently or adequately.

SJ. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Any land? যদি সে রকম purpose হয় তবে সে রকম wording করলেন না কেন?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, what is proposed in the Bill is that any land which is not fully developed or ill-developed for the purpose of raising food—only such a land or water area will be requisitioned for a period not exceeding 20 years. That is the simple purpose which has been put forward in this Bill. We have been particular enough to mention that "land" must not include any land, forming part of, or nearabouts and coterminus with, any homestead, farmhouse, burning or burial ground or any place of worship. Does Mr. Bhandari contend that land which is lying fallow or waste or which has not been developed or which is being nominally used—that land should be excluded from the purview of this Bill and we should not develop such land? When will these waste lands be available at all? I want to know that from him. It is only to better the food position of the State that this Bill is going to be enacted with provision for requisitioning for a short time of 20 years and less, not exceeding 20 years, as the Bill says, and it is proposed to return the land to the owner after effecting necessary development. There can be no reasonable objection to bring all those lands which are not fully developed within the purview of the Bill.

Sir, I have nothing more to add.

The motion of the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that the Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilization) Bill, 1951, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2(5), lines 5 to 8, the words "and includes any land or water area which has not been adequately used for the production of crops or fish for a continuous period exceeding two years" be omitted.

I also beg to move that in clause 2(5), line 6, the word "adequately" be omitted.

I further beg to move that in clause 2(5), line 8, for the word "two" the word "ten" be substituted.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I oppose all these motions.

(Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I think there has been enough discussion.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমি সামান্য একটু বলতে চাই। Member-in-charge যে কথা বলেছেন--তা মোটেই convincing হয়নি। যে জমি এর আগে পতিত ছিল এখন partially developed যদি হয়ে থাকে সেই জমি আসবে। কিন্তু সেজন্য যে expression use করেছেন, তাহারা উদ্দেশ্য অপেক্ষা অনেক বেশী বুঝা যাচ্ছে। আপনারা বলছেন any land. আপনারা বলছেন না যে জমি পতিত ছিল বা partially developed ছিল--যদি একথা বলতেন তাহলে আমার আর কিছুই বলবার থাকত না। কিন্তু আপনারা বলছেন any land. সুতরাং জিনিষটা adequately expressed হচ্ছে না।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: You have spoken enough on the omission of the word "adequately"'. Do you want more time to give consideration to that word?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: অতএব আমি পুনরায় emphasis দিয়ে বলছি, argument করবার জন্য নয়, এই যে declare কথাটা ব্যবহার করছেন এটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক, dangerous. Declare কিছুতেই হবে না। যখন আইন প্রয়োগ হবে, তখন কোন officerএর হাতে থাকবে এবং তার whimsএর উপর নির্ভর করবে। আমি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে অনুরোধ করি যে যে সমস্ত সর্বনাশের কথা উল্লেখ করলাম সেগুলি একটু বিবেচনা করে দেখবেন; এবং বিলে এমন expression ব্যবহার করুন যাতে এই সর্বনাশের কোন loophole না থাকে। এছাড়া যদি তিনি ভোটে নম্বরের জোরে পাশ করে নিতে চান তা করুন।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE : মাননীয় স্পীকারমহোদয়, এই motionএর সমর্থনে আমি দুটা কথা বলব। আমাদের বিধান-পরিষদে যিনি এই বিল উত্থাপন করেছেন, তাঁর কাছ থেকে আমরা দুটা প্রশ্নের জবাব চাই। তিনি বলেছেন পতিত জমি থাকলে তা সরকার গ্রহণ করবেন কিন্তু কোন্ কোন্ শ্রেণীর জমি পতিত থাকলে, বিলের আওতায় আসবে, আমরা স্পষ্ট ভাষায় শুনতে চাই। কিরকম পতিত জমি acquire করবার ব্যবস্থা করেছেন তা স্পষ্টাক্ষরে জানান। কোন একটা জমি চাষ হচ্ছে, কিন্তু চাষীর ম্যালেরিয়া জ্বর হওয়ার জন্য অথবা তার নিজের বা পরিশ্রমী কোন ব্যক্তির মৃত্যু হওয়ার ফলে সে উপরি উপরি দুই বৎসর চাষ করতে পারল না, তাহলে কি সেই সমস্ত জমি নিয়ে নেওয়া হবে?

আর একটা ব্যাপার--পুকুরের মাছ চাষের কথা। অনেক সময় পুকুরে মাছ চাষ হয় না। হয়ত কোন বছর অতিরিক্ত বন্যার ফলে মাছের ডিম পাওয়া গেল না, বা পুকুরের মাছ বেরিয়ে গেল। আবার হয়ত কোন বছর অনাবৃষ্টির দরুণ মাছের পোনা পাওয়া গেল না, ফলে সে বৎসর সেই পুকুরে মাছের চাষ হল না। এইরকমভাবে যদি পরপর দুই বছর পুকুরে মাছ চাষ না হয়, তাহলে সেইরকম সমস্ত পুকুর acquire করা হবে কি না?

সরকারী কর্মচারিগণের মত অনুযায়ী যদি adequately used না হয় তাহলে এই সমস্ত জমি ও পুকুর নিয়ে নেবেন, এটা অত্যন্ত মারাত্মক; এবং এটা একরকম লুণ্ঠনেরই নামান্তর হবে।

আজ দেশের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন মতবাদ ও রাজনৈতিক দলাদলি থাকায়, গ্রামে গ্রামে বিরোধীদলের সংঘর্ষ চলেছে, সুতরাং আশঙ্কা হয় যে এই power যদি কোন বিরোধী দলের হাতে থাকে, তাহলে তারা ইচ্ছা করলেই অন্যের জমি বা পুকুর acquire করে নিতে পারবে। Forest Departmentএর লোকদের অনেক সময় গ্রামবাসিগণকে "তোমাদের পতিত জমি দখল করে নেব" এইরকম হুমকি দিতে শোনা যায়। তেমনি হয়ত গভর্ণমেণ্ট—"তোমরা এই সমস্ত জমি চাষ করতে পারছ না" বলে তাদের সমস্ত জমি acquire করে নেবার ভয় দেখাতে পারেন। তাঁরা হয়ত ঠিকভাবে এই আইনটি utilise করবেন না। আমরা জানতে চাই তাদের উদ্দেশ্য কি? কোন কারণে, কোন emergencyর জন্য অথবা চাষীদের অক্ষমতার জন্য দুই বৎসর উপরি উপরি যদি তাদের জমি পতিত থাকে, তাহলে তৃতীয় বৎসরে সেই জমি দখল করবেন কিনা? এ কথার সদুত্তর চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, Mr. Susil Kumar Banerjee, you will please move both the amendments.

Sj. SUSIL KUMAR BANERJEE: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2(*5*), lines 5 and 6, after the words "area which" the words ", in the opinion of the State Government," be inserted.

I also beg to move that in clause 2(*5*), line 9, the words "nearabouts and" be omitted.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 2(*5*), lines 5 to 8, the words "and includes any land or water area which has not been adequately used for the production of crop or fish for a continuous period exceeding two years" be omitted was put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in clause 2(*5*), lines 5 and 6, after the words, "area which" the words ", in the opinion of the State Government" be inserted, was put and agreed to.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 2(*5*), line 6, the word "adequately" be omitted, was put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 2(*5*), line 8, for the word "two" the word "ten" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The motion of Sj. Susil Kumar Banerjee that in clause 2(*5*), line 9, the words "nearabouts and" be omitted was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2 as amended do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 5.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 6.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6(*1*), line 1, for the words "As soon as may be" the words "Within two months" be substituted.

Sir, I also move that the following proviso be added to clause 6(*1*), namely:—

> "Provided that the State Government or any other person concerned shall commence utilising the said waste land for public purposes within two months of acquiring possession";

Sir, the only purpose of these amendments is to test the seriousness and sincerity of the Government in even utilising this little power which it wants from us. That is why I have put in these amendments to limit the period to two months within which the Government should acquire and start work. That is to say, they should start work within two months after acquiring the waste lands from the people. My fear is that even after the taking over of the waste lands by the Government the waste lands may still remain as waste lands and nothing will be done on them by the Government. They may acquire the waste lands merely for the purpose of taking over, because that has unfortunately been our experience in the past with regard to the working of this Government. Hence my two amendments.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHDURI: Sir, I oppose the amendments.

The motions were then put and lost.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 7.

The question that clause 7 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 8.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 8(*2*), line 2, after the word "Collector" the words "within not more than three months of the requisition of the waste land" be inserted.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Clauseটা হচ্ছে যে compensationটা Collectorরা determine করবেন। এখন এর মধ্যে কোন সময় নির্দ্দেশ করা নেই। শুধু বলা হচ্ছে জমি নিয়ে নেওয়া হলে একটা compensation দেওয়া হবে। কিন্তু কবে, কত compensation দেওয়া হবে তার কোন উল্লেখ নেই। সুতরাং কবে কত compensation পাবে সেটা স্থির করতে হবে। এটা যদি না থাকে তাহলে আমাদের যা অভিজ্ঞতা, তাতে দেখেছি একটা জমি নিতে তিন চার বৎসর পড়ে যায়। অতএব একটা সময় নির্দ্দিষ্ট করে দেওয়া উচিত। সেইজন্য একটা সময় নির্দ্দিষ্ট করে দেবার জন্য এই সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবে বলা হয়েছে যে তিন বৎসরের মধ্যে জমি নেওয়া হোক। অন্ততঃ জমি নেওয়ার তিন বৎসরের মধ্যে কতটা এবং কি পাবে সেটা যেন সে জানতে পারে। এটা খুব reasonable প্রস্তাব এবং সরকার যেন এটা গ্রহণ করেন।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, it is not a reasonable proposal. If you look to clause 3, you will find that the Collector will give time to the owners of the lands to show cause within such time as may be specified in the notification. Now, Sir, time will be given and required for showing cause on the one hand and for deciding upon the issues raised in the case, on the other. It may not be possible—I do not say it will be impossible—in all cases to come to a decision and determine the compensation within two or three months.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 8(*2*), line 2, after the word "Collector" the words "within not more than three months of the requisition of the waste land" be inserted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 8 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 9.

The question that clause 9 do stand part of the Bill, was then put and agreed to.

Clause 10.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in proviso (*a*) to clause 10(*1*), line 2, for the word "twenty" the word "fifteen" be substituted.

এখানে এই বিলে যে বিধান করতে যাচেছন যে কুড়ি বৎসরের বেশী requisition করে রাখতে পারবেন না, তারপর জমি ছেড়ে দিতে হবে আমি সেখানে ১৫ বৎসর করতে চাই। এটা কেন করতে চাচ্ছি তার একটা মস্ত বড় কারণ আছে। আপনারা কুড়ি বৎসর কেন করছেন হয়ত তার কারণ দেখাতে পারবেন না, কিন্তু আমার প্রস্তাবে ১৫ বৎসর কেন বলা হয়েছে তার কারণ দেখাচ্ছি। (A VOICE: আপনি ১৫ বৎসর কেন বলছেন।) আমি সেই কারণটা দেখাব। West Bengalএ যে Bengal Tenancy Act আছে তাতে বলা হয়েছে usufructuary mortgage অর্থাৎ টাকা ধার দিয়ে যদি জমি নেওয়া হয় তাহলে সেই জমি ১৫ বৎসরের মধ্যে তার আসল টাকা সুদ্ধু সুদ সমেত শোধ হয়ে গিয়ে সে তার জমি ফেরত পাবে। একেই বলে complete usufructuary mortgage. এই principleটা এখানে যে established হয়েছে তা সকলে জানেন, মাননীয় স্পীকারমহোদয় আরও বেশী জানেন। অর্থাৎ নীতিটা হচ্ছে এখানে waste land নেওয়া হচ্ছে, কিন্তু টাকার আদান প্রদান হচ্ছে না। সেই টাকায় যে waste land নিচ্ছেন তাতে একটা capital খাটাচেছন, কিন্তু periodটা এমন হওয়া উচিত যে capital invest করলে for developing the land and reclaiming the land, সেই টাকাটা উঠে আসে। এখন এই উঠতে পারে, সেটা কত দিনে—এই period পূর্ব্বেই নির্দ্ধারিত হয়ে গিয়েছে।

যদি কোন জমির মূল্য হাজার টাকা হয়, তাকে পাঁচ-সাতশ টাকা দেওয়া হয়। যদি কোন একটা পতিত জমিকে reclaim ও develop করতে হয় তাহলে সেই পরিমাণ টাকা দিতে হয়, তার সম্পূর্ণ মূল্য দিতে হয় না। Usufructuary mortgageএ জমি রাখতে হলে যত টাকা লাগে তার বেশী দরকার হয় না এবং যে জমি mortgage রাখে তার ১৫ বৎসরের মধ্যে সুদ সমেত শোধ হয়ে যেতে পারে—Bengal Tenancy Actএর usufructuary mortgageএর এই বিধান। সুতরাং সেখানে আপনারা কেন ১৫ বৎসরের বেশী রাখবেন। এবং যখন এই নীতিটা পূর্ব্বেই গৃহীত হয়েছে। অতএব এই পনের বৎসর হচ্ছে খুব reasonable period এটা খুব সঙ্গত কথা। আমি unreasonable কথা বলি না এবং বলবোও না--অন্ততঃ এই ১৫ বৎসর আপনারা গ্রহণ করুন, কুড়ি বৎসর হলে বড় বেশী হয়ে যায়।

আমার কথা বোধ হয় পরিষ্কার করেছি। আর এ সম্বন্ধে অধিক বলবো না। তাঁরা যদি মনে করেন oppositionএর কোন কথা গ্রহণ করলেই তাঁদের অপমান হয়, তবে সে স্বতন্ত্র কথা। আমরা জনসাধারণের প্রতিনিধি কাজেই তাদের মঙ্গলের জন্য যেটা করা উচিত বলে মনে করি সেটা আমরা করে যাই।

The Hon'ble Rai HARERNDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, I would invite my friend first of all to note that the period of twenty years that has been mentioned is the maximum period, and twenty includes fifteen which has been suggested by my friend. Sir, this maximum period has been mentioned because of the consideration—and Mr. Bhandari exactly anticipated my argument—that the money which will be invested for the purpose of developing the waste land may not be realised in the course of fifteen years. Therefore the maximum period has been mentioned as twenty years.

Now, the comparison that he has drawn with the usufructuary mortgage as provided for under the Bengal Tenancy Act is not a real comparison, because under the Bengal Tenancy Act the usufructuary mortgage is generally effected in respect of small *raiyati* holdings of small cultivators. Now, we do not contemplate here taking over such small holdings. It may be fairly large productive schemes, and it will not be confined to small holdings. Therefore the comparison is not on all fours.

Again, there is another point to consider. In the case of usufructuary mortgage the investor or the lender realises principal and interest from the output of the land, and the land goes back to the borrower in the same condition as before. Here the land will go back to the owner in a much more improved condition and therefore he will also profit by the transaction that takes place during the period of requisition which the usufructuary mortgagor or borrower cannot expect to do. Mr. Bhandari will please reconsider whether the comparison he has drawn does hold good in this case.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in proviso *(a)* to clause 10*(1)*, line 2, for the word "twenty" the word "fifteen" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 10 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 11.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, I beg to move that in clause 11*(1)*, line 5, for the words "such authority as may be prescribed" the words "the civil appellate court of first instance" be substituted.

এখন এই যে জমি acquire বা requisition হচ্ছে, আমি ইতিপূর্ব্বে এই সভায় উল্লেখ করেছি, যে একটা স্থায়ী Land Acquisition Act রয়েছে এটা Act I of 1894 এবং ইংরাজ যত খারাপই থাকুক না কেন politically এইসব আইন যেমন Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code প্রভৃতি এই সব আইন যে করেছে তা অত্যন্ত বিবেচনা করে করেছে। সেটা যতই দিন যাবে লোকে বুঝতে পারবে। যে আইনগুলি non-political যথা--Land Acquisition Act—এইগুলি খুব ভাল করেই

করেছে। তাদের কাছ থেকে এই সব ভাল জিনিষই আমরা পেয়েছি। শুধু এই দেশেই নয় অন্য দেশেও দেখা যায় যে বিধি চলছে সেটা থেকে কোন ব্যতিক্রম যখন করতে হয় সেজন্য জরুরী কারণ না দেখিয়ে করলে ঠিক হয় না। গায়ের জোরে বা সংখ্যার জোরে করলে ঠিক হয় না। বিলের ভারপ্রাপ্ত সদস্য মহাশয় যদি দেখেন similar বিধান কোথাও আছে--Land Acquisition Actএ acquire যখন করা হয় তাতে যে principle of compensation সেটাতে যদি আপত্তি হয় তাহলে সেখানে কথা আছে courtএ যাবে, সব চেয়ে যে বড় Judge তার courtএ যায়, উকিল appear হতে পারে, টাকা বাড়বে কি কমবে, সব জিনিষই আছে। এখানে আদালতকে ক্ষমতা না দিয়ে এটা হচ্ছে। আদালতকে দিন--Munsif Courtএ বা Judge Courtএ যাকে ইচ্ছা দিন কিন্তু যে executive acquire করছে, বিচারটাও যেন সেই executiveএর কাছে দেওয়া না হয় এটা কোন Civil Courtএর কাছে দেওয়া হোক। যদি কোন আপত্তির বিচার হয় সেটা আদালতেই হওয়া উচিত। ইংরাজ চলে গিয়েছে তাদের আইনকে আমরা ভাল বলছি--(প্রধান মন্ত্রী--তাতো আজকে বলছেন।) তাইতো বলছি ভাল যা তা চিরকালই ভালো, কিন্তু আপনারা যেন এটা করেন না যে অযৌক্তিক বিধান সংখ্যার জোরে করবেন এতে আপনারও জমি যেতে পারে। (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: আমার জমিই নাই তার আর যাবে কি?) ঐ Land Acquisition Act of 1894এ যে বিধান আছে সেটা অত্যন্ত ভাল জিনিষ--

"Any person interested who has not accepted the award may, by written application to the Collector, require that the matter be referred by the Collector for determination of the court. Whether his objection is to the measurement of the land"—, even to the measurement of the land—"the amount of compensation, the persons to whom it is payable or the apportionment of the compensation among the persons interested, the application shall state the grounds on which objections to the award be taken provided that every such application shall be made within such periods...limitation; every such proceeding shall take place in open court and by persons entitled to practise in any civil court in the province shall be entitled to appear, plead and act, as the case may be, in such proceedings."

এখানে তাকে যেতে হবে না Collectorএ কাছে শুধু একটা written দরখাস্ত দিলেই চলবে--কালেক্টরি কোর্টে পাঠাবেন--That is legislation by deference, provision by deference. এই কথার পরে বিধান আছে কি কি ভাবে কোর্ট proceed করবে। অতএব এ principle স্বীকার করুন যাতে এটা আদালতে যায়।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, had the purpose of this Bill been acquisition of land all those provisions to which reference has been made by my friend Mr. Bhandari would have been incorporated in this Bill, or a reference could have been made to the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, but, Sir, this Bill does not propose to acquire lands for all time to come. It proposes only short-term requisition and therefore the dilatory proceedings contemplated in the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 cannot be resorted to. If those proceedings be allowed, then we are afraid proceedings for requisition would be protracted for years and years and that will defeat the very purpose of this Bill.

The motion of Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari that in clause 11(*1*), line 5, for the words "such authority as may be prescribed" the words "the civil appellate court of first instance" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 11 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 12.

The question that clause 12 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 13.

The question that clause 13 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 14.

The question that clause 14 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 15.

The question that clause 15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 16.

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I beg to move that the Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilization) Bill, 1951, as settled in the Assembly, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned——

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, before you adjourn, I have a point of privilege. The last date for receiving cut motions is 26th February. I would request you to extend it.

Mr. SPEAKER: That will be extended. The House stands adjourned till 3-30 p.m. on 27th February, 1951, for general discussion of the budget. So far as the business of the House remaining unfinished today is concerned, that will be carried to 5th March, 1951.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 7-47 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, the 27th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 27th February, 1951, at 3-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 61 members.

Governor's Reply.

Mr. SPEAKER: His Excellency the Governor has sent the following reply to the address which was presented to him by the Assembly:—

> "I have received with great satisfaction the respectful expression of your thanks for the speech with which I have opened the present session of the Assembly".

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Realisation of cost of embankment by zamindars

***12. Sj. BEPIN BEHARI GANGULI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(ক) পশ্চিমবঙ্গের প্রতি জেলায় জমীদারগণ চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তে পুলবন্দি সমেত খাজনার টাকা আদায় করেন কি ;

(খ) তৌজী মেনুয়াল ৫৯ পৃষ্ঠায় ফসল রক্ষার জন্য ও জমির উর্ব্বরতা বাড়াবার জন্য জমীদারগণ দায়ী আছেন কি না ; এবং

(গ) গভর্ণমেন্টের স্বল্পমেয়াদী পরিকল্পনায় বাঁধ ও খাল সংস্কারের জন্য গভর্ণমেন্টের $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ ও প্রজাগণের $\frac{১}{৩}$ অংশ খরচ দিবার কথা : জমীদারগণের নিকট হইতে প্রজাদের দেয় $\frac{১}{৩}$ অংশ খরচ আদায় করা হইবে না কেন ?

MINISTER in charge of the LAND AND LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (ক) ও (খ) না।

(গ) সরকারের "অধিক শস্য উৎপাদন" সংক্রান্ত স্বল্পমেয়াদী পরিকল্পনায় প্রজা বা জমীদার যে পক্ষ উপকৃত হন তিনি বা তাঁহারাই $\frac{১}{৩}$ অংশ খরচ বহনের জন্য দায়ী হইয়া থাকেন, অবশিষ্ট $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ ব্যয় সরকার বহন করেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে এই $\frac{১}{৩}$ অংশ খরচ প্রজাদের উপর না চাপিয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্ট বহন করবেন কি না ?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি সম্পূর্ণ খরচ বহন করবেন এটাই আপনার প্রস্তাব ?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: হাঁ।

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: সেটা যুক্তিযুক্ত কিসে ?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: যেমন গভর্ণমেণ্টের অন্যান্য স্কীমে খরচ করেন এখানেও সেই রকম করবেন। এখানে সম্পূর্ণ খরচ দেওয়া উচিত।——

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: On a point of order, Sir. Can an Hon'ble Minister, while answering a question, put another question to the honourable member who put the question?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Just to have an elucidation of the question I think I can put a question.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় উত্তর দিয়েছেন—"সরকারের অধিক শস্য উৎপাদন সংক্রান্ত স্বল্পমেয়াদী পরিকল্পনায় প্রজা বা জমিদার যে পক্ষ উপকৃত হন তিনি বা তাঁহারাই $\frac{১}{৩}$ অংশ খরচ বহনের জন্য দায়ী হইয়া থাকেন"—আমি জানতে চাই যে সরকার এটা বিবেচনা করবেন কিনা—বাকী $\frac{১}{৩}$ অংশও সরকার বহন করবেন। কারণ গভর্ণমেণ্ট যেমন অন্যান্য schemeএ সমস্ত খরচ বহন করেন এখানেও করা উচিত। কারণ এখানে ছোট ছোট চাষী যারা জমি চাষ করে——

Mr. SPEAKER: As I see you doing, you are not to give a lecture, you are only to put questions for the elucidation of the answers given or for eliciting further information.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করছি যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট এই খরচ বহন করাটা উচিৎ বলে মনে করেন কিনা ?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: না। যাঁরা উপকৃত হবেন, তাঁদের ও কিছু খরচ বহন করা উচিৎ।

Government Dairy Farm at Haringhata

***13. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the amount that has been spent for the Government Dairy Farm at Haringhata since its establishment;

(*b*) of the total what has been the capital expenditure and what has been the recurring expenditure;

(*c*) what is the present number of—

(*i*) cows,

(*ii*) buffaloes, and

(*iii*) stud-bulls

in the said farm;

(*d*) what is the present daily production of—

(*i*) cow's milk, and

(*ii*) buffalo's milk
in the said farm;

(*e*) how the production of cow's milk and buffalo's milk compares with the requirement of the town of Calcutta;

(*f*) what is the present daily production of "toned" milk produced at the said farm;

(*g*) whether the skimmed milk powder required for toning the buffalo's milk is produced at the said farm or purchased from outside;

(*h*) whether the entire production of toned milk is being offered for sale in Calcutta only;

(*i*) whether the toned milk is distributed departmentally or through an outside agency;

(*j*) if through an outside agency, what are the terms on which the agent has been appointed;

(*k*) what is the sale-price per seer of the toned milk; and

(*l*) how it compares with the cost of production?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen): (*a*) Up to 31st March, 1950, the total amount spent for the establishment of the Central Live-stock Research-*cum*-Breeding Station at Haringhata has been Rs. 76,41,605-4-10.

(*b*) Capital expenditure—Rs.73,15,156-1, and Recurring expenditure—Rs.3,26,449-3-10.

(*c*)(*i*) Cows—291.

(*ii*) Buffaloes—49.

(*iii*) Stud-bulls—10.

(*d*)(*i*) Cow's milk—28¾ maunds.

(*ii*) Buffalo's milk—6½ maunds

(*e*) The production of cow's milk and buffalo's milk at the Haringhata Farm is insignificant compared to the requirement of the town of Calcutta.

The Central Live-stock Research-*cum*-Breeding Station at Haringhata has not been established to meet the demand of milk of Calcutta. Its primary object is to improve the live-stock of the State by breeding improved cattle, poultry and goats.

(*f*) About 16 maunds.

(*g*) Skimmed milk powder is purchased from outside.

(*h*) Yes.

(*i*) It is distributed departmentally.

(*j*) The question does not arise.

(*k*) Annas 12 and 3 pies in 2 lb. bottles.

(*l*) It just covers the cost.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the total improvement effected in the live-stock of the State of West Bengal at a cost of Rs. 3,26,000 by the 10 stud bulls?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Sir, the improvement has been very slow because only 10 stud bulls are there.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the ratio? At what cost these bulls have been purchased?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I want notice.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the basis of his calculation by which he has come to the cost at annas 6-1½ pies per lb.?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: This cost is in respect of toned milk and not Haringhata milk. As regards the Haringhata milk, I want notice. I cannot reply off-hand.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the average milk production per cow in the Haringhata dairy?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I think it is 6 seers.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the cost of upkeep of each animal?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I cannot give you figures off-hand.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if these are all Bengal cows or up-country cows?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: They are mostly Punjab cows.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state where the stud bulls come from?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: All from the Punjab.

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি এই যে stud bulls কি live-stock এর হরিণঘাটায় যে scheme করা হয়েছে, তাকি শুধু দুধের জন্য করা হয়েছে, না, সমস্ত বাংলা দেশে যাতে ভাল live-stock, cows বা stud bulls পাওয়া যায় তার জন্য করা হচ্ছে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমরা যা করছি সেটা (e)র উত্তরে দেখতে পাবেন। দুধ তো হবেই—কিন্তু আমাদের primary object হচ্ছে to improve the live-stock of the State by breeding improved cattle, poultry and goats. আর একটা (c) উত্তরে দেখবেন যে সমস্ত গরু, মহিষ, ষাঁড় বুল ওখানে আছে তাদের ত আবার বাচ্চা কাচ্চা হচ্ছে। এই করে করে আমরা অনেক সংখ্যায় বাড়াতে পারবো এবং সমস্ত বাংলা দেশময় তার ফল ছড়িয়ে পড়বে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় একটা কথা পরিষ্কার করে বলবেন কি এই যে stud bull ও গাই দুইই পাঞ্জাবী সুতরাং এদের cross-breeding হবে কি করে, উন্নতি হবে কি করে?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: হাঁ, আস্তে আস্তে cross-breeding হবে বৈকি।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: এখনও তো সেটা হয়নি।

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: হচ্ছে, হচ্ছে। বিভিন্ন জায়গায় হচ্ছে। বেলডাঙ্গা, পেদং ও কানাজুলি প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলে হচ্ছে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: কিন্তু হরিণঘাটায় যে হচ্ছে না, এটা ঠিক কথা।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি method of selection কি হচ্ছে? স্থানীয় গরু নিয়ে কি? Permanent strain পাওয়া যায় তার চেষ্টা হচ্ছে কি?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: হাঁা, হচ্ছে। সব রকম চেষ্টা হচ্ছে।

Sj. PRAMATHA NATH BANDYOPADHYAY: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি—দেশে stud bullএর যে অভাব সেজন্য সমস্ত বাংলা দেশে stud bull supply করার জন্য অন্য কোন scheme গভর্ণমেণ্ট আনবেন কিনা?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমাদের বর্তমানে দশটা stud bull আছে। ভাল breedএর জন্য stud bull পেদং, বেলডাঙ্গা, কানাজুলি প্রভৃতি জায়গায় বেছে নিয়ে ছড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং সেই অঞ্চলে breedingএর খুব উন্নতি হয়েছে। মাননীয় সদস্য সেখানে গিয়ে দেখে আসতে পারেন।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন যে সবরকম চেষ্টা হচ্ছে ওখানে। আমি গিয়ে দেখেছি কোন স্থানীয় গরু সেখানে নেন্ নাই। আপনারা আন্ছেন অন্য জায়গা থেকে। কাজেই method of selection কি রকম হচ্ছে, তা বলবেন কি?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আমরা বাইরে থেকে গরু আনছি ঠিক কথা। কিন্তু স্থানীয় গরু নিয়ে যে ওখানে চেষ্টা হবে না—তার কোন মানে নাই। বেলডাঙ্গা ও অন্যান্য জায়গায় ত হচ্ছে।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: আমি বলছি method of selection হচ্ছে কিনা, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বোধ হয় আমার প্রশ্ন ঠিক ধরতে পারছেন না। এই দেশের ভাল গরু ও ভাল ষাঁড় নিয়ে cross-breedingএর চেষ্টা হচ্ছে কিনা, যেমন অবিভক্ত বাংলায় রংপুরে পাঞ্জাব থেকে ষাড় ও গরু এনে ভাল গরু ও ষাড় তৈরী করার চেষ্টা হয়েছিল, সেইভাবে এখানেও কোন method of selectionএর ব্যবস্থা আছে কি না?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: মাননীয় সদস্যমহাশয়ের উত্তর পরে দেব।

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many stud bulls have been given to outside agencies or sold to parties?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I do not know. I want notice.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the recurring expenses from 1st of April, 1950, to this day is more than Rs. 3,26,000?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It is stated here that it is Rs. 3,26,449-3-10.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: I want to know if the recurring expenses have gone above Rs. 2,20,000 this year?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I cannot say off-hand. I want notice.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is a great want of breeding bulls all over the rural areas?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes. I am aware of that.

Janab MUDASSIIR HOSSAIN: Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly inform me as to what he has done to remove that want?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I have already stated that concentrated work has been started in Beldanga, Kalajuri and other places.

Janab MUDASSIR HOSSAIN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that these are the only places all over West Bengal which extends over thousands and lakhs of square miles?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: It is extended all over West Bengal.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government intends to import more stud bulls from the Punjab?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CANDRA SEN: Yes.

West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Act, 1950

*14. **Sj. ANNADAPRASAD MANDAL:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture and Veterinary Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) when the West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Act, 1950, will come into force;

(*b*) whether it will be applied to Calcutta only or to all other towns in this State; and

(*c*) whether Government contemplate extending the Act to villages also?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: (*a*) Steps are being taken for appointment of staff required for the administration of the Act and promulgation of Rules under it. As soon as these are finalised the Act will be enforced.

(*b*) To start with, it is proposed to enforce the provisions of the Act in the following municipal areas including Calcutta where cattle are usually slaughtered on an appreciable scale:—

(1) Calcutta, (2) Tollygunge, (3) Garden Reach, (4) Barrackpore, (5) Berhampur, (6) Murshidabad, (7) Burdwan, (8) Raniganj, (9) Asansol, (10) Midnapore, (11) Chinsura, (12) Jalpaiguri, (13) Darjeeling, (14) Kurseong, (15) Budge Budge, and (16) Howrah.

(*c*) There is no contemplation of Government at present to extend the operation of the Act to villages of the State.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether his attention has been attracted to a news report issued today by the Deputy Minister of State Sri Thirumal Rao that there are about 15·8 million surplus of cattle in India, and in that context will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has made any census of any surplus cattle in this province?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I do not think any census has been made.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he considers it desirable that such census should be made?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, I think such census should be made.

Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government intends to give a timely notice to the people that this Act will come into force on such and such date?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Yes, timely notice will be given.

Cost of Living Index in West Bengal

***15. Sj. JYOTI BASU:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what exactly is the cost of Living Index in West Bengal for the last six months;

(*b*) whether the workers are being paid dearness allowance according to the rise in the cost of living as contemplated by the Central Pay Commission; and

(*c*) if not, why not?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY (on behalf of the Hon'ble Nalini Ranjan Sarker): (*a*) The cost of Living Index figures for the last six months are shown below:—

	March, 1950.	April, 1950.	May, 1950.	June, 1950.	July, 1950.	August, 1950.	Average of six months.
Middle Class (Calcutta)	336·8	339·5	347·4	350·2	357·9	366·7	349·8
Menial Class (Calcutta)	347·9	350·2	359·0	360·8	370·5	378·1	361·1
Working Class (Calcutta).	332	333	342	355	360	368	348·3
Menial Class (Asansol)	370·6	373·4	372·0	377·6	391·8	397·5	380·5

(*b*) No.

(*c*) The accompanying statement showing the index of present emoluments as compared with the index of cost of living would show that attempts have been made to increase the emoluments commensurate with the rise in cost of living.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (c) of Starred question No. 15.

STATEMENT SHOWING INDEX OF EMOLUMENTS AS COMPARED WITH THE INDEX OF COST OF LIVING

Base: August, 1939=100

Name of the post.	1939 emoluments.		Present emoluments.						Index of present emoluments.	*Index of cost of living.
	Scale.	Average.	Scale.	Dearness allowance.	House rent allowance.	Food allowance.	Total emoluments.	Average.		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Secretariat and Directorate Menials.	15—19	17	22—27	25—25	2—2	6—6	55—60	57.5	338.2	361.1 (Calcutta).
2. District Menials ..	13—17	15	20—25	25—25	..	6—6	51—56	53.5	356.6	380.5 (Asansol).

*Source.—State Statistical Bureau.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: With regard to answer (*a*), is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the cost of living index now stands at 400, almost with regard to all the classes that have been mentioned here?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: We have given the figures up to August, 1950. That is all. As to what it is today, we have not got the figures.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, my question was whether the Hon'ble Minister is aware that the Government figures are over 400 now—the cost of living index?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I have no figures today in my hand later than August, 1950. I am not aware of the figures that he has given.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason for the answer (*b*)—No?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: If my honourable friend will kindly read the figures given for the Menial Class (Calcutta) and Working Class (Calcutta and Asansol) and compare the rise in prices with reference to the rise in salaries, he will find, take for instance the Secretariat and Directorate menials, according to our calculation, the index of the present emoluments is 338·2 and the index of the cost of living is 361 for Calcutta and 380 for Asansol. This will show that although there is an attempt made to increase the emoluments since 1939, we cannot say that we have supplied all the deficiency.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Sir, my question has not been answered. If the Hon'ble Minister please refers to my question (*b*), he will find it says: "whether the workers are being paid dearness allowance according to the rise in the cost of living as contemplated by the Central Pay Commission." The answer is "No".

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I have only given the facts which are before us. The Central Pay Commisison's report, as far as I am aware, has not been given effect to by the Central Government. We cannot afford to do more than what we have done.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that when the Central Pay Commission recommended the dearness allowance, it was on the basis of 260—rise in the cost of living—and on that basis the dearness allowance was given. Today that cost of living has gone up to 400 and accordingly will the Hon'ble Minister be still pleased to state whether the dearness allowance given even to the menial staff comes anywhere near the 400 rise in the cost of living?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am not aware of the cost of living at the time when the Pay Commission reported, but this much I can say that the improvement in the emoluments of the menial staff—the figures given here—compare very nearly with the figures obtaining on the 31st August, 1950. The emoluments of the Middle Class (Calcutta) fall very short of the increase in the cost of living. We cannot afford to go higher than what they are now.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether, as far as the Middle Class is concerned, he intends to give them more dearness allowance?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I intend to but I cannot afford to.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is willing, for instance, to cut the car allowance of the Ministers which will make a lot of saving and thereby give at least a part of the dearness allowance to the Middle Class?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: That is a matter of opinion.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: I cannot follow the answer.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: It is a matter of opinion whether the cutting off of one will enthrone the other.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: My question was whether the Hon'ble Minister contemplates cutting the car allowance of the Ministers and thereby making a saving for the middle class employees.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: That is the kind of answer that you give.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Of course.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he intends approaching the Central Government for any subsidy if our Government does not have any money to pay more dearness allowance to its employees?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: We have approached the Central Government on many occasions, but we have been refused.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: In view of the present answer, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when these representations were made to the Central Government and the refusals came?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I cannot give you the dates.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give me at least approximate dates?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am sorry.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Is there anything in writing to show that the Chief Minister sent any application to the Central Government?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I never said that I sent any written application. Representations have been made on many occasions—more than that I cannot give you any answer.

Police Officers of Tamluk and Kantai Subdivisions penalised in 1942

***16. Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY:** মাননীয় স্বরাষ্ট্র বিভাগের মন্ত্রী-মহোদয় অনুগ্রহপূর্ব্বক জানাইবেন কি—

(ক) গত ১৯৪২ সালের মেদিনীপুর জিলার তমলুক ও কাঁথি মহকুমার নিম্নলিখিত পুলিশ কর্ম্মচারিদের তদানীন্তন সরকার কর্ত্তব্য অবহেলার দায়ে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করিয়াছিলেন কি না:—

(১) শ্রীঅহিমারঞ্জন মিশ্র, সুতাহাটা থানার দারোগা,

(২) শ্রীনৃপতি বসু, সুতাহাটা থানার দারোগা,

(৩) শ্রীচিত্ত (পুরা নাম জানা নাই), সুতাহাটা থানার সহকারী দারোগা,

(৪) শ্রীবিনয় দত্ত, নন্দীগ্রাম থানার দারোগা,

(৫) শ্রীভূপেন রুদ্র, খেজুরী থানার দারোগা, এবং

(৬) শ্রীবঙ্কিম দত্ত, খেজুরী থানার দারোগা, এবং উক্ত থানার ১১ জন কনেষ্টবল, যাহাদের নাম জানা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই; এবং

(খ) (১) যদি (ক) প্রশ্নের উত্তর হাঁ-বাচক হয়, তবে তদানীন্তন সরকার তাঁহাদের বিরুদ্ধে কি ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করিয়াছিলেন এবং কি অপরাধে কাহাকে কিরূপ শাস্তি বিধান করা হইয়াছিল;

(২) উক্ত কর্ম্মচারীদের মধ্যে কর্ত্তব্য অবহেলার অভিযোগ উত্থাপিত হওয়ার পরে কেহ কেহ কি পদত্যাগপত্র দাখিল করিয়াছিলেন, করিয়া থাকিলে, কে কে করিয়াছিলেন;

(৩) উক্ত পদত্যাগকারী কর্ম্মচারীদের বর্ত্তমান পরিবর্ত্তিত অবস্থায় স্ব স্ব পদে পুনর্বহাল করা হইয়াছে বা হইবে কি;

(৪) বর্ত্তমান পরিবর্ত্তিত অবস্থায় তাহাদের উপর আরোপিত অভিযোগ সম্পর্কে পুনর্বিবেচনা করিয়া তাহাদের মধ্যে কাহাকে কাহাকে স্ব স্ব পদে পুনর্বহাল করা হইয়াছে;

(৫) যদি উহাদের মধ্যে তদানীন্তন সরকার কর্ত্তৃক বরখাস্তকৃত কোন কর্ম্মচারীকে কাজে পুনর্বহাল করা হইয়া থাকে, তবে তাহা নূতন নিয়োগ হিসাবে গণ্য করা হইতেছে অথবা তাহাদের চাকুরীকালের ধারাবাহিকতা এখনও অক্ষুণ্ণ আছে বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইতেছে; এবং

(৬) যদি তাহাদিগকে স্ব স্ব পদে এখনও পুনর্বহাল করা না হইয়া থাকে, তবে তাহাদিগকে কাজে পুনর্বহাল করিতে সরকার সম্মত আছেন কি না; থাকিলে, আর কতদিনের মধ্যে উহা কার্য্যকরী করিতে পারিবেন বলিয়া মনে করেন?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): (ক) (১) হাঁ।

(২) ১৯৪২ সালের জাতীয় আন্দোলনের সময়ে শ্রীনৃপতি বসু বলিয়া কোন পুলিশ কর্ম্মচারী সুতাহাটা থানায় নিযুক্ত ছিলেন না। তবে শ্রীবিভূতিভূষণ বসু নামে একজন অবর পরিদর্শক (S.-I.) ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্ম্মচারীর অনুপস্থিতির জন্য ঐ সময়ে সুতাহাটা থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্ম্মচারীরূপে কার্য্য করিতেছিলেন।

(৩) সহকারী অবর পরিদর্শক (A.S.-I.) শ্রীচিত্তভূষণ মুখার্জি ১৯৪২ সালের জাতীয় আন্দোলনের পূর্ব্বেই কর্ম্মচ্যুত হন। একটী চুরির ব্যাপারে জড়িত থাকার গভীর সন্দেহে তাঁহাকে ২৯।৪।৪১ তারিখে কর্ম্ম হইতে বরখাস্ত করা হয়।

(৪) শ্রীবিনয় দত্ত নামে কোন অবর পরিদর্শক (S.-I.) মেদিনীপুর জিলায় ছিলেন না। শ্রীবিনোদবিহারী দত্ত নামে একজন সহকারী অবর পরিদর্শক (A.S.-I.) নন্দীগ্রাম থানায় নিযুক্ত ছিলেন। তিনি পাকিস্থানে চলিয়া গিয়াছেন।

(৫) এবং (৬) শ্রীভূপেন্দ্রনাথ রুদ্র উক্ত আন্দোলনের সময় খেজুরী থানার দারোগা ছিলেন। তাঁহার সাময়িক অনুপস্থিতিতে শ্রীবঙ্কিম দত্ত তথায় অস্থায়ী দারোগার কাজ করিয়াছিলেন। কর্ত্তব্যে অবহেলার জন্য তদানীন্তন সরকার তাঁহাদের উভয়ের বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করেন।

খেজুরী থানার কোন কনেষ্টবলের বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা তদানীন্তন সরকার অবলম্বন করিয়াছিলেন বলিয়া জানা যায় নাই। তবে মেদিনীপুর জিলায় পাঁচজন কনেষ্টবলের বিরুদ্ধে শাস্তিমূলক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হইয়াছিল, ইহা জানা গিয়াছে।

(খ) (১) ২৯।৯।৪২ তারিখে সুতাহাটা থানা হইতে ও ১৬।১০।৪২ তারিখ হইতে ২০।১০।৪২ তারিখ পর্য্যন্ত বাসুদেবপুর থানা হইতে অনুপস্থিতি থাকার জন্য দারোগা শ্রীমহিমারঞ্জন মিশ্রের বিরুদ্ধে মামলা রুজু করা হয়। ২০।২।৪৩ তারিখে তিনি ঐ মামলায় নির্দোষ বলিয়া সাব্যস্ত হন। ৫।১১।৪২ তারিখে তাঁহাকে সাময়িকভাবে কর্ম্মচ্যুত (suspend) করা হয় ও পরে তাঁহার বিরুদ্ধে বিভাগীয় তদন্ত করা হয়। ৫।৫।৪৩ তারিখ হইতে স্বাস্থ্যহীনতা পেন্‌সন্ (invalid pension) লইয়া তিনি অবসর গ্রহণ করেন।

সুতাহাটা থানার অবর পরিদর্শক শ্রীবিভূতিভূষণ বসুর বিরুদ্ধে ২৯।৯।৪২ তারিখে থানা আক্রমণকারী কংগ্রেস স্বেচ্ছাসেবক বাহিনীর উপর গুলিবর্ষণ না করার জন্য মামলা রুজু করা হয়। কিন্তু ২০।২।৪৩ তারিখে তিনি ঐ মামলা হইতে অব্যাহতি লাভ করেন। ১৬।৩।৪৩ তারিখে তাঁহাকে স্বাস্থ্যহীনতা পেন্‌সন (invalid pension) লইয়া অবসর গ্রহণ করিতে হয়।

খেজুরী থানার অবস্থা যখন বিপদাপন্ন, সেই সময় দারোগা শ্রীভূপেন্দ্রনাথ রুদ্র ২৯।৯।৪২ তারিখ হইতে সাময়িক ছুটি (casual leave) লইয়া থানা হইতে চলিয়া যান। তাঁহার অনুপস্থিতিতে থানাটি আক্রান্ত হয় ও আক্রমণকারীরা থানাটি পোড়াইয়া দেয়। তাঁহার বিরুদ্ধে তদন্ত-পদ্ধতি-সম্মত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বিত হয়। ফলে, ছয় মাসের জন্য তাঁহাকে অবর পরিদর্শকের (S-I.) পদ হইতে সহকারী অবর পরিদর্শকের (A.S-I.) পদে অবনত করা হয়।

১৯৪২ সালের জাতীয় আন্দোলনের সময় ২৯।৯।৪২ তারিখে খেজুরী থানা আক্রান্ত হইলে, ঐ আক্রমণনিরোধে অসমর্থ হওয়ার জন্য ঐ থানার অস্থায়ী অবর পরিদর্শক (officiating S.I.) শ্রীবঙ্কিম দত্তকে সহকারী অবর পরিদর্শকের পদে অবনত করা হয়।

মণ্ডল পরিদর্শকের (Circle Inspector) প্রতি ঔদ্ধত্যপূর্ণ ব্যবহার করার জন্য কনেষ্টবল ভাগীরথী সিংয়ের ছয় মাসের জন্য এক টাকা বেতন হ্রাস করা হইয়াছিল। শ্রীসিনেশ্বর সিং, শ্রীহিরাজী রায়, শ্রীরামদাস সিং এবং শ্রীসিউপূজন তেওয়ারী নামক এই চারিজন কনেষ্টবলকে ২৯।৯।৪২ তারিখের রাত্রিতে মহিষাদল হইতে নন্দীগ্রাম যাইবার আদেশ দিলেও যাইতে অস্বীকার করার জন্য উক্ত চারিজনকে পদচ্যুত (dismissed) করা হয়।

(২) না, উহাদের মধ্যে কেহ পদত্যাগপত্র দাখিল করেন নাই।

(৩) এবং (৪) এ প্রশ্ন উঠে না।

(৫) কাহাকেও পুনর্বহাল করা হয় নাই।

(৬) পুনর্বহাল করিবার কোন প্রশ্ন উঠে নাই। যদি কেহ এ বিষয়ে আবেদন করেন, তাঁহার পুনর্নিয়োগের বিষয় বিচার করা হইবে।

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: Supplementary question, Sir, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন—এই যে (৫) এবং (৬) খ-মহিমারঞ্জন মিশ্র ৫ই মে ১৯৪৩ তারিখে স্বাস্থ্যহীনতা পেন্সন লইয়া অবসর গ্রহণ করেন এবং বিভূতিভূষণ বসু নামে একজন, সুতাহাটা থানার ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মচারীরূপে invalid pension নিয়া অবসর গ্রহণ করেন। এর থেকে আমার কি বলা ঠিক হবে যে তারা এই অবসর গ্রহণ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছিল। এবং তাদের বিরুদ্ধে তদানীন্তন সরকার যে পন্থা অবলম্বন করেছিলেন, তাতে কি এই পথ নেওয়া ছাড়া উপায় ছিল না?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: তা আমি কি করে বলবো?

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: Supplementary questions, Sir, অন্য তিন জনের বেলায় বলা হয়েছে—খেজুরী থানার দারোগা ভূপেন্দ্র রুদ্রকে Assistant Sub-Inspector পদে অবনত করা হয়েছিল, আর একজন বঙ্কিম দত্ত officiating Sub-Inspector যার বিরুদ্ধেও শাস্তি মূলক ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হয়েছিল—তারা কি এখন সরকারী পদে আছে না চলে গিয়েছে।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: তা আমি এখন বলতে পারি না, খবর নিয়ে জানাতে পারি।

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: তারা যদি এখনও সরকারী কাজে থাকে তাদের যে শাস্তি দেওয়া হয়েছিল তার কোন প্রতিবিধান করবেন কিনা? বিবেচনা করবেন কিনা?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: ১৯৫০ সালে ডিসেম্বর মাসে I.G.P. ১৪জন লোকের একটা list—তালিকা—প্রস্তুত করেছিলেন। এই ১৪জন লোককে কোনরূপ gratuity, pension compensation দেওয়া যায় কিনা—যারা national movement এর সময় ১৯৪২ সালে শাস্তি পেয়েছিল, সে বিবেচনা করছেন।

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: এই যে প্রশ্নের উত্তর আজ দিচ্ছেন, সে প্রশ্নটা আমি কবে করেছিলাম, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: বলা কঠিন, তবে আপনিই তো ভাল জানেন?

Mr. SPEAKER: The pending list is circulated to the members.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: এর উত্তর পেলে আমি আর একটা প্রশ্ন করতাম If I get the reply after two years then how could I take action on answers to sub-clause 6.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a different matter.

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: Sir, it is relevant যদি তিনি বলেন আমি দু'বছর আগে করেছি তাহলে আমি বলবো যে, এই যে পুনর্নিয়োগের কথা বিবেচনা করবেন বলছেন সেটা দু'বছর পূর্বের কথা বলছেন—these poor fellows have already suffered for two or three years.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: যদি কেহ আবেদন করেন—অবশ্য অন্নদা প্রসাদ চৌধুরী নন যাদের শাস্তি দেওয়া হয়েছিল তারা যদি কেহ আবেদন করেন, তবে তাদের কথা বিবেচনা করা হবে।

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: Supplementary questions, Sir, যারা এতদিন শাস্তি ভোগ করেছিল তাদের এটা জানবার সুযোগ দিয়েছেন কি? জানিয়ে থাকলে কোন সূত্রে জানিয়েছেন?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: যারা শাস্তি পেয়েছে তাদের মনেই দুঃখ বেশী, তাদের পক্ষে আবেদন করা আবশ্যক যদি তা না করে তবে কে দায়ী?

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: Supplementary questions, Sir, he says that they ought to have applied. তাঁরা যে আবেদন করবেন কি করে বুঝবে যে, যে Government তাদের পদের অবনতি করে দিয়েছিল তার থেকে এই Governmentএর পার্থক্য আছে?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: যাদের জানার "চাড়" আছে তারাই জানতে পারবে।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন, স্যার, ৪ নংএর উত্তরে মাননীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেছেন যে বিনোদ দত্ত নামে একজন A.S.-I. যিনি নন্দীগ্রামে থানায় নিযুক্ত ছিলেন—তিনি পাকিস্থানে চলে গেছেন। পাকিস্থানে কি চাকুরি করতে গেছে? এদেশ থেকে যে চলে গিয়েছে, তা কি করে জানেন?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: তারপর জিজ্ঞাসা করুন হেঁটে গেছেন কি রেলে গেছেন?

Mr. SPEAKER: Question over.

Adjournment motion.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পিকার মহোদয়, আমি একটা adjournment motionএর notice দিয়েছিলাম—একজন প্রৌঢ় ব্যক্তি আধমণ চাল মাথায় করে নিয়ে যাচ্ছিল, তাকে ধরা হয়েছে। এ সম্বন্ধে consent refuse করার মানে কি?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already stated that whenever consent is refused reasons need not be given. A ruling has been given already to that effect. It is only a matter of concession that sometimes reasons are given. Budget discussion is just now going to be initiated. You will not have to wait long. You will soon have your opportunity of speaking on this matter during the general discussion of the budget.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: General discussionএ কথাটা বলা যাবে কি?

Mr. SPEAKER: Certainly; you can speak on anything during the general discussion. I have already stated that.

BUDGET FOR 1951-52.

General discussion.

Mr. SPEAKER: It will be better if I know the names of the members on both sides who wish to take part in the general discussion of the budget, because then I shall be able to regulate the time, so that everybody will get an opportunity of speaking. In the meantime, please think over the matter and let me have the list. I understand that Dr. Ghosh will initiate the debate.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have to work under certain difficulties because the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker is absent. Probably he is not keeping well. I wish I could agree with him in congratulating the Finance Minister for the budget that he has presented. He has congratulated himself, but I cannot share that congratulation, because the budget that he has presented to us has brought us a new taxation—again a deficit budget—a taxation which, I am sure, will ultimately fall on the consumer. Although it is a tax on motor vehicles, it is not a tax on private cars, but buses will be taxed I am sure, and ultimately it will fall on the bus-goers and the general public. So, any tax which will ultimately fall on the consumer is unwelcome today, specially when the economic condition of

the people is bad. Sir, when Bengal was partitioned we got 36 per cent. of the population and 66 per cent. of the revenue. Almost every time we hear that we have a lot of difficulties on account of the partition, but as far as the revenue receipts are concerned, by partition we have got an advantage, *i.e.*, we have got two-thirds of the revenue and 36 per cent. of the population. If there had been a judicious use of this money the economic condition of the State would have been better, but instead of that we have spent our money on various unprofitable schemes. The main thing during these 3 years has been the development of the Secretariat. In 1948-49, the budget estimate for the Secretariat was Rs. 35 lakhs; in this year's budget it is Rs. 70 lakhs. Formerly, one part-time Secretary and an Assistant Secretary were doing the work in the Education Department but now not merely there is a full-time Secretary but there are also one Deputy Secretary, 2 Assistant Secretaries, and another officer who like the pendulum sometimes becomes, Additional Secretary and sometimes Special Officer in that department. Sir, this multiplication of officers has not added to more efficiency but has added to chaos—(The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: How do you come to that conclusion?) I will show how I come to this conclusion. If you see the condition of education in the province you also will realise that. Sir, in the last year's budget statement there was wailing because of a high income-tax imposed on the rich people. In this year's budget speech there has been a jubilation because there has been concession regarding the income-tax and also because the limitation of dividend clause has been removed. There has been jubilation over that but has it added to our economic prosperity? No, not at all. Sir, the first 28 pages of the budget statement deal with the international field and then the statement deals with the all-India situation. Of course on the background of all-India thing the West Bengal budget is to be framed and the condition is also to be governed by that but it is so much that very little of West Bengal matter is touched there. The capitalistic mentality is reflected in his whole statement and at no time he has blamed the capitalists. On the other hand he has blamed the labour leaders and advised the labour leaders and the labour to be more responsible. I do not say that there is no irresponsibility on the part of the labour but, Sir, may I point out to him what the capitalists did. I may just read from the report of the Income-tax Investigation Commission during 1950 which has been published in February by the Finance Ministry of the Government of India

Mr. SPEAKER: Income-tax is a Central subject and how do you bring it in here?

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I know, Sir, it is a Central subject but reference of this report is germane to the subject I am talking of. (The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: How is it germane?) Sir, the report says "The malpractices of the managing agents of the mill companies present a serious problem not only for the income-tax but also for the general economy of the country, for not only have they resulted in withholding from the State the proper tax due to it, but they have also been responsible for a grave injustice to the general body of the shareholders whose money has been kept and are used without giving them any proper share of the profits which might have been given if the profits had not been put wholly into the pockets of the managing agents——

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not see the relevancy of your reference to the Income-tax Investigation Report to the subject matter under discussion.

Janab SYED BADRUDDUJA: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister has repeatedly referred to the economic situation of the country and that it is conditioned by forces that are operating throughout India——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is your answer to my question, but before you attempted the answer it would have been better if the speaker himself pointed out the thing to me.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has mentioned about the labour and he has not said anything about the capitalists. I want to show how the capitalists are behaving. Now, Sir, as I was saying the "managing agents kept and used the money without giving the shareholders a proper share of the profits which might have been given if the profits had not been put wholly into their pockets by manipulation of accounts and the adoption of other questionable means". That is how the capitalists are behaving in this country and Justice Varadachari who is now the Chairman of that Commission said "the textile mills in Calcutta, Bombay and other places have been the worst criminals and here although the name is not mentioned the managing agents of one textile mill admitted that they passed false entries in the mill accounts for spurious purchases and appropriated the money thus taken out of the mill". In another case the managing agents inflated the expenses and by interposing their own nominees as suppliers exaggerated the price debited for some purchases in the mill accounts for the use of their nominees. These nominees were remunerated with hush-money which was on an average about 10 per cent. of the value of the purchases. In the case of another mill the cost of cotton of a superior type was debited in the accounts for the purchase of an inferior kind and hte difference in the price went into the pockets of the managing agents. The manager of another textile mill admitted that he raised fictitious debits in the company's books and with the money thus extracted from the mill, he purchased a property in his wife's name.

That is how the managing agents and the capitalists are behaving and I am really sorry for that I know that labour also have been sometimes irresponsible but I am sorry to say that the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has not a word to say about the irresponsibility, malpractices and also the insatiable greed of the capitalists. That is my point. So this budget has been framed from the capitalists' outlook and it reminds me of the writing of Poet Rabindranath " যা কিছু হোক কেষ্টা বেটাই চোর ". Whatever happens, either it is due to labour or labour leaders or due to the idleness of the agriculturists and everything else is all right. This mentality is very bad and it will not help us in the least towards the solution of our problems. As I have said, Sir, you have put a proposal for additional taxation, but before the proposal for an additional taxation is put we should try by all means to retrench expenditure—at least unnecessary expenditure. In the Central Government there is an Estimates Committee but here there is no committee like that. I do feel that in the provinces also there should be estimates committees so that they may go through the expenditure and economise them. As I said earlier in place of one part-time Secretary and an Assistant Secretary in the Education Department there are now in that department, a Secretary, an Additional Secretary, a Deputy Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries. If these things are put before the Estimate Committee they would certainly recommend that there should not be so many additional hands—Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries and things like that. This has been done in the Central Government Estimates Committee and in the second report of that committee they have recommended that there should not be so many Additional Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, etc. So, I do appeal to the Chief Minister to have an Estimates Committee like this here and see whether and where economy can be effected. I think there can be retrenchment and less expenditure and they should examine their possibility before coming out with a proposal for additional taxation. Then, again, another thing. You know, Sir,

that the police budget is always on the increase. It was Rs. 366 lakhs in the estimate of 1948-49, and it has come to Rs. 546 lakhs today in this year's budget estimates—that is an increase of 180 lakhs. That means that it has become a police State and not a welfare State. Sir, the maximum expenditure is on this item but with what result? We see reports that robberies and dacoities and other crimes are on the increase. (Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Dacoities are being committed in the house of capitalists.) Mr. Rafique may gloat over this that dacoities are committed in the houses of capitalists, but I do not want dacoities to be committed in the houses of capitalists. Money may be taken away by legislation and not by dacoities. If you encourage dacoities in this fashion, dacoits will fall on your house and kill you only to find that there is no money to rob. So it is a very bad thing. But, as I have said, Sir, with what result? Practically with no result. It is on the increase. You cannot stop these things by increasing the police because unless there is a change in the economic condition and other things, you cannot change all these things. Therefore, the first thing ought to have been that. But although police expenditure is increasing, there is no rounding up of black-marketeers in West Bengal. Recently one was joking me in Delhi, probably there is no black-marketeers in West Bengal, for not a single one has been rounded up under the Preventive Detention Act or anything of the kind. I do not know whether it is a fault of the police or of the Government policy; it is for the Government to say that. But no black-marketeers, we see, have been rounded up and punished.

I do say, Sir, that mere sanctioning of more money and more expenditure will not help you. How the money is spent is essential.

Then, as regards the revised estimates, I do say you have come for sanction of an additional expenditure of rupees 4 crores and some lakhs. Some of the items were known to you when we met in September last. It was not unknown then. And it is a wrong procedure that after making the expenses you have come before the House to get the sanction. Of course, there are certain occasions when you have got to do it when you did not know anything about it. But, say, for example, the additional expenses over the wheat price—that was of course known.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Ghosh, we shall discuss it when we come to the supplementary estimates, and not now.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I was discussing it because in the budget statement of the Hon'ble Finance Minister both the things have occurred.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can only refer to that.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, supplementary estimates will come later: it will be presented to the Assembly on the 5th of March.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, the Finance Minister included that in his statement. So I thought I could deal with that.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can refer to it generally.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Sir, I would appeal to the Finance Minister and in his absence to him who is acting in his place——(Shaikh MOHAMAD RAFIQUE: Let us know who is acting for him.)——Somebody must be acting for him——I would appeal to him to see that whatever can be brought to the House before the expenses are incurred should be brought before the House.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, may I interrupt and ask the honourable member as to whether he is talking of the revised estimates of the year or of the supplementary estimates?

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I am referring to the revised estimates.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Supplementary estimates are the estimates which were sanctioned by the Assembly in September last, and the revised estimates are revision of those estimates which were sanctioned in March last, and on several occasions some of them have exceeded the original estimates.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I am talking of the revised estimates. So, Sir, that should be done.

Now I shall come to certain definite items. I shall take up first the food problem: it is a vital problem. The food should be no game of political exploitation: I said it before and I repeat it again. But if we cannot give ditto to the Food Minister on one point and if that is considered as political exploitation, I am helpless. There should be no exploitation of food problem either by this party or by that party, by the Opposition or by the Government in power. As soon as the Government in power find that somebody is opposing something, they should not think that it is political exploitation. Even if they think that there is no reason behind it, still they should not impute motive that it has been done for political exploitation.

Then, Sir, there is another point. There are two things in the food problem—one is procurement and another is production. I would first come to the procurement policy. Sir, as far as procurement is concerned, the other day, speaking on the Governor's address I said that those people who have got 20 bighas of land or less than that, in respect of those people there should be no compulsory seizure of paddy. I am glad that it has been done at least for those who possess 15 bighas of land.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: In certain districts.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Except in Nadia and Cooch Behar, where the limit is 25 bighas.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Not seizure but procurement by directives.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Your language is different, and my language is different. But I do not see any difference between the two. But we said so, and at that time somebody thought that we were exploiting food problem for political purposes. When you accept a portion of it, it shows that we are not exploiting food problem for political purposes.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: It shows that we are reasonable also.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: So, I think, this thing should not be said. Again, on another point, I differed from the Food Minister about the prices of paddy. What I said was that the poorest people should not suffer, but I am constrained to hear from Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen that those who advocated the increase of paddy price are lunatics. I do not want to say anything on this point. But just as an ugly woman also belongs to the fair sex, so whatever a Minister may say he is honourable. (Laughter.) I do not want to say more than that.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I have not understood the joke, Sir.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Jokes lose all their value if you repeat them. But I think, my friend Mr. Sen has understood it.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Evidently he is more intelligent than myself.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: If you could not catch it, I am helpless.

Sj. J. C. GUPTA: I find, Sir, that three bachelors are talking over this fair sex joke.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: I do say, Sir, that the paddy price should be increased and I said the other day the paddy price can be increased even without increasing the retail sale price of rice to a certain extent. I quote from the Bulletin of Food Statistics issued by the Government of India, January, 1951, page 25. The procurement price of rice in Assam, 1949-50, Rs. 13-10 and the issue price—retail—Rs. 15-12; that means, a difference of Rs. 2-2. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Issue price of?) Of rice—retail price is Rs. 15-12.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Is it Government issue price or the retailer's price?

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Bulletin of Food Statistics issued by the Economic and Statistical Advisor, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, January, 1951.

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I understand that; is it the wholesale price that you are referring to or retail price?

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: It is written "R"—retail price. Procurement price Rs. 13-10, retail price Rs. 15-12. Bihar—procurement price Rs. 13-4, Rs. 15 is the issue price. Bombay—Guzrat districts—Rs. 11-1 is the procurement price, Rs. 12-1 is the issue price. Orissa—procurement price Rs. 11-2, Rs. 13 is the issue price. But, Sir, in West Bengal, procurement price is Rs. 12-12 and the issue price was Rs. 17-8, it is now Rs. 16-14 retail price. So the difference was Rs. 4-12 and now the difference is Rs. 4-2, whereas in all those provinces—Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Bombay, I have quoted—it is never more than Rs. 2-2 or Rs. 2-4. That means the difference between the procurement price and the issue price is too much. This is not my statistics, this is statistics issued by the Government of India. Then there is the Foodgrains Investigation Committee presided over by Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra set up by the Central Government. It says:

"The Food Administration cost in West Bengal is 289·86 lakhs which in terms of procurement, storage and distribution is as follows:

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It will be seen from the statement below that the cost per head of rationed population in West Bengal is much heavier than that in other provinces."

He quotes total cost of rationing (1949-50 budget) in West Bengal—1,73 crores; total statutorily rationed population—60·93 lakhs; and the cost per head of rationed population—Rs. 2-13. In the same way the cost per head of rationed population in Bombay city is Rs. 1-7; cost per head of rationed population in Uttar Pradesh, where the total rationed population is 64·76 lakhs, is 13 annas. Not merely that. The cost in transit and storage of imported grains is given in that Committee Report:

"There is said to be a loss of 4 to 5 per cent. in the transit and storage of imported foodgrains. This is considered by the Committee to be very high as all the imported foodgrains are taken over by the West Bengal

Government from the Calcutta Port itself. In the consignments which the Regional Food Commissioner transfers to the Central Government godowns at Calcutta transit loss of only ·1 to ·25 per cent. occurs. The Committee arranged several meetings between the Regional Food Commissioner and the West Bengal Government and the agreement now reached is that the West Bengal Government would receive all grain after cent. per cent. weighment in the presence of their own officer. This arrangement should make a big difference to the leakage that in the opinion of the Committee is now taking place at this stage."

Sir, I do not know what is taking place regarding that. It is for the Government to enlighten us as to what has happened. Not merely that. The Report further says, "In addition to the retail private shops, Government run a large number of its own shops in which the service is no better than in others. The Government staff normally employed in these shops is out of all proportion to the cost of staff employed in private shops. Normally there are six employees in each shop against about three in other private shops. The committee are certain that the cost of establishment of these retail shops is not met by the retail commission and Government lose on the deal. In view of the fact that we have recommended a further reduction in the existing scale of retail commission, the problem of disbanding these shops becomes very urgent. It is realised that closing of these shops may result in some hardship to a number of employees of the shops, but in the opinion of the committee the point of disbandment of Government shops should be considered only from the purely business point of view. The matter is under the active consideration of the West Bengal Government."

Here also we do not know what is being done. I also mentioned certain points the other day as regards this. I would appeal to the Food Minister to go through every item and economise expenditure and try to give a little more to the peasants or cultivators. Now you are taking from the peasants at Rs. 12-12 and charging the consumers Rs. 16-14 which is too high. The difference between the two is Rs. 4-2 per maund and the whole area where it is procured is within 100 miles of Calcutta more or less, and the charge is abnormal.

Then, Sir, another point. Apart from this he raised the question—whose paddy price? Sir, it is an abnormal economic theory. When you are assessing price of a commodity you are not ascertaining from whom the thing is coming. Then, may I ask—whose cloth is it? whose steel is it? whose sugar is it? The cloth belongs to the Birlas or the Kasthurbhais Lalbhais. So, that question does not arise, in fact, that question should not arise, because you should see whether that can be produced at that cost or not. Unless the thing is paying, no cultivator can produce and if the cultivator dies, ultimately the country will perish whether economically or in other ways we are sound or not. If there is no food, we are sure to perish—on that point there is no doubt. Therefore, Sir, there must be a parity, as I have said, between the industrial price and the agricultural price, and unless that parity is there, either the industrial labourers will suffer or the cultivators will suffer. Therefore I do say, Sir, that the price of paddy should be increased in consideration of the increase in price of other commodities.

More than 25 per cent. increase has been there in the price of sugar and the price of cloth has soared very high and almost it is out of market or it is only available in the black market. Dhotis and sarees are available only in the black market or underground market you may call it. (The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: That is a free market.) Then my friend was objecting to control. If this is free market, then why should

you try to keep control. As I was speaking the other day about control some friends were saying that if control was removed, 1943 would be repeated, but may I ask to those friends, how many do not disobey control laws. Ninety-eight per cent. of the people consume much more although you give 9 oz. of foodstuff to the people. (Sj. RADHA NATH DAS: You deny that 1943 will not be repeated if control is withdrawn?) Of course, I deny that. Nine ounces you give, but how many people live on that. Let us search our own hearts; how many live on 9 oz.? Not merely our own hearts, but hearts of our friends and acquaintances. Somebody says, if there is any heart. I do not know whether there is any heart or not, but let us search our own hearts. Ninety-eight per cent. of our people buy in the white market, black market, free market or underground market. It only stands in the way of honest men. There are of course a few honest men in the country; they suffer. So, where is the control? I can understand control but I cannot understand ineffective control. Ineffective control is worse than decontrol and it is ineffective control which encourages black market. If this is the sort of control, you cannot stop black market. I was coming the other day from a place in Burdwan. I started at 8 o'clock; at about 10·30 I reached Howrah, and I saw people getting down with loads of rice on their heads in Serampore, Konnagar and Rishra. Probably these are all rationed areas, these are industrial areas. They were getting down with head-loads of rice, and some railway coolies were instructing them which way to go. This is going on every day. Let us not like the proverbial crow shut our own eyes and say "everything is all right". There is no control in fact, and so it is no use saying that if you remove the control, 1943 will be repeated. 1943 will never be repeated. If my friends, in order to avoid 1943, want to make control a permanent affair of our life, I would say good-bye to all democracy. As I said the other day, I take great interest in production. I like that the per bigha yield of paddy in this province should be increased, and we offer our hand of co-operation as far as an attempt to that end is concerned. My friend Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen invited me to see the Malda and Burdwan seed farms. (The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: I spoke about Burdwan only.) I say, Malda and Burdwan, because they are bracketed in the budget affairs. (The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Might be.) When I find that in the seed-producing farm in Burdwan and Malda there is an expenditure of Rs. 8,45,000 in the 1950-51 budget, and this year the expenditure comes to Rs. 9,60,000, whereas under receipts it was one lakh of rupees and this year it is Rs. 1,20,000. That shows that it is far off to be self-supporting even in distributing seeds; and if the Government sets an example like this nobody will produce seed multiplication farms or anything of the kind. If after spending Rs. 18 lakhs we get this return then seed-producing farm is not a very good adventure. This is about the seed multiplication farms of Burdwan and Malda.

Then about food production scheme and the Haringhata scheme. These are all debated here. In connection with some question only the other day—I do not remember the date; it was in February—Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen admitted that our production is about 3 million tons of rice on two years' average (1948 and 1949), and our necessity is 4 million tons; that is, there is a deficit of one million tons. But he said that on account of the irrigation scheme, the drainage scheme and other schemes that have been undertaken, only 1·5 lakh tons can be produced this year by 1951-52. I believe he has taken into consideration the Mor project. That means that one lakh acres can be irrigated this year. I do not know how far this is correct, but it is presumed that one lakh acres will be irrigated, as before 1954 the whole Mor project will not come into effect. Therefore, not only in 1951-52, 1952-53 and 1953-54 the big irrigation project will not be of any use to us. I do not know how to make up the deficiency of our

one million tons if only he can give us 1·5 lakh tons. He said that by multiplication of good seeds he will give us only 6,000 tons in addition, and with the help of fertilisers and manure he will give us 10,000 tons. That was the answer he had given. The other day he quoted certain figures and gave us a rosy picture. That is why Dr. Roy said that statistics were always confusing. As far as I remember it was not Gladstone, it was Disraeli who said that. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Probably you are better acquainted.) With utter disgust he said that there were three kinds of lies—lies, damned lies and statistics. (Laughter.) (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Damned lie is an unparliamentary expression.) This is what Disraeli said in British Parliament. So, Sir, unless some more effective steps are taken, we shall always have deficit, and that is a very bad omen for us. If there is food deficit in the country and you still think of producing more jute, I do not think that it is a salutary advice. I know that if you can be self-supporting as regards food, as regards cloth, as regards jute, as regards cotton, nothing is more desirable than that. But when we cannot do that, you must first concentrate on food, because without food even the Vedanta cannot flourish, much less any other thing.

Then about the Haringhata scheme. It has also been said that Rs. 76 lakhs have already been spent up to 31st March, 1950. Isn't it? (The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: Possibly.) In the 1950-51 there was a provision of Rs. 15 lakhs; in the 1951-52 budget there is provision for another 15 lakhs of rupees. That means that at the end of 1951 we shall be spending Rs. 1,06,00,000 but I think this House should consider with what result. If you take 10 stud bulls or even 30 stud bulls and then make an experiment on a small scale like that, and for that Rs. 1 crore is to be spent, and after that if we do not get sufficient return for the whole of Western Bengal I think we should reconsider the position about the Haringhata scheme or remodel it. We should think about it. I do not say: straightaway abolish it after spending so many lakhs of rupees on it (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I was wondering!) but you should consider it.

My friend Sri Sen was talking about improvement of livestock—also poultry and goat. In the budget of 1950-51, I see that a budget estimate of one lakh of rupees was provided for livestock improvement, but in the revised there is mention of only Rs. 9,000. That means that they have not been able to spend that money, probably livestock improvement required no expenditure, or the department could not even spend that money, and so from one lakh of rupees it came down to Rs. 9,000. What improvement is possible of livestock with Rs. 9,000, I do not understand. So, let us say that there has not been any improvement of livestock worth the name. Therefore let us not speak in exaggerated terms.

I now come to the Education Department. I have dealt with food. I will deal with education now. I wish Haren Babu had been here, but I do hope someone is taking notes on his behalf, so that he may reply. I have already said about the top-heavy Secretariat in the Education Department. Formerly, there was one part-time Secretary and one Assistant Secretary. Today you have got a full-time Secretary, one officer oscillating between Additional Secretary and Special Officer, one Deputy Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries. And the expenditure on the Education Department, Civil Secretariat, has gone up from Rs. 51,000 to Rs. 2,03,000 or something like that. Sir, I do believe that you can reduce expenditure in this department. Formerly sometimes people were satisfied with this that so much money had been allotted to the cause of education. But mere allotment of money is not enough; you must see that real work is brought out of that; otherwise it is waste of money which is still more

dangerous. In the Basic Training College for women 32 ladies have been trained at a cost of over Rs. 1,20,000, i.e., about Rs. 3,800 per head per year or more than Rs. 300 per head per month. At this rate if you spend money you will give the go-by to Basic Education after some time because you yourself will come and say that basic education cannot be given as so much expenditure is a hopeless business. So if you want to give a proper trial to Basic Education this is not how it should be done. I do not know whether the education that is being given there is Basic Education of the Wardah type approved by Mahatma Gandhi—it may be Haren Babu's type—I do not want to go into that. Again you have said that for each basic school Rs. 35,000 will be spent—Rs. 33,000 for construction alone and the balance for other things and that the local people will give two acres of land free. The idea is that we are to open 40 or 50 basic schools every year. At that rate if you go probably none of us will live before even one-tenth of the area of West Bengal is covered with such schools. I doubt that even before that, even after some time Government may come and say that the scheme of basic education is likely to prove a failure because it is an expensive business, it is a hopeless business. So I do say, Sir, that it should not be done in this way; it should be done properly.

Now, I come to the Dispersal Scheme. For this scheme our Government of West Bengal has received as a loan Rs. 75,00,000 from the Government of India. Probably we shall have to file an insolvency petition later on because I doubt whether we shall be able to repay the loan to the Government of India as we are going to give this as grants to the colleges—not as loans, and even in the colleges that have been started, excepting in the ones at Rampurhat and Barisha, there is not a sufficient number of students. In the college at Santipur arrangement was made for opening the science course in Intermediate but as only two students applied for the science course, the same could not be started. Before wasting money like this we should ascertain whether the people will be benefitted by it or not. No doubt there is congestion in the Calcutta colleges and I agree there should be dispersal, but not this kind of dispersal. This dispersal, I understand, is meant more or less for displaced persons. Is it not, Dr. Roy? (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Yes, more or less.) But, as far as I know, not even 20 per cent. of the students in these colleges belong to East Bengal. By this I do not object to West Bengal students reading in these colleges provided they were run economically. What I fear is that, after two years, after the Rs. 75,00,000 has been spent, most of these colleges will be closed down because out of the Fee Fund they cannot meet their expenses and if Government is to give them grants for ever they will be a permanent drain on the Government exchequer. Therefore before launching on any scheme we should be cautious before the expenditure is incurred. Mere expenditure will not help us.

Then, Sir, I come to road transport. Road transport is a commercial undertaking more or less. I no doubt want nationalisation of transport services, but, if State industries are not run properly, then, in future the people will say, judging by the results, that the State cannot run industries of their own and that nationalisation of industries is out of the question. We have invested in this State transport business more than a crore and a half but there has been a profit of only Rs. 5,000. I understand that all these buses have not been insured. Is it correct, Dr. Roy? (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No Government transport is insured.) This shows that if a private company would have run these buses paying the insurance premium they would be running them at a loss because the insurance premium for all these buses would have been much more than Rs. 5,000. Therefore, strictly speaking, State transport is being run at a loss and that is a very unfortunate and dangerous precedent in an important

matter of nationalisation of industries. Therefore I should say, Sir, that the Director of Transport or the Directorate or the Minister in charge should see how to economise expenditure; otherwise it will be a bad day for this State. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I wonder if my friend has read the balance-sheet which has been circulated.) I have read it and before it can be taken as final—because Dr. Roy is a commercial man also—he should know that a commercial audit is necessary if one is to get a complete picture of the thing. From what you have supplied, complete picture is not available and that is what I mean to say, Sir. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am glad you are a commercial man also.) So if a commercial audit is made we shall be able to ascertain the real position—not until then—and to see where we are. (The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy was nodding his head.) I find Dr. Roy is nodding his head in approbation and I hope he will see it through that it is done. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: You can be sure of it.) I do feel that State transport is being run at a loss because, as I have already told you, if you had paid the insurance premium there would have been a definite loss in place of the apparent gain. Apart from other things, taking every other fact for granted, I feel that it is being run at a loss. Therefore, Sir, any administrator who believes in the theory of nationalisation of industries should see to it that it is done properly.

I now come to the refugee problem. I was not prepared for the remarks which Dr. Roy made the other day while replying to the debate in reference to what I said on the refugee problem. I said that this had not been done; that had not been done and that there had not been proper rehabilitation. While replying he remarked, "What did you do?" and he knew also that I would not be in a position to reply to that question because with his reply the debate would be wound up. Nor did I want to butt in at all while he was replying and that is not my habit. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I am glad.) Have you ever seen me butting in, Dr. Roy? (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: No.) It was hitting below the belt when you know that I cannot answer your question then and there. So one should be careful and wise in making statements. Now I tell you, Sir, what I did. In consultation with Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel we decided that we should not try to get in money earmarked for the refugees simply because that will encourage exodus from East Bengal but that to those who have come here and to those who want to remain here provision should be made in course of the ordinary budgets. That means that without giving an additional invitation to them to come whatever is possible should be done. That was the thing which was decided and in pursuance of that policy, when students came, I made additional arrangements in all the Government colleges. In the Presidency College, the Calcutta Medical College, the Campbell Medical School and everywhere double shifts were made. A large number of refugees went to Nabadwip and the waterworks of the Nabadwip Municipality could not supply adequate amount of water. So we made a provision of three lakhs of rupees to be given to the Nabadwip Municipality and we also made a plan of a township near Kanchrapara. And practically speaking we also agreed in the Cabinet and that was not a formal decision only that land should be acquired at 1946-prices for the refugees. Some of my friends who were my colleagues in that Cabinet are still in the Cabinet of Dr. Roy and can enlighten him about those facts. We decided that land should be acquired at 1946-prices—if need be for refugees—from suburbs of Calcutta and other places. So it is wrong to say that I did nothing for the refugees. I did not give them invitation to come over here but what I said was that we should do all that we could. Sir, we were in the Ministry only for not more than four or [illegible] and a half

months. That I am sure Dr. Roy knows well but they have been there for more than three years, more or less. I am happy that my contention was accepted by Dr. Roy, although he was accusing me and considering me as guilty of not doing anything for the refugees. He accepted my contention when I said that about four lakhs of refugees will have to be displaced and that they would have to be given lands within a month or two. Therefore, to say that 12 lakhs have been rehabilitated is wrong because lands for four lakhs you have to provide within a month or two. Then there were 60,000 families to whom you have given only six cottahs of land each for habitation. I say you have done this much but that does not mean rehabilitation. What I want to say is that that covers about three lakhs of people. To the agriculturists you have given five bighas of land each but that will not rehabilitate the agriculturist families. So it is better to say that you have done so much for them. I do not say that you have not done anything; you have done this much for the refugees, but it is wrong on your part to say that you have rehabilitated them.

Then I said at that time that the refugees may have no legal right but they have a moral right. And when they have got this moral right, it is up to the Government to give them a legal right. When they have that moral right, legal right should accrue from that moral right. Therefore I appeal to the Chief Minister who is in charge of this department, if I remember aright——

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: That is so.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: That lands should be procured for them at 1946-prices. I know that there have been *mala fide* cases of occupation. Evict them by all means but *bona fide* refugees should not be evicted on the ground that alternative accommodation will be found for them. I say, why not keep them there. They have built some houses on those lands. Now if you remove them that will mean additional expenses and more price for new lands. Of course, particular cases, I should say, extreme cases, do not make out anything because it may be that at some places they have occupied lands whose value is Rs. 3,500 per cottah. Sir, these are extreme cases and do not make the general rule. They are only exceptions. So as a general rule the refugees should not be made victims. Only in *mala fide* cases they may be evicted; otherwise, I feel that they will be right in remaining in their lands. Therefore I request the Chief Minister to consider this matter sympathetically and from the human plane. Sir, the human system after all is not a test tube. So I appeal to the Chief Minister to consider the matter from that point of view.

Mr. SPEAKER: How long do you wish to take, Dr. Ghosh?

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Ten minutes more and I shall finish.

Then, Sir, as regards health, expenditure in the Health Department has been great. In this year's budget at least it is 3 crores 38 lakhs and something, but as I have said about other things, mere expenditure does not mean much work. In Calcutta itself we hear of epidemics of small-pox from November to February. Sir, we have always been hearing of epidemics, epidemics of small-pox, cholera and things like that. So long it was the concern of the Calcutta Corporation but the Calcutta Corporation has been superseded and now if the officers of the Calcutta Corporation do not behave well, then those officers can as well be superseded. If all the Councillors and the Mayor of Calcutta could be superseded, officers can also be superseded. So I want to see the result and I do not want to hear for months together that there has been epidemics and that vaccination has been given. I saw one day in the Press that some Deputy Commissioner

of Police was saying that "because of the demonstrations we cannot serve the people of Calcutta in giving vaccination". Vaccination has been going on during the months of November, December and January, but what is the result today? So I say that if there was a stringent law that doctors and senior medical students should vaccinate, then within 15 or 20 days they could have vaccinated everybody.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: So there should be control there.

Dr. P. C. GHOSH: Of course, if you can do that effectively. Otherwise the whole thing becomes bad. So it does not require procrastination for months together and if the Corporation can be superseded, this also can be done effectively. Therefore what I want to say is that the Health Organisation should function properly; I want to see the people healthy but I do not want to see that three crores should be spent in this fashion. Sir, I find that so many Directors, Deputy Directors and officers have been employed, but I want to see the result of that. I am a layman in this respect and want only to see the result. So I appeal to the Health Minister to see to this point.

Sir, I do not want to take any more time of the House. The budget gives a very bad picture of our State finance. The present Finance Minister or somebody else who will come in his place will find that so many crores of rupees has been spent although he has made no provision for adequate income. Sir, nobody knows wherefrom that money will come. Either we shall have to go to the Government of India or file an insolvency petition to the Supreme Court. For its state of bankruptcy we cannot be jubilant. Neither in the field of education nor in the solution of the refugee problem nor in food affairs we have been able to do much, but as regards the Secretariat there has been sufficient development, as regards the police there also has been sufficient development because they do not yield any revenue; they simply spend. That is why they have been fully developed.

With these remarks, Sir, I conclude.

Janab ABUL HASHEM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the 15th budget and perhaps the last that I am addressing in this Chamber.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Why last?

Janab ABUL HASHEM: There may be a general election and I may not be returned.

We are extremely sorry to find the Hon'ble Finance Minister who has been ailing for some months absent today. We wish that God may cure him soon and he may once again be fit to execute the policy that he has adopted in the budget that he has presented on behalf of his Ministry. Sir, year before last I had an occasion in connection with the discussion of a cut motion to make certain adverse remarks against one of my honourable friends the Minister Sri Niharendu Dutt-Mazumdar during his absence for which I was not responsible. When he came into the House, he rose on a point of order and demanded your decision as to whether I exhibited bad manners in passing certain remarks against him during his absence or not. The budget has been formally presented by our honourable friend Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker who for circumstances over which neither I nor he has any control is absent, but in course of my discussion I shall try my level best not to make any reference to him personally but, Sir, at the outset I would expect your indulgence if I may at times be forced to make any such remarks.

The Hon'ble Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker has presented the budget on behalf of the entire Cabinet and for this reason not only he but each and all belonging to this Cabinet must be responsible. If words could bring salvation, I admit there is in the budget statement enough material for our salvation here as also hereafter. When the Congress Ministry presented their first budget in this chamber, I and millions of people of Bengal were disillusioned because although we had reasons not to agree with the Congress on all points, we had in our heart some respect and admiration for the leaders and workers of the Congress as they were then undergoing sacrifice in their struggle for independence. But when they presented their first budget, they appeared in a different colour. Since then year after year we have been witnessing the same thing. Therefore, this budget does neither disillusion us nor disappoint us. We have got what exactly we expected.

In the budget statement representing the present Congress Cabinet, the Hon'ble Finance Minister has made an excellent analysis of the world situation. He has presented our financial position in relation—I am inclined to say—to the entire universe—not merely he confined his remarks within this sphere of the Solar system but even distant stars did not escape his notice and he tried scientifically to convince us how the influences of those stars millions and millions of miles apart have created conditions which have forced him to present to us the budget that he has prepared for us. He has referred to Korea, Mr. Dixon's opinion about Kashmir, this, that and everything. As Dr. Ghosh has said, he has made much of matters irrelevant to our own conditions. He is fortunate in being able to keep around him a number of efficient Private Secretaries. Therefore, in his budget statement we frequently come across excellent idioms, phrases and expressions, but, Sir, I am sorry to tell you that this excellent statement—rhetoric—does not give us any satisfaction whatsoever or improve our lot in the least.

The Hon'ble Finance Minister has painted a dismal background of our financial position and in course of his statement, here and there, he has made some veiled suggestion that all these circumstances have been provoked by our sister State Pakistan. I do not want to enter into the merits of that, but when the Hon'ble Finance Minister presented his budget statement here, Indo-Pakistan trade talks were not concluded. So, in the Hon'ble Finance Minister's absence I am tempted to know from the honourable gentleman, who is now representing him specifically in course of this budget discussion, how our financial position has been affected by our unconditional acceptance of the Pakistan rupee value.

Sir, two things, not merely in this budget but as I said of previous budgets that the Congress Ministry had the honour to present to the Assembly, appear in bold relief—first, the anxiety of the present Ministry to maintain themselves in power and, second, to give the greatest benefit to the capitalists of our country in the best appearance of a friend of labour and people. So far as these two things are concerned, I really congratulate the Ministry for the excellent budget that they have prepared. We are of opinion that the persistent and deliberate policy of the Congress Ministry has almost brought the people of West Bengal to the verge of ruin. Sir, all the hopes and aspirations of the people have been ruthlessly subordinated to the interests of this Ministry's vicious companions who now surround them everywhere. To begin with, we find here a rigid control of all kinds of trade and commerce. It will not be misrepresentation of facts if it be said that they have deliberately adopted a policy of total control of business in order to patronise some of their friends who may be of some use to them in times of need. I will cite before you just

one or two instances as to how dishonestly this policy of control is being pursued. Not to speak of big matters, one is not permitted even to run a small cloth shop or one small paddy-husking or atta-making or flour-making mill without the patronage and consent of the Government. Sir, a friend of mine Sri Narayan Chandra Mehra, who is now dead, had a small cloth shop. At the time I am referring to Dr. Ghosh now sitting in the Opposition visited Burdwan and presided over what is now known as the Dhyanya-Chasi Conference. That gentleman had never been in politics. He could not make fine distinction between this leader and that leader and was not conscious of the inner politics. He made certain contributions for the reception of Dr. Ghosh. For this reason those who were in power got annoyed and on this and that plea prosecuted him before the Court of the Subdivisional Officer of Burdwan for malpractices. Sir, the Court honourably acquitted him making certain adverse remarks against the Civil Supply Department which was responsible for this. You will be surprised, Sir, that since then every month that gentleman's representative who is now running the firm has been approaching the Government and filing petitions both at Burdwan and at the Calcutta Headquarters, and I am told that recently he has filed petitions to our Hon'ble President, to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India and to everyone who may be concerned and could be of any use to him, but, Sir, up till now his licence has not been restored, for that sin of paying money for the reception of a Congress leader with whom the present Ministry does not agree.

Sir, a second case I want to place before you. This is not an individual affair, but a general question. Sir, the Government have perfect and absolute right to control procurement of rice, distribution of paddy and all these things in the best interest of the people. But, Sir, they have no right to act according to their own whims and caprices regardless of the welfare of the people. For instance, there are hundreds of small paddy-husking mills spread all over West Bengal for which this very Government have issued licence and on receipt of licence common people and other middle class gentlemen who find no other means of existence relying on that licence invested some thousands for installing that machine. It is not fair, Sir, without any reasonable ground, without assigning any reason to these people, to withdraw their licence and stop working of those mills. Government may in the best interests of the people do that, but at the same time they should try their best and show the greatest sympathy to the mill-owners and try to give them compensation otherwise. But, Sir, we find no tendency or indication from the Government to do anything in this respect.

With regard to procurement of rice, Sir, the same policy is running through. Government have selected some of their friends as local village procurement agents. These people know the economic circumstances of all the people of the village—every man of the village. If they could act honestly, then they could have seized paddy stock only of those who have a surplus, but unfortunately we find that in order to screw up their own margin of profit, they are behaving as village tyrants, but since they are friends of that party and since there is an implied pledge of giving their full support to this Ministry when election comes, their sins are condoned and all their heinous activities are carefully ignored. In this manner, as I said, the entire administration is being run with the objective of maintaining themselves in power.

With regard to the other objective, namely, helping their capitalist friends and possibly also to share their fortune in commerce and trade, they are putting up an appearance of a friend of the people. The Hon'ble Finance Minister representing his Cabinet, as Dr. Ghosh has said, laid all

blame on labour and has used all his excellent phrases and idioms for shielding the sins of his capitalist friends. Sir, "revenue receipt is so much" and "expenditure is so much". This has been a hackneyed expression, and it does not produce any effect on our minds. We know, Sir, that with the available resources no Government can do what the country expects from their Government. In order that some real good can be done to the people, it is necessary to introduce a complete revolution in our financial position, system and methods and this cannot be done unless we go straightaway for complete nationalisation of big industries and land. Unless that is done, nothing can bring us economic salvation, give us food, clothing, shelter, medicine, employment, etc., in fact all that is necessary for a healthy existence. I do not know of any other reason except a desire to help capitalism to flourish here, as to why this policy of nationalisation of big industries and land is not being adopted. In this connection the question of the refugees comes across my mind. Dr. Ghosh told us that although he made adequate arrangements for rehabilitation, education, etc., of the refugees, he did never invite them. My friend Janab Md. Khuda Bukhsh interrupting him asked as to who invited them. I do not want to enter into that question as it is now a hard reality that lakhs of refugees are here and they will be here and therefore they must be taken as part of this country and any pious wish that they would go back to Pakistan, I am afraid, will never be fulfilled. Sir, in order that we may do some real good to these refugees, we must take full control of our available land. We must take full control of all the industries so that we may be in a position to give them the land that they require and give them all facilities for producing the wealth that we will consume in the shape of foodgrains, etc., and so that we may have full control over questions of employment and give them the employment they need. Unless that is done, the condition of the refugees and with that the condition of the whole people is bound to deteriorate year after year.

Sir, I want to draw your attention only to one more thing which I consider vital for this country and that is the Government's policy to make West Bengal self-sufficient. It is really a matter of gratification that the present Ministry is thinking in terms of making West Bengal economically self-sufficient, that is, in jute, in cotton, in foodgrains and also in *ganja*. But it pains me to find that they, in their endeavour to make West Bengal an independent self-sufficient economic unit, have lost all sense of proportion and priority. I think, Sir, you will agree with me that, at a time when there is food shortage of an acute kind which indirectly compels us to make compromises with other countries which we do not like to, it is not fair to convert paddy lands into *ganja* lands in order to get ourselves free and independent of Nowgong or Rajshahi. We know that Eastern Pakistan has got a monopoly of *ganja*. I wish they had continued in that monopoly but I do not know why of all things this Government took it into their heads to deprive Pakistan of that monopoly and make West Bengal independent of that country in respect of *ganja*.

Turning next to jute bags and jute products, it is an agreed fact and it is an uncontroversial fact that they are essential commodities. Here again one should exercise his sense of priority whether rice will have priority over jute or jute will have priority over rice. So I think that the present food crisis is certainly not wholly due to mishandling of the situation by this Ministry but is greatly due to that. I hope that after the recent conclusion of Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement we have become more sober and now we shall continue to develop our country in a way that will not bring famine and starvation while making ourselves independent of Pakistan in respect of *ganja*. As you know, Sir, due to my defective vision it is not possible for me always to go through the details of the Red Book and the

Blue Book. So I am tempted again to ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister through you, Sir, exactly how much money and acreage of land have been utilised for producing *ganja* and if Government has given any subsidy to agriculturists of *ganja*. I pray to God so that the Hon'ble the Finance Minister may be enabled to come to the Assembly to give replies to the criticisms that are made, but, if he is not able to come, I would expect his representative here to give us detailed replies to all the criticisms that have been made and that may be made during the next few days.

When Dr. Ghosh was speaking I was listening to him with rapt attention and pondering as to what compelling circumstances would have forced him to take his seat in the Opposition. Is it because Dr. Ghosh is a dishonest and indisciplined public man or because his sense of honesty and discipline is so great that he reached the farthest extreme of endurance and found his honourable friends on the other side so much undesirable that he could not even sit with them. To this question the Hon'ble the Chief Minister must answer because we have known Dr. Ghosh really as one of the Congress leaders who really made sacrifices.

Sir, I want to conclude my criticisms with a warning. My honourable friends sitting on the Treasury Benches are perhaps far more efficient and experienced than I claim to be but, Sir, my own humble experience is otherwise. Let me remind them and warn them that pursuing a policy of controlling and capturing power through patronisation and through appointment of their own agents in the city and in the moffusil, by issuing permits to men of their choice and by distributing other available Government patronage is not a good policy because a number of people who can be in this manner appointed shall be far less a small microscopic minority than the vast millions who will be disappointed. So this policy has always led to ultimate ruin of the party which has followed this policy, and so this is also the destiny that is awaiting the present Ministry.

Sir, it is far from giving any satisfaction and commanding confidence of the people at large. This Ministry have failed even to command confidence and respect and friendship of men like Dr. Ghosh, who have struggled for independence with them for over thirty years. This should be an eye-opener to them, and I hope since election is coming near this Government will change their policy and abandon that old bureaucratic and imperial policy of control so that they may rehabilitate themselves in the minds of the people.

Sir, I do not know what is going to happen in election because election tactics are of various kinds and complexions, and there are various ways of tackling election affairs and there are so many methods by which a small minority can overthrow a huge majority through the present system of voting. But, Sir, one thing is absolutely clear that the present Ministry has lost completely the confidence of every man, woman and child of West Bengal, and they are sticking to the Treasury Bench not for them but in spite of them, by force, and I must say, through vice. I do not know what is going to happen if they continue in their present policy. This is leading inevitably to revolution, and they by their wrong policy are inviting revolution and will land this country into a bloody revolution: in this respect I have no doubt. Therefore, Sir, if they do not work according to the true spirit of democracy, then they themselves will give a fair burial to democracy and not those who are undesirables.

With these words, Sir, I take leave of you and conclude my remarks in the expectation that our honourable friends in the Treasury Bench will,

instead of avoiding issues, have the courage to take note of the criticisms that will be made during these few days and give a specific reply to us and to the country through us.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Sj. KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the budget opens with the same dismal feature of chronic deficit which hardly holds but any promise and prospect of relief to the poor. It is just an example of fine way of speaking nothing and by digression to international and all-India discussion West Bengal and its problems have been lost in the wider perspective. The main things that vitally concern us are food, shelter over head, clothings and employment. Hardly any attempt has been made to solve these real problems. The question of providing increased employment has been brushed aside by the Finance Minister by unnecessary references to American conditions. His premises are fundamentally wrong and wide of the mark. America has a highly developed economy whereas ours is an underdeveloped economy. Any comparison with American conditions would not only be misleading but distorting too. His mind still labours under the Victorian idea of compromise in economic objectives. Where does he get that there has been a shift of income from saving to consumption and that on account of increased consumption America's capital formation has been on the decrease? It is just the opposite there. By that ever increasing consumption western democracies are creating more and more capital. The modern doctrine of public finance says that the more the consumption, the more the investment. America, United Kingdom and other industrially developed countries are approaching saturation point in capital formation and any analogy with those countries will be simply misleadinbg for us here.

Our State is economically doctrineless. Like our philosophy which revels in the negative aspect of everything our national state is neither capitalistic, nor socialistic, nor communistic. It is a shapeless structure. It is being called a welfare state, but whose welfare it looks after while teeming millions are still half-starved, half-clothed, unemployed and shelterless. With philosophic detachments our leaders seem to issue statements with exhortations to bear everything peacefully. The Government should not forget that there is a limit to everything. Mere treading in the traditional path of economic doctrine and uttering jargon will not lead to anywhere.

In the matter of employment our Government's mind is still moving in the same old rut of 19th century classical economics, long discarded by all progressive countries having the good of the people at their hearts, that the problem is still a matter for the private capital to look after, according to its pleasure and convenience.

The present time enjoins planned economy and it is now the primary duty of a democratic Government to create and find employment for the unemployed population of the country. Our Union is poor no doubt and lacks that resourcefulness which can guarantee nation-wide full employment, yet it is a matter of deep regret that our Government are spending huge sums of money without any planning.

Real planned economy has yet to be planned. The rate and volume of capital formation is now greatly a State concern and money capital can be created by the State to any extent. Therefore, plea for lack of capital for undertaking development projects, particularly harnessing internal

resources, is a lame excuse. For our static economic condition, the inaction of the Central Government is mainly responsible which always hesitate and falter to take bold steps to stem the progressively deteriorating economy of the country.

The Central administration since our independence has been a sorry affair of great blunders in all aspects of our national life and the economic policy that it is pursuing has had great repercussions on our West Bengal State jeopardising our economy.

The trade pact with Pakistan just concluded is an example of a belated recognition of real conditions that relate to these sister Dominions. Had the same step been followed immediately after devaluation, the two Bengals would have been spared the immense sufferings of the millions reducing them to a just state of beggars and perhaps, also the horrors of bloodshed. Then pride and prejudice and false vanity blinded the Government's vision and prevented it from getting a real appreciation of the situation that the two Dominions are economically inter-dependent though politically independent.

Now, I turn to the affairs of my own State.

Co-operation is the vital need of our agricultural population, it is not merely economic, but it is a mode of life that aims at turning out better men and better society free from any capitalistic exploitation. It is a method of collective self-help which is employed in all agricultural countries for development of agricultural prosperity. Our leaders are eloquent enough in praise of co-operation, but in practice they follow the opposite. A sum of Rs. 19,74,000 has been allotted in the budget estimate under co-operation, but it is a pity that almost the whole amount is meant for maintaining an ever increasingly big staff and only a paltry sum of Rs. 37,000 will go towards grants-in-aid to co-operative societies. The budget estimate is higher than the revised estimate by Rs. 3,30,000. But this increased amount will be absorbed in entirety by the increased staff. We find that the number of gazetted officers in the Co-operative Department has been raised from 16 to 26. But we find no provision for training of co-operative workers.

Crores of rupees are being spent in this State for rehabilitation of refugees. There are thousands of farmers and artisans among the refugees who could have been successfully and fruitfully organised and resettled through co-operatives, but the Government lack imagination and will too, to follow that way. But the attitude of the Government is most unhelpful and non-co-operative in this regard. The Government would rather squander away money in unsuccessful projects, rather than utilise the co-operative agencies for rehabilitation work.

Our Finance Minister spoke eloquently about the development of industries, specially small ones. He is himself the Minister in charge of Industries and Commerce portfolio. A sum of Rs. 43,20,000 has been provided under this head in the next year's budget estimates, including development programme. Most of the amount we find is meant for maintenance of a big staff and only a very small percentage of this amount will go towards actual projects. As, for promotion of cottage industries only Rs. 30,000 will be spent for hand-made paper industry, Rs. 1,50,000 for *khadi* industry, Rs. 12,000 for mat industry, Rs. 8,000 for bee-keeping and Rs. 2,00,000 for promotion of *gur* industry. Under other heads a provision for loans for aid to industries of Rs. 6,00,000 has been made. This amount is just a drop in the vast ocean of needs. We expected the formation of an Industrial Finance Corporation for our State also. But the Finance Minister is silent about that, although we expected an announcement from him for raising a loan for this purpose.

As regards the development of electricity, we are providing money for North Calcutta Electrification Scheme which is designed to accelerate industrial development in a semi-rural area covering about 2,000 square miles since 1946-47, and in that year Rs. 20,23,000 were allotted. Since then five years have elapsed and lakhs of rupees were provided. Yet, not a single transmission line has been constructed nor any portion of the area electrified and no progress is visible. The budget estimate makes a provision for Rs. 22,77,000 during the next year on this project. The longer the time taken in completion of the scheme, the larger will be the expenses. A quick completion would have brought economy. The same may be told about the Kanchrapara Area Development Scheme for which we have been providing larger sums since 1948-49. Three years are going to elapse and for the fourth year a sum of Rs. 50,00,000 has been allotted. We do not know when the scheme will materialise.

Education should receive top priority in a democratic country with adult franchise especially where about 85 per cent. of the people are illiterate. In our budget, education got the third place after police and medical. Police absorbs 18·7 per cent. of our total expenditure. If we calculate percentage of the net cost to total net revenue expenditure, police takes away 20·7 per cent. In 1946-47, in undivided Bengal, police was allotted Rs. 3,65,00,000 or roughly 8·7 per cent. of the total revenue receipt then. And for the coming year, the grant for the police has been raised to Rs. 6,85,12,000 including indirect cost. Of course, this increased cost might be necessitated on account of the changed circumstances following the partition.

Medical is our Chief Minister's own portfolio and it is natural that he would take a lion's share out of our revenue for it, that is, Rs. 3,67,90,000. This is excluding the grant under Public Health which will draw Rs. 1,13,19,000. Of course, medical and public health are essential needs of our country and needs further development. But, much more funds are expected to be allowed on education, particularly primary education. It is no doubt that we are spending more money for education than it was in 1946-47 in the undivided Bengal. And the percentage of grants to total revenue expenditure is now also higher, but in view of the present essential needs of the State, the funds provided are much meagre. More regrettable it is that no provision has been made in the budget estimates for betterment of the lot of the primary teachers who are now forced to live on wages far below that of even the lowest paid menial in Government service. Let alone secondary school teachers, even the primary school teachers are neglected, although their concern is a direct responsibility of the Government.

In this regard the Union Government first come under criticism. For the rehabilitation of displaced persons the Government of India have so far spent Rs. 84 crores in all, and of this amount only a sum of about Rs. 14 crores has so far been expended in West Bengal. Thus, the figures speak for themselves how the East Bengal refugees are being treated shabbily by the India Government and their partiality for West Pakistan refugees is all the more glaring.

Their schemes for granting loans to each East Bengal refugee family are unrealistic and unusual because the prescribed scales of loan money are too inadequate to meet even the basic needs of housing and employment. No trade started with the small borrowed capital of Rs. 500 only can at the present time normally yield sufficient income to maintain a family, neither it is possible for an agricultural family to be settled at the curtailed amount of grant on a waste land of the State. As a result, the recipients of loans, instead of gainfully occupying themselves, forced by economic

circumstances are diverting the borrowed capital towards costs of family maintenance and the houses built at a small cost of Rs. 500 are fast collapsing.

In this way, large investments of Government funds are being practically wasted and the economic consequences of continuing the unrealistic plan of rehabilitation based on such miserly estimates or calculations will practically land the refugees and the Government into greater troubles—the former continuing to remain stranded all through and the latter having no return of the loans. The scale of loans indicate that there is a confusion in the Government mind as to the real significance of the words rehabilitation and rehabitation. A few cottahs of land and a house on it do not mean rehabilitation. Of course, by these words I do not mean that nothing was done for the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. We know that beautiful townships, colonies and farms have grown up on the waste lands of the State with help of Government money. Many vocational training centres for displaced men and women have also been started and these deserve appreciation. However, these are not only inadequate for the requirements of the displaced persons, but, had the Government proper imagination and planned resettlement drive, the achievements would have been much better. It is high time that the Government change their outlook in this respect and follow the Congress ideals of co-operative welfare state conducive to the national prosperity.

Under medical this year also a big sum of Rs. 74,83,000 has been allotted for rural dispensaries and establishment of public health units, but the slow progress and procrastination in carrying out the schemes have marred the grace of money grants and exasperated the patience of the people. As for example, at Maynaguri in Jalpaiguri and at Bethudabari in Nadia, constructions of thana health centres were sanctioned as early as 1947-48, since then although work has been started, it has not been completed. To expedite the construction of these schemes, and the schemes under relief and rehabilitation, a Construction Board has been created and special engineers have been posted in the centre as well as in the districts, and although much money is being spent, the purpose is not achieved. I would like to draw the special attention of our Chief Minister to this unhappy state of affairs. District Committees should be entrusted with the carrying out of the schemes. The present tendency towards overcentralisation and extension of Secretariat controls in all spheres are responsible for interfering with the progress of various schemes of our State. The earlier the Government move towards decentralisation, the better.

Lastly, with regard to Grow More Food Drive and Irrigation Development, I expected that the northern truncated districts would receive more attention from our Ministers. The whole area is highly deficit in food and there is hardly any possibility of their getting food from outside, yet no attempt has been made to make them self-supporting in food production. Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri are tea districts and are good dollar earners, yet they are neglected in food production and irrigation. Lakhs of acres of culturable waste lands are lying fallow in these districts for want of proper irrigation and it is a pity that out of a total estimated expenditure of Rs. 10,20,47,000, only a meagre sum of Rs. 7,000 has been allotted to Jalpaiguri in this connection. The Grow More Food Drive also is being totally neglected in this area.

Janab A. M. A. ZAMAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, প্রত্যেক বৎসরই বাজেট পেশ করা হয়, এবং তা পাশ হয়। এবারও বাজেট সে অনুযায়ী এসেছে। কিন্তু কোন departmentএই খরচের কমতি নাই এবং মাত্রা বেড়েই চলেছে। দেখা যাচ্ছে চুরি, ডাকাতি, বদমায়েসী, [illegible], সবই বেড়েই চলেছে। আর সেটা সকলেরই চিন্তা করবার বিষয়। পুলিশ বাজেটেও যথেষ্ট [illegible] হয়েছে, তেমনি Education

এবং Health ও অন্যান্য departmentএর ব্যয়-বরাদ্দ বাহুল্য রয়েছে। কিন্তু বাজেটে শ্রমিকদের সম্বন্ধে কি আছে? বেশী কিছুই নেই এটা দুঃখের বিষয়। Minority সম্বন্ধেও সে কথাই বলা যায়। আজকে বাজেট সম্বন্ধে বক্তৃতা দিতে গিয়ে কয়েকটি কথা মনে পড়ছে। যে পুলিশ খাতে যে টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হচ্ছে সেটা বেড়ে যাচ্ছে কেন? একদিকে চুরি, ডাকাতি বেড়ে যাচ্ছে অথচ সঙ্গে সঙ্গে পুলিশের জন্য খরচ বেড়েই চলেছে। আমার মনে হয় দেশবাসী আমরা যারা রয়েছি তাদেরও এবিষয়ে দায়িত্ব আছে। শুধু Governmentকে দোষ না দিয়ে যাতে এই চুরি, ডাকাতি বন্ধ হয় সে বিষয়ে যদি Governmentএর সাহায্য করি, তবে এই বাবদ অনেক টাকা বাঁচতে পারে। পুলিশকে দোষারোপ না করে—বলছি না যে পুলিশ সবই ভাল, পুলিশের ব্যবহার খুব ভাল নয় সেদিকে Governmentএর লক্ষ্য রাখা দরকার—যদি আমরা চোর, ডাকাত ধরবার জন্য সমবেত চেষ্টা করি তাতে ফল ভাল হবে। কিন্তু সেদিকে চেষ্টা হচ্ছে না। ইংরাজ আমলে যে অবস্থা ছিল স্বাধীনতার পরেও তার বিশেষ কোন পরিবর্ত্তন হয়নি। তাই মনে হয়, আমাদের নিজেদের আচার-ব্যবহারও বিশেষ কোন পরিবর্ত্তন হয়নি। সব দিকেই যেন পূর্ব্বের আমলেই রয়েছি। আগে আমরা একটা third partyর বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম করেছি, এখন যদি নিজেদের মধ্যে লড়াই করি তাতে আমরা শত্রুপক্ষে যারা রয়েছে, তাদেরই সাহায্য করি মাত্র। তারা আমাদের এই দ্বন্দ্ব দেখে হাততালি দিচ্ছে। অতএব কি করে ঘরের ভিতর শত্রু না ঢুকতে পারে এবং দেশকে উন্নত করতে পারি সেদিকে চেষ্টা করা দরকার। Government অবশ্য যাতে দেশের ভাল হয়, তাই চান, তবে অনাচার ও ভুল কিছু যদি হয়, opposite side সেই ভুল সংশোধন করতে চেষ্টা করেন তাহলে বাজেট সমালোচনা সার্থক হবে। সেজন্য আমি বেশী সময় নেব না। দেশে আজ যে মন্বন্তর আবদ্ধ হয়েছে, তা থেকে দেশ কি করে রক্ষা পেতে পারে, এটাই আমাদের প্রধান চেষ্টা হওয়া দরকার। আর একটা কথা—এই যে Indo-Pak Trade Pact হয়েছে তা দ্বারা আমাদের লাভ হচ্ছে কি লোকসান হচ্ছে সেটা চিন্তা করে দেখতে হবে। আমার মনে হয়, আমরা যথেষ্ট লাভবান হবো। পাট, তুলা, চাল প্রভৃতির অত্যন্ত অভাব ছিল, সেটা যথেষ্ট পরিমানে এখন পাব। India Governmentএর যেন সবই ছিল অথচ কিছুই নেই—কলকারখানা ছিল অথচ কাপড় নেই, jute mill ছিল অথচ পাট নাই, কাঁচামাল সরবরাহের অভাবে এরকম একটা অবস্থা হয়েছিল। এই Pactএর দ্বারা সেটা দূর হবে। শ্রমিকদের অভাবও দূর হবে এবং দেশে শান্তি আসবে। কাজেই সেদিক দিয়ে Government loser হবে না। যদিও ৪০ কোটি টাকা আমাদের Government থেকে পাকিস্তানে চলে যাবে। ভাল করে যদি বিবেচনা করি তবে দেখা যায়—এই তৈরী মাল বিক্রী করে তিন গুণ বেশী টাকা আমরা ফিরে পাব। তাই এটা একটা সুখবর। India Governmentএর পক্ষ থেকে যে loan দেওয়া হচ্ছে—এছাড়া কোন উপায়ান্তর নাই। লোককে খাওয়াতে হবেই। কিন্তু loanএর একটা মাত্রা দেখতে হবে। এই loan করা হয় কেন, সেটা চিন্তা করে দেখা দরকার। এত লোক আসে কেন বাইরে থেকে? দিল্লী চুক্তি হয়েছে, এই Trade Pact হল সেই অনুসারে প্রত্যেক দেশের minority দেশে ফিরে গিয়ে যাতে সুখে-স্বাচ্ছন্দে বাস করতে পারে —পাকিস্তানে এবং ইণ্ডিয়াতে—সেটা আমাদের দেখা দরকার। সেজন্য যে committee রয়েছে—Minister রয়েছে—সকলেরই সেটা দেখা দরকার। একটি পরিবারে মনে করুন দৈনিক পাঁচ সের চাল লাগে। সেখানে যদি বেশী লোক—অতিথি আসে এবং বেশী দিন থাকে তাহলে, তবে খরচ বেশী লাগবেই, এই খরচ যদি কমাতে হয় তবে চেষ্টা করা উচিত সেই বেশী লোক যাতে স্বস্থানে প্রস্থান করে। উদ্বাস্তুদের বেলায় একথা খাটে। দেশে এমন অবস্থা সৃষ্টি করতে হবে যাতে উদ্বাস্তুরা দেশে ফিরে যেতে পারে। এখানে একটা কথা চিন্তা করা আমাদের দরকার। সেখান থেকে যে উদ্বাস্তুরা এখানে এসেছিল—কিসের প্রলোভনে এবং সেই প্রলোভন দেখিয়েছিল কারা? তারা আজ গা ঢাকা দিয়ে সরে পড়েছে। তাদের এই political চালের দায়িত্ব তারা নিজেদের ঘাড়ে নিতে চায় না অন্যের ঘাড়ে চাপিয়ে দিতে চায়, অন্যকে দোষ দিয়ে তারা সরে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকে। এই political খেলার জন্যই দেশের সর্ব্বনাশ হচ্ছে। আমি বহু জায়গায় বহু মিটিং করেছিলাম এবং কিছু কিছু successfulও হয়েছি। অনেকে আমাকে জিজ্ঞাসা করেছে ফিরে গেলে কি সেখানে সুবিধা পাব? আমি বলেছি মুসলমান রাজত্বের সময় সেখানে বাস করতে পেরেছ এখন পারবে না কেন? কিন্তু তা হয় না। লোভে পড়ে তারা এসেছিল, তারা মনে করেছিল, এখানে আসলে অনেক কিছু সুবিধা—টাকা পয়সা পাবে কিন্তু যারা প্রলোভন দেখিয়েছিল তারা relief campএ তাঁদের পাঁচ দশ টাকা দিয়ে সরে পড়ল। আমিও অনেককে নিজের পকেট থেকে কিছু কিছু সাহায্য করেছি। কিন্তু যারা তাদের এখানে আসতে বলেছিল—তাদের পাত্তা আজ পাই না। এই যে political খেলার জন্য লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক মারা যায়—আমাদের দেশের লোক, আমাদের ভাই বোন, আত্মীয়-স্বজন, প্রতিবেশী তারাই মারা যাচ্ছে, সেদিকে Governmentএর যেমন লক্ষ্য রাখা দরকার

আমাদেরও লক্ষ্য রাখা দরকার। শুধু Governmentএর উপর দোষ চাপান উচিত হবে না। আমি আশা করি বাজেটের বিভিন্ন খাতে যে ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে সেটা সত্যিকার ভালভাবেই ব্যয় করা হবে এই বলে আমি শেষ করছি।

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-30 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 28th February, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 28th February, 1951, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 58 Members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Crop failure in "Jhinkra Khal" area in Kulpi thana, 24-Parganas

***17. Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Irrigation Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the Government is aware that the crops of several thousand *bighas* of paddy land in the "Jhinkra *khal*" area in the Lakshmipur and Belpukur Unions of Kulpi thana (24-Parganas) fail almost every year due to inundation of the area for want of proper drainage of the Jhinkra *khal*;

(*ii*) whether the affected people of the localities have been moving the authorities for the last several years for the construction of a sluice gate at the mouth of the "Jhinkra *khal*" at the 88th mile of the Government embankment to provide proper drainage of the area; and

(*iii*) whether any scheme for the construction of a sluice gate at the mouth of the "Jhinkra *khal*" is under consideration of the Government?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*)(*iii*) be in the affirmative, will the Government consider the desirability of sanctioning the scheme and taking up the construction of the sluice gate at an early date?

(*c*) If the answer to (*a*)(*iii*) be in the negative, will the Government consider the desirability of construction of a sluice gate at the mouth of the "Jhinkra *khal*" at an early date for providing proper drainage of the Jhinkra *khal* area?

MINISTER in charge of the IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Bhupati Majumdar): (*a*)(*i*) Yes. About 8 square miles of paddy lands (15,500 *bighas*).

(*ii*) Yes, for some time past.

(*iii*), (*b*) and (*c*) No. But a scheme amounting to Rs.5,35,000 has been approved comprising Tengra and Jhinkra basins (about 25 sq. miles) of which Jhinkra *khal* is a part. The execution of the scheme will depend on the availability of funds.

No sluice has been provided in the mouth of the *khal* but its both banks are proposed to be sufficiently raised to prevent ingress of saline water in the fields. Adequate number of sluices have been provided in the banks for necessary drainage. The scheme as prepared would, when executed, remove the drainage condition of the entire area.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন স্যার, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহোদয় যে উত্তর দিয়েছেন--(*iii*) (*b*) and (*c*) "The execution of the scheme will depend on the availability of funds". সেই funds কবে available হবে মন্ত্রীমহাশয় সেজন্য চেষ্টা করছেন কিনা?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: সেখানে জমি যে অবস্থায় আছে drainageএর ব্যবস্থা হলে জমিতে বেশী উৎপন্ন হতে পারে। সুতরাং নিশ্চয়ই সেদিকে লক্ষ্য আছে। আশে পাশে বহু লক্ষ টাকার কাজ হচ্ছে, বাঙ্গলা দেশে শুধু এই subdivisionএ একটি জায়গার উপর জোর দিলে চলে না। অন্য জায়গায় priority দেওয়া হয় যদি এ রকম খরচ করে এর চেয়ে বেশী ফল পাওয়া যায়। এজন্য যদি জানতে চান তবে আর কি কি কার্য্য ওখানে হচ্ছে সে সম্বন্ধে বলতে পারি।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি কিসের উপর তাঁর priority নির্ভর করে?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: বলেছিতো আমাদের কাছে সেটাই priority পায়, যেখানে অনুরূপ টাকা খরচ করে বেশী ফল পাওয়া যায়। কেবল এক জায়গায় যদি বহু কাজ করা হয় আর এক জায়গায় একদম কাজ না হয়, তা ঠিক হয় না। যেই জায়গায় বেশী ফলের আশা আছে, সেদিকেই লক্ষ্য দিতে হয়।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি তিনি কি এটাকে খুব প্রয়োজনীয় মনে করেন, না অপ্রয়োজনীয় মনে করেন?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: খুব প্রয়োজনীয় মনে করি। কারণ যাতে ফসল বেশী পাব, সেটা প্রয়োজনীয়। কিন্তু priority পাবে সেই জায়গা, যেখানে এই রকম ব্যয়ে বেশী ফল পাওয়া যায়।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Priority কথা হচ্ছে না হাতে টাকা নাই? টাকা পাবার ব্যাপারে তিনি চেষ্টা করছেন কিনা কারণ অন্যান্য departmentএ অনেক টাকা নিয়ে নিচ্ছে।

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: আমাদের সেদিকে নজর আছে। যত শীঘ্র করতে পারি সেদিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে জরীপের কাজ আরম্ভ হয়েছে। টাকা পেলে এ বিষয়ে কাজ আরম্ভ করব, এর বেশী কিছু বলতে পারব না।

Sj. ANNADA PROSAD CHOUDHURY: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন। টাকার অভাব মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন। এই কাজের প্রয়োজন আছে, এ মনে করলেও কি টাকার অভাব থাকে? Deficit বাজেট surplus বাজেট হয়, তখন টাকার অভাব থাকে কি?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: এটা কোন প্রশ্নই নয়। উত্তর দেওয়া হয়েছে funds available হলেই এটা করা হবে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন। দ্বিতীয় paragraphএ উনি উত্তরে বলেছেন--"No sluice has been provided in the mouth of the *khal* but its both banks are proposed to be sufficiently raised to prevent ingress of saline water in the fields." মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এই যে--একবার উত্তরের দিকে দেখে বলবেন কি--এটা সেখানের অবস্থা দেখে লেখা হয়েছে? সেখানে খালের যে কথা বলা হয়েছে কোন ব্যাঙ্কই সেখানে নাই সুতরাং নোনা জল ingress of saline water ঢোকবার কোন প্রশ্নই নাই। যেহেতু উত্তর অকল্প সে হেতু নোণা জল ঢুকবে এইজন্যই বোধ হয় এ রকম উত্তর দেওয়া হয়েছে।

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: বার বার অভিজ্ঞতা--experience--থেকে দেখা গেছে যদি বাঁধ দেওয়া যায় তাহলে মুখটা বন্ধ হয়ে যায় কিন্তু জল চলাচলের জন্য মুখটা খোলা রাখা দরকার।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: কিন্তু সেখানকার যে ব্যাপার তাতে ingress of salt waterএর কোন প্রশ্নই নাই তাই উত্তরটা সম্পূর্ণ redundant.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: আপনি কি বলতে চান গঙ্গার সঙ্গে খালের কোন সম্পর্ক নাই? খালের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক আছে?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: খালের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক আছে।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন--খালের সঙ্গে খালের সম্পর্ক থাকলেও salt water যায়। (Interruptions.)--আমাকে প্রশ্নটা করতে দিন দয়া করে। এই খাল সম্বন্ধে এই principleটা কি প্রযোজ্য?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: আমি মনে করি প্রযোজ্য।

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: মন্ত্রীমহাশয় কি সেখানে গিয়েছেন?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: ঐ সব জায়গা আমার জানা আছে।

Floods in Sundarbans areas

***18. Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Irrigation Department be pleased to state whether the Government is aware that many *abads* in the Sundarbans areas of the Diamond Harbour, Basirhat and Sadar subdivisions of the 24-Parganas district have been flooded with saline water due to breaches having been caused in the protective *bunds* or embankments thereof in the second week or so of the current month (September, 1950)?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what steps, if any, have been taken or are proposed to be taken by the Government for the immediate repair of the embankments or *bunds* for preventing further damage to the crops, etc., by further ingress of saline water through the breaches;

(*ii*) what steps, if any, have been taken for the proper upkeep of the embankments and *bunds* in the Sundarbans;

(*iii*) what steps, if any, have been or are proposed to be taken by the Government for immediate supply of drinking water to the flood-affected areas;

(*iv*) what steps, if any, have been or are proposed to be taken by the Government for the permanent solution of the problem of the scarcity of pure drinking water in the Sundarbans areas; and

(*v*) what steps, if any, have been or are proposed to be taken by the Government for rendering relief to those flood-affected people whose houses or other belongings have been lost or damaged?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*)(*i*) Soon after the flood the Collector, 24-Parganas, visited most of the affected areas and gathered first-hand information about the actual damage. He also deputed the Sundarbans' technical staff under him to the flood-affected areas in order to have detailed estimate of damage to embankments at different places. On the recommendation of the Collector, Government have already authorised him to take up immediate execution of repair work in the case of six major breaches at an estimated cost of Rs.4,30,480 as Takavi works. A number of other breaches have also been closed by local people and *lotdars* concerned with the technical assistance of local officers. Repairs to some of the breaches have also been taken up as a test relief measure.

The Collector, 24-Parganas, who is already vested with special powers under section 15 of the Bengal Embankment Act, II of 1882, to carry out works in connection with the Sundarbans embankments costing up to Rs.50,000 in each case without previous reference to any superior authority, is examining the feasibility of attending to some other breaches in important sectors as Takavi works.

(*ii*) Proper upkeep of the Sundarbans embankments is, under the terms of the leases, the responsibility of the *lotdars* who are the grantees under successive settlement rules. But the *lotdars* do not often fulfil their statutory obligation in this respect with the result that the Collector, in exercise of the special powers vested in him, has to take up works in connection with the embankments in suitable cases after notice to *lotdars*, although full recovery of the costs of the works from the landlords even at the maximum permissible limit of Re.1 per acre of land per annum is not possible within the foreseeable future.

I should mention here that the present flood problem of the Sundarbans area is the evil consequence of the policy adopted long ago for the premature reclamation of about 1,460 square miles of swamps lying to the north and west of the reserved forests by building embankments to keep out saline water from the lands for the purpose of paddy cultivation.

Two courses of action can remedy this evil. The first is to divert a portion of the Ganges flood into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly by means of a barrage which project is now under investigation by the Government of India. The other course of action would be to throw open the land, taking one block after another, to tidal spill by removing or retiring embankments in a planned and controlled manner, at the same time securing the safety of the embankments in other areas, as far as it is feasible, until the turn for similar treatment in respect of the latter areas comes up. All possible action is being taken to this end.

The above policy of Government has been fully elucidated in a Press-Note issued on 16th October, 1950, a copy of which is placed on the table.

It is printed also.

(*iii*) and (*iv*) The Government in the Medical and Public Health Department on the recommendation of the Collector, 24-Parganas, has sanctioned the sinking of 20 tube-wells in this area in 1949-50. They have further sanctioned the sinking of another 50 tube-wells after the last flood. It is expected that these tube-wells will be able to meet the demand for drinking water there.

(*v*) The Government in the Co-operation, Credit, Relief and Rehabilitation Department have so far sanctioned the following amounts for relief to the distressed people of the flood-affected areas in the Sundarbans:—

				Rs.
(1)	Gratuitous relief	...	..	25,000
(2)	Test works	...	...	45,000
(3)	Free house-building grant	...	...	90,000
(4)	Agricultural loans	...	...	4,00,000

Press-note referred to in reply to clause (b)(ii) of Starred Question No. 18.

For favour of publication on Monday, October 16, 1950.

St. No. 2350(200)Pub.

Calcutta, October 14, 1950.

MAINTENANCE OF EMBANKMENTS IN THE SUNDARBANS

The Hon'ble Sri Bhupati Majumdar, Minister in charge, Irrigation and Waterways Department, has issued the following statement:—

Breaches in embankments in the Sundarbans have become a frequent occurrence and there has been a great deal of public criticism for Government's alleged inaction in the matter. These criticisms proceed

mostly from an inadequate understanding of the situation in the Sundarbans, particularly of the natural forces which are at work in this area. Government, therefore, desire to explain the position to the public in clear and non-technical terms so that there can be a more correct appreciation of the policy that is being pursued in regard to the maintenance of the Sundarbans embankments.

The total area of the Sundarbans is 3,089 square miles, out of which 1,629 square miles are under reserved forests. These forests are in the south and east of the area and the question of embankments does not arise in this region. It is in the remaining area of 1,460 square miles lying to the north and west of the forests that the original swamps have been reclaimed for cultivation behind the shelter of embankments.

Land is built in the Sundarbans by the action of rivers. The primary builder has been the Ganges, carrying down silt with the rainfall over thousands of square miles of its catchment area through the Bhagirathi-Hooghly and its many branches. The deposit of silt brought down by upland floods is supplemented by silt brought up by tides from the sea.

The natural rise in the level of the land in the Sundarbans received a check through interference with these two processes. The main volume of the Ganges water used to flow down the Bhagirathi-Hooghly until about the beginning of the 16th century, when that river changed its course and took a south-easterly direction along what has come to be known as the Padma. The supply of upland water through the Bhagirathi-Hooghly dwindled so much that the Jamuna died and, along with it, its spill channels also, namely, the Nowi, Sunti, Nonagong, Bidyadhari, Piyali and others. All the rivers of the 24-Parganas Sundarbans have now been deprived of upland water except the Hooghly and Ichamati, which receive such supply only during the monsoon months from the Ganges. All the rivers of this area have thus become more or less tidal channels and new land formation is now dependent almost wholly on tidal action

Result of Embankments

Unfortunately, this process also was not allowed to continue freely. Embankments put up on the sides of channels in this area in order to prevent the ingress of saline water into the paddy fields have also prevented the silt-laden water at flow tide from spilling over the land on either side. This has had two consequences. The level of the land has remained low while the silt in the water has remained confined within the river bed depositing the same in the bed itself thus progressively raising its level. In consequence, the rivers become choked and cease to function as drainage and navigation channels. Most of the land on either side continues to remain swampy. On the other hand, with the rise in river beds, the water at flow tide seeks to find new passage breaking through embankments, wherever possible. The bursting of embankments is thus an example of man's losing battle against the forces of nature. The cutting off of the headwaters resulting in the increasing deterioration of the drainage of the area and the upward advance of the salt-water limit are other evil consequences which threaten public health, navigation and agriculture.

The policy of putting up embankments for the reclamation of the Sundarbans swamps for paddy cultivation was initiated more than 120 years ago, when there was little understanding of the natural processes involved in delta-building. The evil consequences of premature reclamation of the Sundarbans have now become increasingly manifest and it is clear that there can be no stable development of the area until the processes of land formation are restored. Two courses of action suggest themselves. The first is to

divert a portion of the Ganges flood into the Bhagirathi-Hooghly once again by means of a barrage erected near a point where the Bhagirathi branches off the parent river so that the silt-laden Ganges water finds its way again to the Sundarbans. Investigations are proceeding for this Ganges Barrage Project.

The other course of action would be to reverse the process of erection of embankments and to throw open the land in the Sundarbans to tidal spill. This, however, cannot obviously be done all over the area at once. In course of over a century that these lands have been reclaimed, human habitation has sprung up there and the paddy raised behind the embankments makes a large contribution to the food supply of the State. Furthermore, the wholesale dismantling of embankments would now violently disturb the present river régime by permitting the numerous waterways in the region to pursue unpredictable courses all over the area all at once. In view of past and present commitments, the objective of Government has, therefore, to be to assist the formation of land in a planned and controlled manner.

Twofold Proposals

It is proposed to achieve this in two ways. On the one hand, marginal embankments are to be removed or retired in gradual stages in all areas where contour survey and model experiments indicate that spill areas should be opened up in order to raise the level of the land and to ensure the proper conservancy of a water channel. Action has been already taken up on these lines in respect of the Kulti Gong, the revival of which river is of vital and immediate importance for providing an adequate outlet for Calcutta sewage. As the land is raised by controlled flooding in one area in this manner, the treatment has to be repeated for the next selected group of blocks.

At the same time, on the other hand, Government propose to ensure the security of embankments of the remaining areas, as far as it is feasible, until they are ready for treatment under the scheme of controlled land formation, and all possible action is being taken to this end.

Maintenance of Embankments

The legal position in regard to the obligation for maintenance of embankments may be made clear at this point. The total area released from forests in the Sundarbans for cultivation is 1,460 square miles, out of which 1,430 square miles are covered by grants made under successive settlement rules to private landlords, commonly referred to in this area as *lotdars*. Government have no legal obligation to put up or maintain embankments within the area under lease to *lotdars*. In the case of leases made under the Rules of 1879, which constitute the largest number of leases in the Sundarbans, an allowance is made for repairs and maintenance of embankments in assessing the revenue payable at the time of each renewal. The responsibility of the Sundarbans grantees or *lotdars* for maintenance of embankments as a necessary corollary of the terms of settlement made with them is fully recognised and, in fact, many of them maintain special guards called *beldars* to keep watch and initiate repairs against threatened breaches.

Government have been, however, fully conscious of their ultimate responsibility for sustaining the farming economy of the Sundarbans, in which the embankments until now have played an undoubtedly vital part. For this reason, the Collector of 24-Parganas was authorised under the Embankment Act of 1882 to repair embankments after notice to *lotdars* and to realise the cost from them in instalments. Action under the

provisions of this Act has been taken with increasing frequency in recent years until, irrespective of the legal position, the Collector has come to be regarded as the *de facto* authority for looking after the safety of embankments. Several large works have been executed by the Collector in the Sundarbans in this way in recent years. After breaches of the zamindary embankments at Tambuldaha and Sarangabad in police-station Canning, the Stuart *bund* was constructed and the Karati and Painabad *bunds* were strengthened in 1946, at a total cost of Rs.8·68 lakhs. Another example is the renovation of the Netra-Araibanki *bund* at a cost of more than two lakhs in the last season.

It may be noted that under the provisions of the Embankment Act the chances of recovery of these large sums from the landlords are remote since the maximum annual recovery permissible under the Act is only Re.1 per acre of land benefited. Nevertheless, Government have in no case hesitated to take up these constructions whenever it has been considered necessary to do so without jeopardising the long-term interests of development of the area.

Long-term Interests.

These long-term interests, as already explained, make it clear that embankments cannot and should not, however, be maintained at all points in the Sundarbans. To ensure the security of embankments, where they are to be maintained for the present, it also follows that the present provisions of the Embankment Act will require to be altered.

A great deal of persistent criticism of Government's alleged failure to repair the breaches of the *bund* at Sarangabad and Tambuldaha in Canning police-station arises from lack of appreciation of this policy, which is conceived in the best long-range interests of the country. It has been found that attempts to close these breaches can succeed only for a very short time and that at a very heavy cost, which would not be commensurate with the benefits which may be expected. It has been, therefore, decided to hold the line further inland at Netra-Araibanki. It has been also noticed that the breaches in the Tambuldaha-Sarangabad area, by opening the land to free tidal spill, have raised it by 4 to 6 feet already. Government do not, therefore, propose to close these breaches.

In respect of other breaches which are occurring now and will undoubtedly occur in future, the action to be taken will be decided after a technical examination of the position in each case in the light of the policy which has been indicated above.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাবেন কি যে যে সমস্ত বাঁধ বাঁধা হয়েছে তাতে কেবলমাত্র breachesই হয়নি, সেখানে যে flood হয়েছে, তাতে সমস্ত বাঁধ affected হয়েছে—সমস্ত embankment has been damaged?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: সেখানকার অধিবাসীরা যদি এটা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের নোটিসে নিয়ে আসেন, তাহলে নিশ্চয়ই জানতে পারবেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি—ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের নোটিসে এটা আনা হয়েছে কি না?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: যেখানে যেখানে নোটিসে আনা হয়েছে, সেখানে তখনই কাজ আরম্ভ হয়েছে তবে যদি কোন জায়গায় বাঁধের সামান্য একটু ধ্বসে গিয়ে থাকে, সেটা গ্রামের লোক না জানালে, কোন সরকার বা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের পক্ষে সম্ভব নয় ছোট খাট বাঁধের সর্বত্র গিয়ে দেখা। কিন্তু যেখানে disaster হয়েছে, যেখানে বাঁধ মেরামত না করলে চলবে না, সেখানে পৌঁছে যতশীঘ্র সম্ভব কাজ আরম্ভ করা হয়েছে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাবেন কি যে takavi works এবং Embankment Actএর provision অনুসারে District Magistrate যে সমস্ত কাজ করবে, সেই সমস্ত একত্রিত করে যা বাঁধের ক্ষতি হয়েছে, তার কত অংশ cover করবে?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: এ প্রশ্নের জবাব দেওয়া কঠিন। যতদূর সাধ্য করা হচ্ছে। কিন্তু সমস্ত সুন্দরবন areaর কাজ করবার জন্য এই রকম একটা গভর্ণমেণ্টের সমস্ত টাকাতেও কুলিয়ে উঠবে না। সেই জন্য বাধাবিপত্তির মূল কারণগুলি দূর করবার জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের তরফ থেকে চেষ্টা করা হচ্ছে। ছোট ছোট areaয় ভাগ করে নিয়ে একটা areaকে spill area করে জমি উঁচু করে দেব, বাকী-গুলিতে চাষ চলবে। বর্ত্তমানে খাদ্যাভাব না হলে আরও বেশী area নিতে পারতাম। যেখানে খবর পাওয়া যাচ্ছে শস্য হানি হচ্ছে, সেখানে গভর্ণমেণ্টের একটা দায়িত্ব আছে বিবেচনা করে আমরা ছুটে যাচ্ছি যদিও লাটদার-দের এটা করা কর্ত্তব্য। সেই জন্য Magistrateকে special power দেওয়া হয়েছে। তাঁর অধীনে Executive Engineer ও overseer আছে, তাঁরাও ঘুরে ঘুরে দেখেন। তবে লাটদারদের অধীনে যে বেলদার আছে তারাও এই বাঁধগুলো watch করে। তাদের কাছ থেকে খবর পেলে, যেখানে গুরুতর কিছু ঘটে, সেখানেও লোক পাঠিয়ে দেখবার বন্দোবস্ত করা হয়। কারণ এবিষয়ে Government as Government বলে তাদের একটা দায়িত্ব আছে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে ১,৪৬০ বর্গমাইল swamps বাঁধ দিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে সেটা premature বলা হয়েছে তার কারণ কি?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: যখন জমিটা ওঠে, সমুদ্রের delta ওঠে আবার নাবে, সেখানে land উঁচু না হবার আগেই সকলে যায় তাড়াতাড়ি করে কিছু চাষ করবার জন্য। কারণ লবণাক্ত জমিতে একমাত্র ধানের চাষ সম্ভব বলে লোকে এগিয়ে যায়। যে জমি ভাল উঠিত হয় নাই, সেটা তাড়াতাড়ি বাঁধ দিয়ে ফসল তৈরী করতে চায়। এবিষয়ে পূর্বতন সরকারের দায়িত্ব কিছু আছে, তারা বাঁধ দিয়ে ফসল করুক, তারজন্য কিছু revenue তাঁরা মঞ্জুর করতেন। বাঁধের ব্যাপারে তখনও বৈজ্ঞানিক গবেষণা হয় নাই। সেইজন্য ধীরে ধীরে এগিয়ে গেছে। জমি যতটা ওঠা উচিত, তার চেয়েও নীচু আছে। একমাত্র বাঁধ দিয়েই এই সব লবণাক্ত জমিতে ধানের চাষ হতে পারে। যে বিপদটা এখানে ঘটে গেছে, তা এক সঙ্গে নিরাময় করা যায় না। সেই জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে জমিকে ভাগ করে করে নিতে হবে। নদী আর সমুদ্রের জোয়ার দিলে spill areaর উপর দিয়ে যায়। ক্যানিংএর ওখানেতে তাম্বুলদহে ৪ ফুট থেকে ৬ ফুট জমি উঠেছে। এই experi-ment খানিকটা জায়গায় সফল হয়েছে। যতদিন না সেটা করা সম্ভব হচ্ছে, ততদিন কিছু কিছু area ভাগ করে ওঠাতে হবে। সবটা করা সম্ভব নয় এইজন্য যে যতটুকু শস্য পাওয়া যায় এই দুর্দিনে তা কমান যায় না। সেখানে শস্যও ফলাতে হবে, বাঁধও দিতে হবে। নিজেদের দায়িত্ব না থাকলেও গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বিপদের সময় ছুটে গিয়ে তা রক্ষা করতে হবে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যে প্রশ্নের উত্তর এখন দিলেন, তাতে এইটুকু বলা হয়েছে যে সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলে এই যে বাঁধ নষ্ট হয়ে যায়, জমি লোণা জলে ডুবে যায় তার একমাত্র কারণ premature reclamation. মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় ও তাঁর ডিপার্টমেণ্টের ধারণা হয়েছে কি যে ক্যানিং অঞ্চলের তাম্বুলদহ প্রভৃতি ২৪-পরগণার যে আবাদ আছে তার $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ নষ্ট, premature reclamation হয় কি?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: এটা উত্তরে আছে।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari, it is not a question of cross-examination. All supplementary questions are to be asked with a view to elicit further information on the points to which answers have been given. He has said that it is premature, and you are disputing the proposition that it is not premature. That is not allowed in supplementary question.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার submission হচ্ছে মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় উত্তর দিয়েছেন যা কিছু premature reclamation হয়েছে, আমি জানতে চাই এর $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ mature কিনা?

The Hon'ble NIHARENDU DUTT-MAZUMDAR: On a point of order, Sir. I would point out that Rule 27, sub-rule (*5*), clearly lays down that the questioner must not ask for expression of opinion or the solution of a hypothetical proposition. The question is meant for eliciting information and I find that Rule 27 and sub-rule (*5*) are being systematically ignored. Their existence is not borne in mind. I submit, Sir, that you will kindly draw the attention of the honourable members to the existence of these rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your question, Mr. Bhandari? Will you please repeat your question?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Sir, my question is neither hypothetical——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I don't want any argument. What is your question?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে এই যে সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলে যে সমস্ত জমি এপর্য্যন্ত reclamation হয়েছে, তার অন্ততঃ $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ mature reclamation হয়েছে কিনা?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that is a question on which information is sought by the honourable member. Will you please repeat your question?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমি বলছি পশ্চিমবঙ্গে তথা ২৪-পরগণা জেলার মধ্যে যে সুন্দরবন অঞ্চল আছে, তার মধ্যে যে সমস্ত জমি এযাবৎ reclamation হয়েছে, তার অন্ততঃ $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ জমি mature reclamation হয়েছে কিনা?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: (বসিয়া) ওটা Revenue Departmentএর ব্যাপার।

Sj. JYOTI BASU: On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister should stand up instead of sitting when he answers the questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I have requested the honourable members not to interrupt the questioner nor the Hon'ble Minister when answers are given. What is your supplementary question?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ তথা ২৪-পরগণা জেলার যে সুন্দরবন অঞ্চল আছে, সেখানে এযাবৎ যে সমস্ত জমি reclamation হয়েছে, তার $\frac{২}{৩}$ অংশ mature reclamation কিনা?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Mature reclamation সেখানে হয়নি বলে আমার জানা আছে। এখানে যে হিসাবের একটা statement report ছাপিয়ে দিয়েছি, সেটা যদি একটু ভাল করে পড়ে দেখেন, তাহলে দেখবেন সেখানে উল্লেখ আছে কতটুকু জমির কথা বলেছি। সুতরাং এখানে তার পুনরুল্লেখ নিষ্প্রয়োজন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় এই যে ধারণা করেছেন সেটা কি কেবল ক্যানিংএর ডাবুলদহ ইত্যাদি লটের খবর নিয়ে?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: সমস্ত সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলের খবর নিয়ে করা হয়েছে

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি হল্যাণ্ডে যেখানে জমি চাষ হয় সেই সমস্ত জায়গায় সমুদ্রের level থেকে নীচু বলে বাঁধ দিয়ে চাষ করতে হয়? বর্ত্তমানে খাদ্যাভাবের দিনে প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেন মহাশয় খেতে দিতে পারছেন না, সেইজন্য ফ্যান্ খাওয়াচ্ছেন, এই অবস্থায় এই reclamationএর process বন্ধ করে যেখানে যত জমি আছে বাঁধ দিয়ে ধান হচ্ছিল, সেখানে ধান করতে রাজী আছেন কিনা?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: সকল জমিতে তা সম্ভব হবে না। এই যে ব্যাপারের কথা বলছেন, সেটা অবশ্য আলাদা কথা। সেখানে সমুদ্রে বেশী এগিয়ে গিয়ে কিছু করবার উপায় নাই। Deltaতে নদী ও সমুদ্রের উপর থেকে নীচে থেকে এখানে tidal bore এসে প্রায় forty per cent. silt deposit রেখে যায়। সুতরাং ভবিষ্যতে ভেড়ী রাখা হবে না। তার জন্য একটা scheme করতে হবে। এখন তা পারছি না। ফসলের অবস্থা এমন সঙ্গীন যে সেজন্য বাধ্য হয়ে এই সমস্ত বিপদের সময় শস্য রক্ষা করবার জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট ছুটে যাচ্ছে। যদিও বৈজ্ঞানিক মতে এটা করা উচিত।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অবগত আছেন কি——

Mr. SPEAKER: Don't interrupt.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I have to explain the question.

Mr. SPEAKER: That cannot be permitted. You hear his answer first and then you can say whatever you got to say.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Statement যা দেওয়া আছে সেটা পড়লেই সব বোঝা যাবে।

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I understand that. I heard him. আমার প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে আপনি কি অবগত আছেন যে কণ্ট্রাক্টররা ভাল করে বাঁধ বাঁধে না, পরের বৎসর আবার কণ্ট্রাক্ট পাবে বলে?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: এ সম্বন্ধে আমার জানা নাই। বহু বাঁধ জমিদার এবং লাটদারদের কর্ম। এর মধ্যে গভর্ণমেণ্টের বাঁধ নেই বললেই হয় সেই জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট যতটুকু জানেন গভর্ণমেণ্টের বাঁধই ঠিক রাখা হয়। কিন্তু জমিদার ও লাটদাররা কিভাবে বাঁধ করছেন, সেটা জানি না। তবে floodএর দ্বারা শস্য হানি হলে গভর্ণমেণ্ট তা প্রতিকারের জন্য ছুটে যায়।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যে কথা বলেছেন এক্ষুনি যে আবাদকে spill করে নষ্ট করে দেবে। Paragraph 3 of answer (ii)তে যে দুটো পন্থার কথা বলেছেন এই দুটো পন্থার মধ্যে যে পন্থাতে landকে ভাসিয়ে দিতে চান এই পন্থা গ্রহণ না করার বিষয় বিবেচনা করবেন কিনা? আর যে অন্য পন্থা যাতে এটা বাঁধ দিয়ে রাখা যায় এটা ভাল করে বিবেচনা করবেন কি না? মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় মাত্র শস্য হানির কথা বলেছেন, এটা শুধু তা নয়, বহু লোকের বসবাসের প্রশ্ন এর সঙ্গে জড়িত। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় উত্তরে যে দ্বিতীয় পন্থার কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন, সেটা চিরদিনের মত ত্যাগ করবার ব্যবস্থা করছেন কিনা?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: চিরদিনের জন্য নয়, সাময়িকভাবে করা হচ্ছে।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়, এটা অনুসন্ধান করবেন কি? সুন্দরবনের বাঁধের এই যে দুর্গতি, লোনা জলে যে প্লাবন হয় তার প্রধান কারণ মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যা বলেছেন সেটা নয়, এর প্রধান কারণ হচ্ছে সেখানকার লাটদার এবং জমিদারদের অবহেলা।

Mr. SPEAKER: If you wish to discuss the whole of the Sundarbans, as I see you doing now, there is an opportunity for you to discuss the same during the General Discussion of the Budget and you will then get detailed answers from the Government. The purpose of Questions is to elucidate certain answers given or to elicit further information and so you are not to put questions from the point of view of a discussion of the subject. If you see the Rules you will find that discussions are not allowed during Question time.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমি মাত্র এই informationটা চাচ্ছি যে----

Mr. SPEAKER: I would request you to point your question and be to the point so that answers can be given on that point.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকারমহাশয় এই ব্যাপারটা নিয়ে shortএ প্রশ্ন করা যায় না এবং মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ও উত্তর দিতে short করতে পারেন না।

Mr. SPEAKER: Now have you put your question or not?

The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: আপনি মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের সঙ্গে দেখা করবেন, ওর ঘরে বসে এটা নিয়ে discussion করবেন।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমার প্রশ্নটার উত্তর পাই নাই। মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় অনুগ্রহ করে বলবেন কি, তিনি কি অনুসন্ধান করে দেখবেন, সুন্দরবনের বাঁধের দুর্গতির জন্য লোনা জলে প্লাবনের জন্য সেখানকার যে ক্ষতি হচ্ছে তার প্রধান কারণ সুন্দরবনের যে জমিদার----

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of opinion.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: কারণটা অনুসন্ধান করবেন কি?

Sj. JYOTI BASU: With regard to answers (*b*)(*iii*) and (*iv*) will the Hon'ble Minister please state how many tube-wells are in actual use today out of the 40 which have been sanctioned?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Materials for 22 are already there and 7 tube-wells have already been sunk. Those 22 will be finished in a short time.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: When will the rest be finished?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: As soon as possible. It all depends on the materials being available. Twenty-two will be done shortly because the materials are already there.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: মাননীয় স্পীকারমহাশয় এর দুটো অংশ আছে।

(*19 was called and the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri immediately began reading the answer.) (Interruptions.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please.

(Sj. Sibnath Banerjee tried to speak but the Hon'ble Minister did not give way.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, what is your point, Mr. Banerjee?

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: My point, Sir, is this that, according to your ruling, when the Speaker is on his legs the others are to sit but I find the Hon'ble Minister standing and proceeding with reading the answer. This I say, Sir, is absolute discourtesy to yourself and to the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: The rule that you quote is right but since I had already called the next question the Hon'ble Minister was justified in standing and reading the answer.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: What I again say is this that the Hon'ble Minister was standing when you were standing. If that is allowed we shall also follow that example.

Mr. SPEAKER: The rule is certainly there that when the Speaker rises to speak, any other member already speaking should take his seat till the Speaker finishes. In this case the Hon'ble Minister was reading the answer because I had called the next question, and from the position in which he was, perhaps he could not notice that the Speaker behind him was rising to make some observations.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: The Minister did not do so and so we tried to draw your attention and still he persisted in reading the answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you yourselves do not observe the rule what can I do.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: On a matter of privilege, Sir. এই যে প্রশ্নটা হয়ে গেল, এটা মাননীয় স্পিকার মহোদয় যদি দেখেন তবে দেখতে পাবেন এতে দুটো প্রশ্ন আছে এবং দুই জন Minister concerned. একটা প্রশ্ন আছে সুন্দরবন বাঁধ সম্বন্ধে, আর একটি হচ্ছে relief সম্পর্কে এবং সেই relief সম্পর্কে আমরা আরো কোন suppplementary question জিজ্ঞাসা করি নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bhandari will please realise that there is a fixed time within which we are to finish the Questions and take up other business. I have already allowed sufficient time to put supplementaries on this question with an eye on the time available to finish the business of the House. There are also other Questions on which supplementaries will be put.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: কিন্তু অতি প্রয়োজনীয় একটা বিষয়ের উপর এই প্রশ্নটা—(A VOICE: এই প্রয়োজনীয় বিষয়টা কি?) এটা এত প্রয়োজনীয় সমস্ত reliefএর ব্যাপারে, এ বিষয় supplementary না করলে কোন জিনিষই clear হবে না।

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, Mr. Bhandari, I will allow you to put just one more question, I mean supplementary question, on *Question 18.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Answer (*b*)(*iii*) and (*iv*) বলা হয়েছে * * * "It is expected that these tube-wells will be able to meet the demand for drinking water there" মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় জানাবেন কি যে এই যে বলছেন যে সমস্ত সুন্দরবনে ৫০টা tube-well দেওয়া হয়েছে তাহাতে গভর্ণমেণ্টের expectation পূর্ণ হইবে?

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: Expectation of what?

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: Expectation that these 50 tube-wells will meet the demand for drinking water there.

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: They will meet the demands of the areas inspected.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: What is the basis of this expectation? আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করছি।

The Hon'ble BHUPATI MAJUMDAR: They will not meet the demand of the whole Sundarbans but they will meet the demand of the affected areas which have been inspected by us.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: আমাকে কি জানাবেন অন্য area যেখানে tube-well হয় নাই তার সম্বন্ধে জলের কি বন্দোবস্ত করবেন?

Mr. SPEAKER: No more supplementaries please. Please permit me to go on to the next question. If you consider this question very important you can refer to it in detail during the General Discussion of the Budget.

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: No, no, question hour is the appropriate time for putting questions.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: On a matter of privilege, Sir. I think we are entitled to put supplementary questions during the one hour meant for Questions and Answers, i.e., up to 5 o'clock, and if we cannot finish all the Questions within that time, those printed Questions that could not be so taken up may be held over. Therefore if we feel that some more important supplementary questions have to be put on a printed Question in order to elicit information you will please allow us to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you should know that you cannot go on indefinitely putting supplementary questions on a particular printed Question. It is for the Speaker to consider as to whether further supplementaries on a particular question are necessary or not.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Of course the Speaker is all powerful but at the same time we have got certain privileges and so we can draw your attention and say why further supplementary questions on a particular Question are necessary. The main Question is a very important question and further supplementary questions are necessary.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think sufficient time has been given to put supplementary questions on this Question and no more time is necessary to put further supplementaries. Question hour is not meant for any discussion of the subject. If you want to discuss the subject at length you can discuss it on the floor of the House at the appropriate time, say during General Discussion of the Budget for say, 15, 20 or even 30 minutes. It should have been obvious to any member having some experience that, in the old days, the then Speaker did not allow us more time than was absolutely necessary to put supplementary questions on a main Question. You have been in this House since 1937 and we have seen the then Speaker Sir Azizul Haque and you will agree with me that during his time much less time than is given now-a-days was given for putting supplementary questions.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: With all respect I do not agree with you.

Colleges under the Dispersal Scheme

***19. Maharaja SRIS CHANDRA NANDY, of Cossimbazar:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of Colleges that have been started under the Students' Dispersal Scheme;

(*b*) their names;

(*c*) the grant made to each under the Budget head "Capital and Recurring" each year since the inception of the scheme;

(*d*) the number of students taking admission in each of these Colleges since their establishment;

(*e*) whether the scheme has affected the financial position of the old Colleges in the muffassal; and

(*f*) if so, what are the steps that Government have taken or propose to take to improve their position?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri): (*a*) 12.

(*b*) and (*c*) Their names were given in reply to Starred Question No. 27 of the last session. To that statement only the name of the Siliguri College has to be added.

Siliguri College has been granted for—

		Rs.
(1) Building	... ...	44,000
(2) Furniture	... ...	8,000
(3) Equipment	... ...	10,000
(4) Books	... ...	2,000
Total	...	64,000

(*d*) The information is furnished in the statement laid on the table. Many local students could not wait and secure admission to these Colleges this session because of their late affiliation.

(*e*) and (*f*) I should not think so. On the contrary 16 old Colleges in the muffassal have received substantial financial assistance to improve and strengthen the facilities of Science training.

Government, however, are aware that muffassal Colleges that largely depend on fee-income from students have been adversely affected this year by the very high percentage of failure in the University Examinations and by the unrestricted admission of muffassal students to the Calcutta Colleges. The matter, however, is engaging Government's attention. But the real solution of the financial difficulty of the Colleges will depend on the High Schools and the Intermediate classes of the Colleges functioning properly. For instance, it is reported that only about 1,610 students appeared at the Matriculation Examination in all the Murshidabad centres from 55 High Schools in that district and only 482 of them came out successful.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (d) of Starred Question No. 19.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PUPILS ADMITTED INTO THE INTERMEDIATE COLLEGES STARTED UNDER THE DISPERSAL SCHEME AND ATTACHED TO THE RESPECTIVE HIGH SCHOOLS.

(Session, 1950-51.)

	Name of the College.	No. of pupils admitted, 1950-51.
1.	Rampurhat College	70
2.	Bolpur College	41
3.	Bejoy Narayan Mahavidyalaya, Itachuna ..	48
4.	Barisha College	61
5.	Dum Dum Matijheel College	36
6.	Intermediate College for Girls, Asansol ..	31
7.	Jangipur College	67
8.	Ranaghat College	43
9.	Barasat Intermediate College	12
10.	Taki Intermediate College	20
11.	Siliguri College	36
12.	Kandi Raj College	57

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, with reference to the statement referred to in reply to clause (*d*), as to whether these colleges are new colleges?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us a full list of the colleges? In his reply he has referred us to the reply to Starred Question No. 27 of the last session. We are not in possession of that reply just now. Had I known that this Question would be taken up today I would have brought the whole file with me.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The full list of new colleges is in the statement below. Since the reply to Starred Question No. 27 was given in the last session, only Siliguri College has

been added but then the whole list of 12 new colleges is there in the answer. I am not going to give another list. You may look up the statement made in connection with starred question No. 27 of the last session.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: But that list is not here. Only Siliguri College has been added.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Which list do you want? The full list of new colleges is given here in the Schedule.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: I want to know about the other new colleges.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: There are no other new colleges. From the answer to Starred Question No. 27 you ought to have known, because it was put by the Opposition, the names of the old colleges.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, the position is that answer (*b*) and (*c*) refers to Starred Question No. 27, and only Siliguri is added here. That question we have not brought with us after such a long time and we do not know what those colleges are.

Mr. SPEAKER: The names of the colleges are printed in the list.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: On a point of order, Sir. If the statement is laid on the Library Table, then it is all right because we might look up the statement. If not, a member has a genuine grievance because he will have to look up the proceedings of the House. That is not a fair proposition.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, you know that whenever a Minister has to answer a question, a reference is made, wherever necessary, to similar questions answered previously.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: With reference to answer (*e*) and (*f*) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state as to whether he has any information if the old colleges have had their regular admissions this year?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: There might be less admission this year because of the large percentage of failures in the University Examinations.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether, with a view to ensuring the success of this Dispersal Scheme without affecting the financial condition of the other old colleges, he would consider the desirability of sending in a request to the Calcutta University to increase the percentage of passes?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That is for the honourable member to do; so far as I am concerned, Sir, I have made it perfectly clear that admissions this year must be low because of the large percentage of failure of students in the last Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: With reference to answer (*e*) and (*f*) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government contemplate restriction of admission of mufassal students to the Calcutta colleges?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That is not for the Government to say.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the answer given in (*e*) and (*f*) clearly states that the matter is engaging Government's attention?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes, it is engaging Government's attention; but the Government is not the final authority in this matter.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: With reference to the answer just now given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is under Government's consideration?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I have made that also perfectly clear.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that it might affect the liberty that is given to the citizens under the new Constitution?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I may inform my friend that I had called two or three meetings of the heads of all the institutions in Calcutta. They have agreed on two points, namely, that the total number of students in some of the colleges in Calcutta going up to 6,000 or 7,000 was not academically sound; and they have also agreed that it would be better if under the Dispersal Scheme the colleges in mufassal are raised to the standard of Calcutta colleges. It may be possible by arrangement and understanding that students who pass out from schools in mufassal areas may not apply for admission to Calcutta colleges except under certain conditions. The colleges in Calcutta agreed more or less to that suggestion on condition that the Government should come into the picture by giving some additional grant or aid to the Calcutta colleges in case they suffer financially on account of this proposition. The Calcutta colleges which are most likely to be affected have expressed a desire to meet me on this particular point and in view of our financial condition it may be necessary for us to go up to the Government of India for giving us help on this issue. And that is why my friend remarked, it is under consideration. This really requires not merely an arrangement between the Governing Bodies of Calcutta and mufassal colleges but it also involves the question of finance; and that question can only be settled after the colleges have agreed to come to a compromise of this type and the Government of India have agreed to give us help which they have promised to consider.

Sj. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the period for which this assistance might continue?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Two years.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE : Supplementary question, Sir, দেখা যাচ্ছে ১২টা কলেজে ৬০০র মত student আছে। এতে total (৭০ লক্ষ) Dispersal Scheme খরচ হচ্ছে ৭০ লক্ষ। শিলিগুড়িতে ৩৬টা studentএর জন্য খরচ হচ্ছে ৬৪ হাজার। মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে কলকাতা হতে গিয়ে থাকার জন্য শুধু কলেজ করা নয়, তাদের জন্য stipend দেওয়া দরকার, নতুবা দেওয়া যাবে না?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Stipends are being given.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Even then the result is this?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I am afraid, you are under a wrong impression that that 70 lakhs has been spent on these 12 institutions only. That is not a fact; that is a misrepresentation of the fact.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: You do not give me the whole list.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you should not address the question direct to the Minister.

SJ. SIBNATH BANERJEE: But he is addressing me, and I have to reply to him.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, what he says is not a fact. The fact is that the list of only 12 up-graded colleges has been given here but the list of 18 other mufassal colleges—existing colleges—which have received large grants for better Science teaching has not been given in the reply (*e*) and (*f*). If the answer (*e*) and (*f*) be seen in particular, it will be found that besides the 12 new colleges, 18 existing colleges have received large grants-in-aid, under the Dispersal Scheme. Apart from that, there are 8 technical institutions which have been established under the Dispersal Scheme and which are altogether ignored by those who are out to misrepresent the Dispersal Scheme. Sir, let me give all the figures. The 12 new colleges have been given Rs. 10·10 lakhs capital grant and recurring 3·61 lakhs: old colleges 20 in number have been given 17·55 lakhs capital grant and recurring 4·04 lakhs. That even is not the major portion of the expenditure. And for the eight new technical institutions which have been established 28·64 lakhs capital expenditure (that is major item of expenditure under the Dispersal Scheme), and a recurring expenditure of 2·78 lakhs have been incurred. The total comes up to 66·72 lakhs which has been provided for in connection with the scheme for capital and recurring expenditure; and a major portion of it has been spent in setting up technical schools.

SJ. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he has any information or if he has assured himself as to whether these new colleges will be able to continue after the financial assistance given by the Government ceases?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Government have definitely told them that they are not going to take any financial responsibility after two years.

SJ. BIMAL COMAR GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state that in those circumstances it would have been better to give this money to the existing colleges rather than of having started these new colleges?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, Sir, I am not going to accept that opinion.

SJ. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, with regard to the statement referred to, as to how many students can be admitted into these 12 colleges which have been mentioned?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: As many as 200 × 12.

SJ. JYOTI BASU: If I have understood aright, 2,400 pupils can be admitted.

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: In the first year classes only 100 × 12. If you take all the four classes, in I.A. and I.Sc. it will be 200 in each college.

SJ. JYOTI BASU: In view of the figure just now cited by the Hon'ble Minister, will he be of the opinion that as only 600 students have been admitted, this scheme will be a failure within one year?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I am not going to accept his opinion and I am not going to answer a question of opinion at all.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: With reference to answers (*e*) and (*f*), is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there are certain old colleges in Calcutta which require money and the Government is refusing them money?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, Sir, under the Dispersal Scheme we cannot spend the money in Calcutta in accordance with the direction of the Central Government.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he has recommended to the Government of India that moneys should be found for the old colleges in Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That point has been answered by the Chief Minister a minute ago—you should have heard that.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: No supplementary question. Sir, I am referring this matter to you that this question has not been answered by the Chief Minister as to whether he has written to the Central Government for moneys for the old colleges in Calcutta.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I did answer this question in a different form that while the Dispersal Scheme, as was contemplated by the Government of India, referred only to colleges in the mufassal, the very word "dispersal" means disperse the students from Calcutta to the mufassal areas. Therefore, under that scheme no money was available for any of the Calcutta colleges, but, as I have just now stated, four of the Calcutta colleges have approached me for the purpose of finding out whether the Government of Bengal could help them with funds and, as I have said already, I have asked them to come up with their accounts and we shall see to what extent we can help the colleges in Calcutta.

Expenditure on "Vana Mahotsava"

***20. Sj. KANAI LAL DE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Forest Department be pleased to state—

(ক) বনমহোৎসব উপলক্ষে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্যের কত টাকা ব্যয় হইয়াছে ;

(খ) বনমহোৎসব উপলক্ষে সরকারী প্রচার বিভাগ হইতে যে চিত্রবহুল পুস্তিকা প্রচার ও পুস্তিকা ছাপাইয়া বিলি করা হইয়াছে উহার জন্য কত টাকা ব্যয় হইয়াছে ; এবং

(গ) ঐরূপ প্রচার-পুস্তিকার দ্বারা বৃক্ষরোপণ ও বনকরণের কতদূর সাহায্য হইয়াছে ?

MINISTER in charge of the FOREST DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Hem Chandra Naskar): (ক) ৪৮,৯১৯ টাকা ১৪ আনা।

(খ) পাঁচ হাজার পুস্তিকা ছাপাইতে ১,১৮৯ টাকা ১০ আনা ১ পাই লাগিয়াছে।

(গ) বনমহোৎসব উপলক্ষে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে মোট ১,৭৫ ,২২০টী বৃক্ষের চারা রোপণ করা হইয়াছে। বৃক্ষরোপণ বিষয়ে জনসাধারণের মধ্যে উৎসাহ সঞ্চারের জন্য পুস্তিকা বিতরণ, পুরস্কার ঘোষণা, খবরের কাগজে প্রচারকার্য্য এবং জেলা ও মহকুমার কৃষি, বন ও প্রচার বিভাগীয় কর্মচারিগণ কর্ত্তৃক মৌখিক প্রচারকার্য্যের ব্যবস্থা করা হইয়াছিল। এই সকল প্রচেষ্টার ফলে ব্যাপকভাবে বৃক্ষরোপণ হইয়াছে, কিন্তু কোন্ ব্যবস্থা এই বিষয়ে কতটুকু সাহায্য করিয়াছিল বলা সম্ভব নহে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন স্যার, বলা হয়েছে যে ৪৮,৯১৯ টাকা ১৪আনা খরচ হয়েছে। পুস্তিকা ছাপাতে খরচ হয়েছে ৩,১৮৯ টাকা ১০ আনা ১ পাই। বাকি টাকা কিসে খরচ হল মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি?

The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: শুনতে পাচ্ছিনা মাইকে যান।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: উত্তরে বলা হয়েছে যে মোট ৪৮,৯১৯৸৶০ খরচ হয়েছে। পুস্তিকা ছাপাতে ৩,১৮৯৷৵১ পাই, বাকী টাকা কিসে খরচ হল?

The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: নোটীশ দিবেন।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: উৎসবে চিত্রবহুল পুস্তিকা ছাপান ছাড়া, আর কি কি অঙ্গ ছিল?

The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: প্রচার বিভাগের সকল রকম খরচই ছিল।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: অতিরিক্ত প্রশ্ন, যে পুস্তক ছাপান হয়েছিল, তা art paperএ না ছাপিয়ে সাধারণ কাগজে ছাপালে কি ফল কম হতো?

The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: প্রচার বিভাগই বলতে পারে।

Sj. KANAI LAL DE: প্রচার বিভাগের উপর মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের কোন কর্তৃত্ব আছে কি?

The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR: না।

Jail Code

***21. Sj. JYOTI BASU:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether the Government contemplate the revision of the existing Jail Code which is out of date and unscientific; and

(*b*) whether the Government contemplate any investigation and initiation of the reforms promised by the late Kiran Sankar Roy about 2½ years ago?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME (JAILS) DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy): A Special Officer was appointed in 1948 for revision of the Jail Code. He completed his work towards the end of 1950 and has submitted his basic proposals. Non-controversial recommendations made by him are under examination and some of these have already been given effect to. Others will be given effect to as early as possible.

As regards controversial items, Government are considering the question of appointing a Jails Committee composed of officials and non-officials for examining these.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: With regard to answer (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this officer visited the jails to enquire from the prisoners as to the nature of the grievances with regard to the Jail Code?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I cannot tell you exactly what steps the officer had taken but I take it that he must have visited the jails because he made something like 45 recommendations at the end of his examination.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be surprised if I tell him that no such officer visited the jails, at least when I had been there?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can only ask questions for eliciting information.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to inform us whether he is willing to enquire about this matter from the officer?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I can find out—the officer is not there—from the department as to what places he had visited.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what exactly is the import of this phrase "non-controversial recommendations"?

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: I thought that would be the question to be asked by Mr. Jyoti Basu and not by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh. The word should not be "non-controversial"—it is really matters which require consideration. I will tell the nature of the recommendations made by the Special Officer. There are certain recommendations made by the Special Officer which require further consideration, for instance, he recommended extension of the Bengal Children's Act, 1922, to the whole of the province for treatment of young delinquents, psychiatric approach for the treatment of prisoners and desirability of provision for the defence of poor undertrial prisoners and so on. These are matters which require further consideration partly because they raise fundamental issues and partly because they mean a large amount of money for execution. Sir, those items that are not for consideration are things like these, for instance, issue of mustard oil for division III prisoners, supply of tobacco to prisoners, supply of shoes or sandals to division III prisoners. These are matters which can be grouped in two groups—one of those for which a large expenditure has to be incurred and estimates are being received. I may tell members that after receiving the report sometime at the end of September, 1950, we sent this report to all the jail officials to find out the extent of their action up to these recommendations, and in some of these cases the implementing of the recommendations would mean expenditure of money, and therefore we have got to consider to what extent action can be taken. For instance, about sanitary latrines in jails Government consider that that is a very correct approach and a necessary point to be taken up, but the matter is now with the Works and Buildings Department, and they have not finally given us their report. Some of these items cannot be given——

Mr. SPEAKER: Question time is over. This question will be held over till tomorrow, and the other questions also.

BUDGET FOR 1951-52.

General Discussion (continuing from the 27th February, 1951).

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon'ble Finance Minister's budgetary statement in language, diction and facility of expression will certainly rank as a specimen of English prose, but, Sir, I do not know if it has occurred to you or to the House that in this diction and facility of expression he has tried to bewilder the nation, and he has tried to paint a picture of gathering gloom of impending disaster in bright colours. It is somewhat paradoxical to paint a picture of gloom of the gathering darkness in bright colours, but, Sir, that is exactly what he has sought to do. He has tried to give himself a pat on the back on this score that he is presenting the nation's budget for the last three successive years. Sir, in doing so, he has counted on the "exemplary and unquestioned fortitude"—I am quoting his own words—of the people, but little did he realise that that unquestioned fortitude and exemplary patience is being stretched to the breaking point. Sir, he has had to confess that we have breasted wave after wave of major disasters. This nation now has reached absolutely the breaking point, and I apprehend, Sir, that it will certainly not be prepared to breast wave after wave of

disasters brought about by its own Government. Sir, it is said—and he feels very happy over it—that he was helping to lay the foundation of a happy and prosperous State of West Bengal, and, Sir, he has added that it has not been an easy task. I would ask: what kind of happy and prosperous State of West Bengal is it, the foundation of which he is trying to lay? Sir, we have shortage in everything. This is not the kind of happy and prosperous State of West Bengal, whose foundation he has been laying for the last three successive years.

Coming to the budget, I shall show exactly how the gloom has darkened, and the disaster, to the brink of which we have been brought by this Government, has been approaching gradually but surely. Sir, he has mentioned many things, from the Korean war to the World situation. He has also mentioned the Delhi Pact. The Delhi Pact has achieved its result, and the other day also we have seen that the good that the Delhi Pact commenced has borne results, and we have before us a trade agreement signed by the two Governments, which will remove the long-standing obstacle in the way of imports of raw materials, etc. But, Sir, that has also been instrumental in our acceptance of the par value of the Pakistani rupee. Of course this statement was prepared by the Hon'ble Minister before the trade agreement was signed, and we should be very glad to hear from the Government what repercussions it is going to have on our national economy.

Sir, much has been made in this House by members on this side of the House about the diversion of land for purposes other than food, as, for example, jute and other crops. Sir, it was I who suggested to the Government once that since we have not attained self-sufficiency in everything and we cannot look to other nations for supply of our basic need, we must plan so that we can attain self-sufficiency in everything, and I suggested to the House once that we could go even to the extreme length of outlawing and banning cultivation of aus, and we could grow jute on the land thus released. We have now come to grief, and we find that policy has come to be criticised because of various reasons. There is food shortage, and the Grow More Jute scheme has also not succeeded. There are various factors—Government bungling not the least of them. Sir, I shall come to it when we come to cut motions, and I shall certainly have something more to say about it.

Under the head "Price Situation", the Hon'ble Finance Minister has remarked two other measures which helped Government in tackling the price and supply problems were the Preventive Detention Act. I wonder whether he was referring to its application in this province or to other provinces or to the whole of India. I am not aware if a single black-marketer and anti-social element has come under the mischief or the provisions of this Preventive Detention Act in our country.

Sir, coming to the budget itself, we find that we are closing with a negative balance of Rs. 2,91,00,000; and to reduce this we have been asked to approve a taxation measure which will augment the revenue and will reduce this negative balance. Sir, before we give this Government any more money by way of a new taxation, we should be satisfied on this point that Government has utilised the available fund to the best advantage of the nation.

Sir, yesterday the House was informed how the Government shops were run, how the Government procurement policy was operating in the country and the House was also given a very revealing comparative statement of procurement and issue prices of the different states in India and it was found from that statement that when all the other states in India needed

only Rs. 2 or very near Rs. 2 per maund to cover the expenses between the procurement and issue, this State of West Bengal needed something like Rs. 4. Sir, this question naturally arises in our minds as to why, when all other States can manage to issue rice with two rupees margin, our State of West Bengal need double that amount.

Sir, it is being freely asked if this is licensed blackmarketing or licensed profiteering. Sir, the question naturally arises that there must be inefficiency and corruption in the department otherwise so much margin should not be necessary between the procurement and issue price of a maund of paddy.

Turning to police, the police expenditure has increased by Rs. 1½ crores and with this increase crime has also correspondingly increased. More dacoities are committed, more people are waylaid, more people are attacking trains and more banks are robbed. With this mounting police budget, I thought that the Government would be able to put a check and control the crime situation in the country but they have failed. Why then should the Government be given more funds when they are absolutely incapable of checking thefts, corruption and other criminal activities in the country. (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: And nepotism!) Sir, I hear a voice saying "and nepotism". It may be, Sir, that they practise nepotism everyday and that is why the expression comes up to their mind so quickly and so easily, but, Sir, it was farthest from my mind and that was why I could not think of that expression so quickly and so easily as they did. Now, Sir, as I was saying why this Government need so much money? Perhaps this Government will come up and tell us "Well, we have this to do or that to do, we are to protect the State, we have to see to the security and stability of the State which is at stake and so on and so forth and that is why we want more money for the police budget" and by sheer strength of numbers, Sir, they will surely get it. If the police rounded up a single blackmarketer, if they rounded up here a single anti-social element, I should have thought that they did at least earn their pay. Government will see to it that they do not earn their pay by doing such useful work in this direction.

Sir, yesterday the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Food interrupting Dr. Ghose in the debate said that there was a free market also in cloth. Dr. Ghosh was telling the House that cloth was not available in any market, in the open market, in the controlled market, in the underground market, nowhere at all. Then we were told by the Hon'ble Minister that there was free market and that cloth was perhaps available there. I advisedly use the word "perhaps", because I have tried and I have not got it. Will the Hon'ble Minister please help us, the House and the country to get the cloth in the free market? Sometimes we were told that the allotment of cloth of this province was reduced from 18,000 bales to 9,000 bales and the actual receipts were in the order of 8,000 bales. What happened to these 8,000 bales, through what channels they were distributed, we do not know. I hope the Hon'ble Civil Supplies Minister or whoever he may be in charge of this department will please explain the real position to us.

Sir, members from this side of the House also have criticised the retention of control. I for my part will not be able to subscribe to the theory of abolition of control at this stage. Sir, I do not know if their impatience with the controls is born of their impatience with the present Government and their inefficiency and corruption or is born of their——(At this stage the blue light was lit and the honourable member wanted some more time to finish his speech).

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, please. I request the members to remember that there are a large number of speakers still and we have got only 3 days within which to conclude our discussion on the budget. Therefore it will be better if the different groups in the House give us a list of the names of speakers so that we can adjust the time-table accordingly, otherwise it will be very difficult to keep to the time-table and do justice to all the members desiring to speak.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, we can sit for longer hours at night if necessary. I would also suggest that instead of the Hon'ble Ministers replying to the debate on the last day, one or two Ministers, for example the Food Minister, may give his reply as there has been sufficient discussion even now regarding food. You may also ask the Hon'ble Ministers not to make long speeches. That is my suggestion, Sir. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Not suggestion but directive!) Sir, after all it is the prerogative of the Opposition to speak on the Budget and to criticise it. Of course we welcome one or two Ministers replying at an earlier stage and the Chief Minister may speak last winding up the debate.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, you know the situation has changed now. Formerly we were allowed 4 days' time for General Discussion of the Budget but under the new procedure this year we have two opportunities —we already had one by discussing the Governor's Address for some days and now we have another opportunity of discussing the budget for 4 days. Now, if members will please remember not to repeat the same arguments which they put forward while discussing the Governor's Address, much time could be saved in this way. We shall try to finish this discussion within the time-table and in that case it may perhaps be necessary for us to prolong the discussion a little more. Even with this, I am afraid, it will be impossible to allot the time which the members desire. I have already been approached by some of the members asking for time ranging from 30 minutes to 1 hour. If I allow it how will it be possible for me to accommodate the remaining members who may like to speak. Therefore my request to the members is that they should curtail their speeches and that they should not repeat the same arguments over and over again, and that they should be helpful so that the business of the House can be transacted within the time at our disposal. We cannot extend the time to more than 4 days.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, this new procedure is being followed since last year. We discussed the Governor's Address last year also and in addition we had the General Discussion of the Budget. Our experience has been that this General Discussion of the Budget is very helpful to us as we can criticise all aspects of the budget which we cannot do while discussing the cut motions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerjee, I understand your point but the position has changed fundamentally from what obtained in old days when there was a regular Opposition. Formerly, the Opposition Party used to decide who among them will take part in the General Discussion of the Budget and their Whip used to send a list of the speakers so that I might know how many members and for how many minutes they would speak and from Government Party also there was this arrangement which of course is still there. If a procedure like this is followed again the business may be carried out smoothly otherwise this onerous duty of curtailing the time of a member falls upon the Speaker and you will admit that this duty is not a pleasant one. Even now there is no other party than the Government party and there are only different groups consisting of 7 or 8 members. Therefore if the members give me a list as to who will speak I shall try to

adjust as far as possible otherwise in the absence of any such arrangement I shall have to perform a none-too-pleasant duty of curtailing the time of the members. Of course I shall go to the utmost length in order to accommodate the members opposite because I know that it is the privilege of the Opposition members to speak more on the General Discussion of the Budget. But at the same time we must admit that so far as the Government is concerned, the Ministers are entitled to reply to the charges that are being levelled by so many speakers in the Opposition. And you may remember that when the discussion on the Governor's Address in this House was going on, the Ministers were given much less time than what was given to the members; and that will be even so this time. But I cannot allow the members to repeat the charges.

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: But, Sir, budgets come and budgets go, Mr. Sibnath Banerjee goes on for ever.

Sj. SIBNATH BANERJEE: Sir, I have been on this side of the House for the last fourteen years. I can offer a suggestion to you. If the Secretary comes and ascertains from the members who want to speak, that will be helpful to you.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, coming back to the vexed question of control, I cannot subscribe to the view of abolition of control at this stage. But ineffective control is bad, and control should be tightened. As regards controls which have obtained so long during the War and after it, I do not propose to absolve the Government of its statutory responsibilities and obligations to the people. When I ask the Government to control, it means that I am willing to grant to the Government the control of the articles of foodstuff and other necessaries. Therefore I do not understand how, with the threatening food shortage and with the disturbing conditions around us here in this country and also outside, we can consciencіously ask for the abolition of controls.

Sir, my time is short and I would bow down to your request. Now I come back again to page 54 of the prepared and written statement presented to the House by the Hon'ble Finance Minister. I do not know why he wanted to give us this sugar-coated bitter pill which he has presented to us when he knows that the picture is gloomy, there is unemployment and there are problems galore which they are not able to meet. I think he has done so possibly in a dishonest attempt to hide from the country what is in store for us.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. You must not say, dishonest. The word "dishonest" is unparliamentary.

Janab MD. KHUDA BUKHSH: Sir, I withdraw the word "dishonest". But I wish to say that he has prepared the statement in a terse, blunt and forthright language to prepare the nation to receive the economic ruin of the country that is gathering around.

With these words, Sir, I take my seat.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this budget is a budget of a very tired and sick person who personifies unfortunately for us today the three-and-a-half year old Congress Government which is decaying and dying and has no hopes for us to offer. We are entitled to analyse the so-called achievements and perspectives of the Government in the budget presented to us, bearing in mind that the Congress rule has been in existence for three and a half years. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister recognises the gloomy picture against which the budget is set and the mounting economic hardships of the people and yet feels a sense of pride for having played

some part in the task of laying the foundation of the happy and prosperous State of West Bengal as he says in his Statement. Such glaring contradictions and confused thinking and jugglery of arguments are the results of unmitigated failure to improve the conditions in any way of the working class, the middle-class, the peasantry, small shop-keepers or the capitalists and to hold out any concrete and optimistic perspective for the people as a whole. The objective reality in West Bengal being so dismal the Finance Minister draws our attention to the world situation, to novel economic theories and gives a misleading analysis of events at home and abroad in order to explain away the bankruptcy of the Government and its failure to halt the deteriorating condition of the country and the people.

Sir, the Finance Minister has come to the conclusion that the third world war is perilously near and says that the economic reconstruction and well-being of India is difficult as American and other foreign help would be drastically reduced. On an analysis of the situation up to date the conclusion is reached that the net investment of capital in our industries in the past few years having been quite negligible, particularly in the major industries and the production continuing to be expressed in terms of old installed capacities there has been no big increase in any field to justify hopes for a higher standard of living for the people on a sound basis. The general index of industrial production for the first nine months of 1950 work out to 104 approximately compared to 106·3 in 1949 and 108·9 in 1948. Production of cotton yarn, cloth, jute manufactures, sugar, matches, and above all machine tools declined as compared to the previous years. There has been practically no development of heavy industries.

Coming to industrial progress and economic independence of a country as a way out of this situation the Minister refers to the six-year development plan of India for which out of 840 crores about 810 crores are expected from external sources, that is, from outside countries and he pleads most disgracefully for foreign capital. He complains that despite the concessions made to foreign capital the American and British capitalists are not as responsive as they should have been. It is this reality of India being tied to and dependent on imperialist countries like America and Britain that is eating into the vitals of our country and preserving our colonial economy of keeping India as an agricultural and raw-material supplying appendage of British imperialists and American capitalists. This war situation created by the American invasion of Korea and Taiwan affects our economy directly. We are absolutely dependent, it seems, on Great Britain for our heavy machineries, on America for loans and food, etc. Yet we know that neither British nor American imperialism is interested in the development of heavy industries in India and the last few years have proved it, and this is true beyond all doubts. These are the arguments and entreaties, I am afraid, of our colonial Ministers devoid of self-respect and pride in their country. I have here with me today a photostatic copy of Bengal Government's Food Department's statistics and the Directorate's analysis of the food situation and I find at the bottom that this has been forwarded in continuation of this Directorate's memorandum to the American consulate.

Sir, it is only the socialist and new democratic countries which can render fraternal and selfless help to build the industries of backward countries. The Sino-Soviet Pact is the shining example of such assistance; the mutual economic pacts between the Soviet Union and the countries of Peoples' Democracies of Eastern Europe are further examples. But here too the guiding principle is that a country must depend mainly and overwhelmingly on its own internal resources and in those countries the development of machine tools and heavy industries are proceeding apace. What a contrast to the kind of help rendered by American imperialism to the

China of Chiang-kai-Shek for the last 20, 25 or 30 years. China and the other peoples' democratic countries, proud and erect in the Councils of the world, are replying to the American imperialism by building up a powerful economy and raising the standard of people from year to year through planned economy. They do not plead for American Dollars, nor do they parade the international situation and the American rearmament or stockpiling, all as excuses for the deterioration of their economy and standard of life of their people. Vast reconstruction schemes are being worked side by side with the immediate improvement in the condition of the people. Our solution too lies in tearing our country from the Commonwealth and American imperialist economy and developing more and more trade relations with Soviet Union, China and Peoples' Democracies. This will mean a radical turn in our economic development and we can march forward side by side with China.

The Finance Minister with a view to exploitation of our resources to the greatest possible extent is asking labour to play its part and blames 225,000 Bombay textile workers for having gone on strike in August, 1950, but the Minister has not a word to tell the mill-owners for refusing to meet the increased demand of bonuses or wages or dearness allowance of these workers, despite the fact that cost of living had gone up. He does not even mention that the Bombay mill-owners piled up cloth a year or so back and thus blackmailed the Government into giving the mill-owners more concession for exporting our cloth, but after all, a friend and representative of the Birlas is not expected to admonish the owners, but the workers have already refused to work in empty stomach for the greater profit of the cloth magnates. If profits are drastically reduced or even controlled, then surely the workers will work overtime, if necessary, and for nothing to supply cloth to our people.

The Minister reports that the country's integrated programme for self-sufficiency—as he puts it—in food, jute, cotton and sugar has hardly advanced towards fulfilment. Natural calamities and disaster together with growing population are cited as factors for the deteriorating food situation. The "Grow More Food" campaign has not been a success. Accordingly a rise in general price index from 384·7 to 410·9 between January, 1950, and November, 1950, is recorded; the price of food, industrial raw materials, etc., has increased. The Korean war together with other factors is cited as a cause. But, once again, these are the arguments of imperialists and capitalists throughout the ages in our country.

Natural calamities are parts of our feudal economic life; inflation is the instrument of the capitalists to loot the workers and the common people. It is for Governments and peoples to plan and organise their economy to defeat these enemies to some extent at least and I am sure the Minister will agree with me if I say that three and half years are long enough time. In China where the devastation was far greater than ever in India, where a civil war had been raging for 12 years and there was a war against Japan and there was also the K.M.T. misrule as the Congress misrule in our country, the problem of food and inflation has been fought successfully within one year by the People's Republic of China. Imagine in 1949 so much farm land was damaged by natural calamities that the livelihood of 40 crores of people was affected but the nation's grain harvest in 1950 exceeded that of previous year by 10 thousand million tons. This meant an average of 250 kilograms of grain for every man, woman and child today—double the annual per capita consumption in recent centuries. China's age-old food shortage has ended. China no longer needs to rely on imported grains, always a heavy drain on the country's foreign reserve. Similarly, cotton production has increased by 216,000 tons over that of

1949, sufficient to keep all China's textile mills running for the whole year while also meeting normal consumer demands. The factors behind China's spectacular victory against inflation and for food may be cited in short as the victory of the revolution led by the Communist Party of China. This has swept away the old feudal restraints. On June 1, 1950, soon after victory was achieved, 25 per cent. cut in agricultural taxes has been brought about—a thing which our Government cannot even dream of. In old liberated areas lands have been given to the tillers from the landlords and consequently there has been a tremendous productive enthusiasm of the ordinary *kisans*. In more recently liberated areas, a policy of rent reduction has been carried on and an individual peasant can keep a two-thirds of his produce instead of half or less, as was the law before. This has also resulted in a higher yield. The peasant was also eager to reclaim waste lands. Thousands and thousands of acres of waste lands have already been reclaimed. The Government also established exchange rates between grain and cotton as well as between grain and hemp which stimulated production of industrial crops. At harvest time Government carried out the buying programme to hold farm prices stable, made sufficient industrial goods available in rural co-operatives at favourable prices—a thing which also cannot be dreamt of by our Government.

The Government loaned out 7 lakh tons of grains to the peasants last year; the Government helped the peasants to ward off or minimise natural calamities—a thing which is given as excuse by our Government for our food shortage. Since winter of 1949, 4,700,000 people—people does not mean landlords and *jotedars* but ordinary *kisans*—have been organised to struggle against floods. Government repaired or sunk 68,000 wells within the course of one year. This has resulted also in large area of land being reclaimed for paddy fields. Scientific agricultural methods have been employed and already 29 mechanised State Farms have been organised—of course, not like our Haringhata which has been mentioned by the Government here. The role played by tens of thousands of agricultural model workers is a thing to be seen and enjoyed in China today. A new force has already emerged in China, that is, the whole army has been mobilised; the army which is not fighting in the front has been mobilised for productive work and they too have reclaimed lands and have grown there food.

In K. M. T. China in 1948, that is, China of those days, just like India of today, commodity prices soared 7,730,000 times over the period 1936-37, but in March, 1950, the Chinese People's Republic adopted a programme for controlling this inflation and they did control inflation within the course of a few months. They cut Government expenditure to the minimum and financed only the army to a certain extent for fighting Chiang's remaining forces. All other kinds of expenditure were reduced drastically.

The second factor in checking inflation consisted of planning on nation-wide basis the supply of essential commodities such as grain, cotton, cloth, coal and salt and by diverting these commodities from surplus areas to deficit areas. Government has put an end to speculation and hoarding. The result is prices in all parts of China are approaching a common level, unlike again in West Bengal or in India.

The third factor in halting inflation was balancing the cash receipts and payments handled through State Banking Institutions. All these have resulted in a drop of commodity price throughout China within the course of one year. On the other hand, in India, in Bengal, we find that price index figure has risen up to 410.

People's Bank of China and other State Banks placed their funds at the disposal of the Ministry of Finance. Consequently there was a popular confidence in the people's currency to a marked degree as compared to

K. M. T. rule. In our country, on the other hand, as the Finance Minister says, the price and supply problems have been tackled, as Janab Khuda Bukhsh mentioned just now, by the Preventive Detention Act and by liberalisation of imports of selected commodities. I do not know, as to how many big blackmarketers have been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. If the Hon'ble Minister was referring to some of us who were detained without trial under the Preventive Detention Act, then I shall ask him to be a little more sober and look at the facts and realise that despite the fact that we communists were imprisoned without trial, the prices of things have gone up and not gone down even a single point.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, you will resume your speech after recess.

(The House was at this stage adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Sj. JYOTI BASU: May I know how long I shall get?

Mr. SPEAKER: Please go on. Try to conclude it as soon as possible.

Sj. JYOTI BASU: As I was saying, Sir, there is a gulf of difference in the way the price and supply problems have been tackled in West Bengal and India, and in China, and I was trying to show that here the Preventive Detention Act has been used to crush the rival political party in order to, as the Finance Minister puts it, solve the problem of price and supply. I do not know how, but that is what the Finance Minister has tried to show. Sir, I have information and I think that information is correct—that it is the West Bengal Government which has taken the lead in asking the India Government to make some constitutional changes, specially with regard to section 19 of the Indian Constitution, because that section envisages the liberty of the citizens, and, therefore, the West Bengal Government is not pleased with section 19 of the Constitution.

Secondly, Sir, procurement and cordoning both are necessary. But procurement is done in China in a way by which the people come forward in their thousands and lakhs to help even before time to fill up the Government godowns with rice and other food articles. But in our country in West Bengal thousands and thousands of police and Enforcement Branch people are used in order to procure rice and food articles and paddy. That is why cordoning here is all wrong, and the cordon is placed in such a way that the people beyond the cordon suffer, because there is no other means to get rice or any other food articles. An example has been presented by members from this side to the Government. Then the Minister theorises on the needs for a proper planning after capital is secured. It is said—I am reading a quotation from the Finance Minister's statement—"when the basic fact in our present economic situation is lack of proper plans between agriculture and industries, so long as 70 per cent. or so of the people remained tied to stationary agriculture, it would be futile to look forward for any improvement in the general standard of living of the people." True, but I ask what is the basic solution? At one time it was well known to the Congress that solution is abolition of the zemindari system without compensation and distributing the land to the tiller of the soil as it is being done in China, but our capitalist Finance Minister does not even by mistake mention this. There is no hope, therefore, for a planned developing economy even in future. The United States of America is the Finance

Minister's ideal and the ideal of all the Ministers sitting there opposite. But they should know that that country suffers from a periodical crisis of over-production while the rich becomes richer and the poor poorer and ultimately it has to divert its economy to war purposes in their attempt to save the system.

On the question of capital formation the Finance Minister relates the difficulties of the so-called consumers' democracies because of the claims of immediate consumption as compared to the increased capital creation. In totalitarian countries, he asserts, increased capital creation is possible at the cost of consumers' preference and civil and political liberties. Hence the poor Finance Minister's dilemma! India is supposed to be a consumers' democracy, but, alas! there is neither food, nor cloth nor shelter for the people nor any signs of capital formation or heavy industries nor civil and political liberties. Everything seems to be a casualty in this consumers' democracy or Ram Raj. The only achievement in the budget is the grant under "Police" which, as has been mentioned by previous speakers, amounts to Rs. 5,46,34,000 towering much above Education, Public Health, Medical services, etc. These figures have already been mentioned and it is not necessary to repeat them. During the League Ministry under "Police" they used to spend 8·6 per cent., for Education 8·5 per cent. of the total revenue. At present the Government spend 14·2 per cent. on Police and 9 per cent. on Education. I think comments are unnecessary. That is why I think Dr. Ghosh referred to the State of West Bengal as a "Police State". In the land of the Finance Minister's dream and the dreams of the other Ministers, U.S.A., prices have risen; and if I may inform them, there are 10 million fully and 12 million partially unemployed, more taxes for the people, more profits for the war industrialists. Civil liberty is being destroyed there in the name of anti-American activities. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, of which there is no mention in the Finance Minister's statement, there has been a constant increase in the productivity of labour and capital and other technological improvements in production. Consumers' goods have increased, prices have decreased and controls abolished, and greater construction projects and hydro-electric schemes undertaken. What is our refugee problem compared with German devastation and the number of displaced persons there? In the Soviet Union the national income has increased by 17 per cent. over 1948 and 36 per cent. over 1940, the average income of the factory and office worker has increased by 12 per cent. over 1948, and of the peasants by 14 per cent. over 1948. The population purchased 17 per cent. more foodstuffs and 25 per cent. more manufactured articles than in 1948; employment in industry and office increased in 1949 by 18 million and there is no unemployment in that land of socialism; the volume of capital construction of this Government together with these has increased by 20 per cent. It may be said that the Soviet Union is an old country with a long established Government but in the recently established People's Democracy in China similarly 1950 brought substantial increase in its industrial employment; in its national pay rolls and in its workers' budgets; unemployment has been eliminated and rationing practically abolished. The Finance Minister is mocking at our unemployed and no provision has been made for them in the budget for things like unemployment insurance; all the same they are advised to do useful work. The people's budgets are diametrically opposed to our budgets which are being presented to us from year to year. Our Finance Minister, as I was saying, is mocking at our unemployed because, as I put it, whereas no provision has been made for them for unemployment insurance, he is asking them to do some productive work—I do not know what—because nothing has been mentioned as to how they are to work and what are the productive works that they are to do. The small business is facing a severe crisis and for want of raw materials many are closing down

their business. The village artisans are becoming unemployed or are being turned into ordinary labourers and in this situation I do not know what chance is there or what are the cottage industries that can absorb such unemployed people.

This year too we have a deficit budget, the deficit being Rs. 4,76,00,000. The revenue is to be augmented again, as in previous years, by, for instance, the motor vehicles taxation. The incidence of this taxation will surely fall on the travelling public and the small industries will suffer because the rates of lorries will go up. There is no attempt to raise revenue by more taxation of jute, tea or the big iron and steel magnates. There is no attempt, for instance, to see whether more money cannot be realised by taxing the rich, that is, by sales tax over jute manufactures. Under the new financial arrangements which have been made and which find no mention in the budget West Bengal's share of the income-tax receipts has been reduced; it has come down from 22 per cent. to 12 per cent., a difference of Rs. 3,00,00,000. Added to this is the huge loss incurred from sales tax evasion, income-tax evasion and so on. Just one example I will mention and it is well known to the Ministers because it was raised in the last session; it is Nirmal Roy's case where this tax officer is being suspended now because he found that Rs. 60,00,000 tax was due from two of Birla's firms, namely, Keshoram Cotton Mills and the Orient Paper Mills. A book has been published entitled "Mystery of Birla House" but the Government is taking no action whatsoever against the book and has not yet denied the facts mentioned therein. Cheating is also carried on by the managing agents as has been mentioned by Dr. Ghosh yesterday, and through these sources there is no attempt to augment our revenues. Furthermore nationalisation of big and key industries is urgently necessary to radically improve and plan our economy. Both foreign and native capitalists have been assured, contrary to the Congress stand at Karachi, that there will be no nationalisation for ten years or more. India Government is again treating West Bengal shabbily in the matter of loans for Development Schemes and the total sum of Rs. 48,00,00,000 that will have been spent by the end of next year does not seem to show any appreciable results whatsoever. More provision than before has however been made for the irrigation schemes, the tank improvement schemes and the grow more food schemes but without an attempt to alter the feudal land relations no basic improvement in production is possible. No one knows when the schemes will materialise. The hoax of the Haringhata scheme has been amply exposed yesterday during question time in this House. The Hon'ble the Food Minister in answer to a question yesterday said that this farm is meant for improving the breed of cattle and not to supply milk, milk products and poultry but the Finance Minister proudly says that from this unique farm, milk, milk products and poultry are being supplied. The Finance Minister whilst informing us that Rs. 30,00,00,000 will be spent on refugees by the end of 1951-52 forgets to mention how little the India Government grant has been compared to that spent on the West Punjab refugees, namely, over Rs. 65,00,00,000. We are also not told that once again schemes are prepared to absorb them and over 70 per cent. have got no benefit whatsoever from the monies already spent on them.

In the field of education, both primary and secondary, the teachers are paid so low wages which prevent them from imparting proper education to the students, and a large number of them try to make up their deficit budgets by private tuitions and other means. All the same they are not better off. The basic pay of primary school teachers, secondary school teachers and college teachers respectively is as follows: Rs. 24; Rs. 60; Rs. 100—160. With such poor pay it is not possible for them to educate our children properly.

Middle-class finds special mention in the Finance Minister's Budget Statement. It is extolled as the "core of our social and political system" and tears are shed for its gradually deteriorating economic situation but the middle-class will look in vain for any provision in the budget for an improved standard of living; on the contrary impoverishment and greater impoverishment is in store for the middle-class consisting of clerks, teachers, lawyers, traders and businessmen through scarcity of essential goods, raw materials and rising cost of living. I would refer in this connection to the loud and emphatic "No" given by the Chief Minister in answer to my question whether the clerks, etc., would be given more dearness allowance in proportion to the rise in the cost of living. The Finance Minister says, "One looks almost in vain for correct and upright behaviour even from those whom, paradoxically enough, we call the intelligentsia of the country. Corruption in forms hitherto unknown in the country has made its appearance on almost every stage of our public life". Such sermons from Ministers are intolerable. The middle-class is aware who are the biggest patrons of corruption and corruption in the social and economic life of Bengal. It knows who gives succour and protection to multi-millionaires, defiers of Government price control, double book-keepers, etc. It is quite aware of the social behaviour of some of the Ministers. It is the Government which has created conditions for the thriving of corruption and blackmarketing. We indeed need good human material to build a decent and happy human society and we do have that in abundance in our country. But to cleanse our society we have to begin at the beginning and clean up the Writers' Buildings, the fountainhead of all corruption, drive out the Ministers and purify the poisonous atmosphere by sending there the representatives of the middle-class, working class and peasants. Then indeed will there be a "rich harvest" and moral wellbeing of the people which the Hon'ble the Chief Minister or the Hon'ble the Finance Minister wants.

My considered conclusion is that this budget is no advance on the previous ones presented by this Finance Minister and other Finance Ministers. It will not help to build our economy on sound lines in the interests of the people; other provisions in it are against the interests of the workers, middle-class, peasants, small capitalists and businessmen. This budget is the reflection of our ties with the imperialists and proves that our economy is inextricably bound up with American and British economy. I hope that this budget will be the swan song not only of the Ministers but of the intolerable Congress rule which has brought us corruption, poverty, suffering and humiliation. In their place we hope true representatives of the people will be here next year to present a true People's Budget.

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: মাননীয় বাচস্পতি মহাশয়, এতদিন আমরা মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয় বলতায়—অর্ধেকটা বাঙ্গলা আর অর্ধেকটা ইংরেজী—কয়েকদিন হল খাদ্য মন্ত্রীর বিশিষ্ট অতিথি মহাশয় উড়িষ্যা থেকে এখানে এসেছিলেন। তাঁর কাছে জিজ্ঞাসা করা হল আপনারা স্পীকারের কি নামকরণ করেছেন—তিনি বল্লেন বাচস্পতি।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: May we get a holiday for your নামকরণ as বাচস্পতি (laughter).

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: এই সভায় গতকাল থেকে বাজেটের সাধারণ আলোচনা প্রসঙ্গে অনেকেই খুব কঠোরভাবে, নির্মমভাবে এবং আবেগপূর্ণ ভাষায় বক্তৃতা করেছেন। মাননীয় বাচস্পতি মহাশয়, বর্ত্তমান যুগে সব চেয়ে বড় অধঃপতন হয়েছে—মানুষ মুখে বলে এক আর কাজে করে আর এক। অন্তরে বাহিরে জাতির মনে যে ভাঙ্গন ধরেছে—তারই দৃষ্টান্ত এই পরিষদে পাওয়া যেতে পারে। এই বাজেট বিষয়ে সমালোচনায় বলা হয়েছে, যে এটা পুঁজিপতি বাজেট এবং বাজেট পড়লে বুঝা যায় দুর্নীতি সর্ব্বত্র প্রবেশ করেছে। আমি এই

বিষয়ে বেশী কিছু বলতে চাই না—তবে ১৯৪৬-৪৭ সালে অবিভক্ত বাংলায় এবং পশ্চিমবাংলায় কতকগুলি অঙ্ক এখানে নিবেদন করছি। জাতিগঠন ক্ষেত্রে যে যে টাকা যে যে খাতে বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে সে সবই এই অঙ্কগুলি দেখাচ্ছি এবং শুনাচ্ছি।

অখণ্ড বাংলায় ছয় কোটি লোক ছিল। ১৯৪৬-৪৭ সালে শিক্ষা খাতে খরচ হয়েছিল তিন কোটি টাকা আর পশ্চিমবাংলায় ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে বরাদ্দ হতে চলেছে ৩ কোটি ৫০ লক্ষ টাকা। সেচ খাতে অবিভক্ত বাংলায় ১ কোটি ৭৫ লক্ষ আর পশ্চিমবাংলায় বরাদ্দ হতে চলেছে ১০ কোটি ৫০ লক্ষ। স্বাস্থ্য খাতে অবিভক্ত বাংলায় খরচ ছিল ৪ কোটি ২৫ লক্ষ আর পশ্চিমবাংলায় বরাদ্দ হতে চলেছে ৪ কোটি ৫০ লক্ষ। কৃষি খাতে অবিভক্ত বাংলায় খরচ ছিল ২ কোটি ১১ লক্ষ আর পশ্চিমবাংলায় ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে বাজেটে বরাদ্দ হতে চলেছে ২ কোটি ৪২ লক্ষ। রাস্তার খাতে অবিভক্ত বাংলায় ছিল ৯০ লক্ষ আর ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে পশ্চিমবাংলায় হতে চলেছে ৪ কোটি ৫০ লক্ষ। খাদ্য সরবরাহ খাতে ছিল ৬ কোটি আর পশ্চিমবাংলায় ১৯৫২ সালে হতে চলেছে ৪ কোটি। বিরোধীদল সরিপ্রদের প্রতি যেরূপ দরদের পরিচয় দিচ্ছেন তাঁদের অবগতির জন্য একটি জেলায় —বীরভূম জেলার খতিয়ান নিবেদন করছি। সেই জেলায় ১৯৪৭-৪৮ সালে ৭১০টি অবৈতনিক প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয় ছিল। ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালে ৭২৫, এবং ১৯৫০ সালে তার সংখ্যা দাঁড়াল ৭২৮টি। প্রথম বছরে ছাত্র সংখ্যা ছিল ৫৪,৬৩০, দ্বিতীয় বছরে ছাত্রসংখ্যা হল ৫৮,০০০ জন এবং তৃতীয় বছরে তা হল ৬২,০০০ হাজার জন। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকের সংখ্যা প্রথমে ছিল ১,৯০৫, তারপর হলো ২,২২৩ এবং ১৯৫০ সালে হল ২৩৫২ জন। Trained teacherএর সংখ্যা প্রথমে ছিল ৭৬৩, বর্তমানে ৮০৭। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকের বেতন ছিল প্রথম বৎসরে ২২৷৷০ টাকা, দ্বিতীয় বৎসরে হল ২৪৷৷০ এবং তৃতীয় বৎসরে ২৮৷৷০ টাকা। তাছাড়া এই জেলায় বিশ্বভারতী সরকারী কর্তৃত্বে বুনিয়াদী শিক্ষালয়ে রূপান্তরিত হয়েছে। ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে এই জিলায় সরকারী কর্তৃত্বে ৭টি বুনিয়াদী শিক্ষালয় প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে।

একটি জেলার শিক্ষামূলক কাজের যে রকম হিসাব দিলাম, সেইরূপ কৃষি, সেচ এবং অন্যান্য যা কিছু আমাদের কাজ বাজেটে আলোচ্য বিষয়ে বিশেষ করে প্রথমেই বলেছি সমস্তই অত্যন্ত আশাপ্রদ। প্রশ্ন করি দেশ স্বাধীন হবার পর এরকমভাবে জাতিগঠনমূলক কাজ কতটা অগ্রসর হয়েছে? উত্তর কাউকে দিতে হবে না। নিজের মনকেই জিজ্ঞাসা করলে উত্তর পাওয়া যাবে। যে গ্রামের স্কুলে একদিন কয়েকটিমাত্র ছাত্র পড়তো সেখানে আজ স্কুলগুলি ছাত্রে পরিপূর্ণ হয়ে উঠেছে। দেশে কোন কোন স্থানে রাস্তা ছিল না সেসব স্থানে রাস্তা হয়েছে। বড় বড় পরিকল্পনা কোথাওবা ছোট ছোট পরিকল্পনাও কার্য্যকরী হচ্ছে। মোট কথা মানুষের মনে সংগঠন কাজ রূপায়িত হয়েছে। যাঁর যতটা শক্তি আছে নিজেকে এই সংগঠন কার্য্যে উৎসর্গ করছে। আজকে আলোচ্য বিষয়, কি করে আমরা আমাদের জাতির আরও উন্নতি করবো সংগঠনী কার্য্যের ভিতর দিয়ে।

মাননীয় বাচস্পতি মহাশয়, আজ বড় আনন্দের কথা পূজনীয় শ্রী প্রফুল্ল ঘোষ মহাশয় এই পরিষদে বলেছেন—অন্যান্য প্রদেশে এত কম খরচে রেশনে চাল দেওয়া হয় আর সব চেয়ে বেশী খরচ এই প্রদেশে—এটা কেন? সংবাদপত্রেও দেখা যায়—বড় বড় হরফে কতকগুলি বিবরণ অর্থাৎ কি অসম্ভব রকম এই প্রদেশে খরচ? যেমন আসামে দেখছি সেখানে মাত্র ১৶০ ব্যয়ে চাল কিনে রেশনে চাল বণ্টন করা হয়। বিহারে ১৸০, কুচবিহারে ১৲৬ পাই, পাঞ্জাবে ১৷৷০ আর এখানে অর্থাৎ পশ্চিম বঙ্গে ৪৷৷০ টাকা। কিন্তু তিনি একটি প্রদেশের কথা উল্লেখ করেননি। সেই প্রদেশের নাম উত্তর প্রদেশ। কেন করেননি বুঝতে পারিনি।

Sj. CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI: সেখানে চাল কম খাওয়া হয়।

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: উড়িষ্যায় রেশনের বিশেষ বালাই নাই সেটাও উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে কিন্তু উত্তর প্রদেশে যেখানে ১৯৷৶৬ পাই খরচ সেটাকে উল্লেখ করা হয়নি। এইভাবে লোককে তাতিয়ে খাদ্য ব্যবস্থা সম্বন্ধে বিক্ষুব্ধ করা যায়—কিন্তু আজকার দিনে সকল দলে মিলেমিশে Governmentএর সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করে এই সমস্যার সমাধান প্রয়োজন। আজ যদি তাঁর মত লোক এ কাজ করেন অর্থাৎ অপব্যাখ্যা করেন, তাহলে সাধারণ লোকে তো করবেই। আজ দেখান হচ্ছে যে এই প্রদেশে অত্যন্ত ব্যয় করা হচ্ছে। কিন্তু উত্তর প্রদেশে হচ্ছে। তাছাড়া অন্যান্য প্রদেশের সঙ্গে এ প্রদেশের তুলনা করা যায় না।

মাননীয় স্পীকারমহোদয়--না না বাচস্পতি মহাশয়।

The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: অভ্যাস চাই।

Sj. NISHAPATI MAJHI: ১$\frac{১}{২}$ মন ধানের দাম ১১।৩ D. P. Agent ৶৹, storage—।৬ পাই, ধলে ৮৩, তোলা নামানো—৶৹, খরচ ১।৶৹, রেল ভাড়া ।৶৹, মিলে ভাঙ্গান খরচ ১।৹ এবং ক্ষয়ক্ষতি ।৶৹ দেখা যায় মোট ১৬৶৬ পাই। এ হল একটা দিক আর একটা দিক ভাববার আছে—আমাদের এই রাজ্যের জটিল অবস্থার সঙ্গে উড়িষ্যা বা অন্যান্য প্রদেশের সঙ্গে তুলনা করা উচিত হবে না। সেসব প্রদেশের রাস্তাঘাট ভাল, যানবাহনের ব্যবস্থা ভাল, আমাদের সে অবস্থা নয়। আমাদের অনেক সময় সুন্দরবন থেকে, পশ্চিম দিনাজপুর থেকে, বীরভূম থেকে এবং বহু দূর প্রান্ত থেকে ধান চাল কিনে আনতে হয়। কাজেই দুরকম ব্যবস্থার দরকার হয়। এজন্য D. P. Agentকে নিযুক্ত করা হয়েছে যাতে চাষীদের ঘরের কাছে ধান দিয়ে ধানের মূল্য চাষী নিয়ে যেতে পারে। এজন্য ৭।।৹ টাকায় ধান কিনে D. P. Agentদের দিয়ে সেই ধান rice millএ পৌছে দিতে হয়। অন্যান্য খরচ যথা D. P. Agent commission, রেল ভাড়া, বস্তা তোলা নামানো, আনা খরচ, গুদাম খরচ ইত্যাদিতে পড়তা আমরা ধরেছি ১৬৶৹। বিরোধী দলের মাননীয় সদস্যগণ খাদ্যসমস্যার কথা অনেকে আলোচনা করেছেন। কিন্তু তারা জানেন না দার্জীলিং পাহাড়ের উপর, নেপালের ৬ লক্ষ মণ চাল আসা যখন বন্ধ হয়ে যায় তখন যদি এখান থেকে চাল সরবরাহ না করা হয়—জলপাইগুড়ি কেন্দ্রে যদি চাল মজুত না থাকে তাহলে tea garden, চা বাগান রক্ষা করা যাবে না, এবং পাহাড়ের সমস্ত লোক খাদ্যাভাবে মারা যাবে। কাজেই রেশানিং ব্যবস্থা চালু রাখতে হবে। নদীয়া প্রভৃতি দূর দূর স্থানে আমাদের চাল নিয়ে যেতে হচ্ছে, এবং অনেক সময় জলপথে বহু দূরবর্ত্তী স্থানে চাল নিয়ে যেতে হয়। পশ্চিম দিনাজপুরে চাল এরোপ্লেনে করে নিয়ে এসে বাগডোগড়ায় নামিয়ে চাল সরবরাহ করতে হয়। এখন প্রশ্ন হচেছ, এইরূপ খাদ্যের জটিল অবস্থা যেখানে, সেখানে সরকার এটাকে ভালভাবেই বিচার বিবেচনা করে দেখেই সময় মত ব্যবস্থা করেছেন। ডাঃ ঘোষ বোধ হয় জানেন কিছুদিন পূর্ব্বে ১৯৪৯ সালে অক্টোবর মাসে ভারত সরকারের চেষ্টায় এক দরে চাল কিনে এবং এক দরে চাল বেচার আলোচনা শুরু হয়েছিল। এনিয়ে বহু তদন্ত হয়, দিল্লী থেকে বড় বড় অফিসাররা এখানে আসেন এবং আমাদের এখানে থেকেও বহু অফিসার ও মন্ত্রী মহাশয়রা মিলিত হয়ে, দিল্লীতে এক সম্মেলন করেন। সেখানে স্থির হয় যে এক rate বা দরে চাল কেনা বেচা চলতে পারে না। কারণ এক এক প্রদেশের সমস্যা এক এক রকম, সুতরাং তাদের সমস্যা সমাধান পৃথক পৃথকভাবে করতে হবে। এজন্য খুচরা চালের ৭ সাত আনা স্থলে ছয় আনা তিন পয়সা অঙ্ক কসে ঠিক করা হল অর্থাৎ মনপ্রতি দশ আনা কমান হল। সেই দশ আনা দর ছাঁটাই করার ফলে যারা উৎপাদনকারী তাদের দাম দেওয়া হয়নি, বললেই হবেনা। কেননা এবিষয়ে সুবিধা দেওয়া হয়েছে—পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্যে যারা চাল কিনে খায় তাদের। আজ জাতীয় সরকারের নীতি হচেছ যারা চাল কিনে খায়, তাদের সকলে যাতে কিনে খেতে পারে তার জন্য সুবন্দোবস্ত করে দেওয়া। আমি মনে করি এই পশ্চিম বাংলায় আড়াই কোটি লোকের মধ্যে প্রায় দেড় কোটি লোক চাল কিনে খায়। অনেকে বলেছেন ধানের দর বাড়িয়ে দিন, কিন্তু আমি তাঁদের অনুরোধ জানাব যারা কিনে খায় তাদের একটু সুযোগ সুবিধা দিন। তবে আমি একথা বলছি না যে উৎপাদনকারীকে একেবারে উচ্ছেন্ন করে দিন। আমি জানি প্রধান মন্ত্রী ও অন্যান্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয়গণ এই সব বিষয়ে আলাপ আলোচনা বিশেষভাবে করেছেন। তবে আমি ব্যক্তিগত-ভাবে বলতে পারি এবং জাতীয় সরকারের কাছে এই অনুরোধ জানাতে চাই যে এই একটাকা আট আনা দর বেশী দিয়ে তাঁদের এমন কিছু সুযোগ সুবিধা দেওয়া যায় না, এর চেয়েও তাদের ভাল বীজ, সার ও মূলধন প্রভৃতি দিয়ে সাহায্য করতে হবে। যদি কোন চাষী এক বিঘা জমিতে চার মণ ধান ফলায় কিন্তু সে যদি পরের বৎসর সেই জমিতে ছয় মণ ধান ফলাতে পারে তার জন্য তাকে মন প্রতি দশ টাকা দিয়ে পুরস্কৃত করা উচিত। কারণ, এইসব কৃষক বন্ধুগণ জাতির একটা আর্থিক সম্পদ বৃদ্ধি করছেন। এইভাবে শস্য উৎপাদনকারীকে উৎসাহিত করা আপনাদের কর্ত্তব্য। জানি, জাতীয় সরকার এইদিকে দৃষ্টি দিয়ে হাজার হাজার টাকা পর্য্যন্ত পুরস্কার দেবার ব্যবস্থা করেছেন। আসুন আমরাও সকলে মিলে ভালভাবে বিবেচনা করি এই দুটা দিক, যারা গরীব, নিরন্ন জনসাধারণ চাল কিনে খাচেছ, তাদের সুযোগ সুবিধা দেব কি করে? এবং যারা শস্য উৎপন্ন করে, তাদের কাজে উৎসাহিত করবার জন্য, এবং তাদের শক্তিকে বৃদ্ধি করবার জন্য অগ্রসর হব কোন উপায়ে? আর আমি বেশী কথা বলব না, কেবলমাত্র একটা কথার উল্লেখ এখানে করছি।

বড়ই দুঃখের বিষয় যে আজ পশ্চিম বঙ্গবাসীকে অনেকের কাছ থেকে নিন্দাবাদ শুনতে হয় এজন্য পশ্চিম বঙ্গ-বাসীর সুনাম নষ্ট হচেছ। আমরা তণ্ডুলজাতীয় জিনিষ বেশী খাই। পণ্ডিত শ্রীলক্ষ্মীকান্ত মৈত্র, এম, পি, মহাশয় যে সমস্ত বিবরণী বা তথ্য প্রকাশ করেছেন সে সমস্ত তথ্য কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে সঠিক নহে। ভালভাবে উচ্চপদস্থ

কর্মচারীর কাছ থেকে জানতে পারা যায় [illegible] ঘাটতির হিসাবের মধ্যে অনেক ভুল-ভ্রান্তি আছে। এই সমস্ত বিবরণ আমার কাছে রয়েছে আমি এখানে উপস্থিত করতাম কিন্তু মাননীয় স্পীকার মহাশয়ের আর [illegible] সময় নষ্ট করতে চাই না। আজকে জানাতে চাই জাতি গঠনকার্য্যে মিথ্যার হাট সাজিয়ে হবে না, [illegible] দ্বারাই তা সার্থক করতে হবে। অন্ন সমস্যা আজ একটি মস্ত বড় সমস্যা, তার জন্য আমাদের [illegible] হতে হবে এবং মিলেমিশে কাজ করতে হবে।

সমবায় বিভাগের মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় ডাঃ আমেদ, এই পথ প্রশস্ত করেছেন সকলকে গঠন কাজে আহ্বান জানিয়ে। আমরা বহুদিন গ্রামে ঘুরে ঘুরে কাজ করেছি। সেখানে দরিদ্র কৃষক, চাষী, জনসাধারণের দুঃখকষ্টের কথা আমরা সকলে জানি। এবং আমি মনে করি এই সমস্যা সমাধানের একমাত্র পথ হচ্ছে, সমবায় সমিতি। এই পরিষদের অনেক সদস্য মহাশয়গণ এই অভিমত প্রকাশ করেছেন যে জনসাধারণের বর্ত্তমান দুঃখকষ্ট লাঘব করতে হলে--cordon তুলে দেওয়া উচিত, গ্রামের ভিতর husking machine বসান উচিত, ইত্যাদি। বর্ত্তমান খাদ্যসমস্যা সমাধানকল্পে অনেকে অনেক কিছু বলেছেন, কিন্তু কেন এগুলি করা সম্ভব হচ্ছে না— সে কথা চিন্তা করা উচিত। আজ আমরা সব কিছু সমাধান করতে পারি, ভালভাবে ব্যবস্থা করতে পারি এই সমবায় সমিতির মারফতে। এই সমবায় সমিতি যদি গ্রামে গ্রামে ভালভাবে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়—তাহলে সেখানকার কতজন লোক এ বছর কত শস্য উৎপন্ন করছে এবং আগামী বৎসর কত বেশী উৎপন্ন করবে ইত্যাদি আমরা [illegible] যেমন জানতে পারব, তেমনি কোন পরিবারে শস্য ঘাটতি বা বাড়তি হবে তাও আমরা জানতে পারব এবং বাড়তি ফসল ধর্মগোলায় সঞ্চয় করে আমরা যে সমস্ত D. P. agent নিযুক্ত করেছি তাদের সরিয়ে দিয়ে, আমরা কৃষকদের আরও বেশী করে সুযোগ সুবিধা দিতে পারব। জনগণের সহযোগিতায় খাদ্য সংগ্রহের দিকটা যেমন ভাল হবে তেমনি খাদ্য উৎপন্নের দিকটাও ভাল হতে পারবে। আমরা মিলেমিশে জাতিগঠন কার্য্যের প্রতি বিশ্বাস রেখে, স্বাস্থ্য, শিক্ষা, শিল্প, সমাজের উন্নতি এবং আরও যে সমস্ত উন্নয়নমূলক কাজ রয়েছে সেই সমস্ত কাজে আমরা মিলতে পারব।

আজকে মহাত্মা গান্ধী তিনি ইহজগতে নাই কিন্তু তিনি উর্দ্ধলোক থেকে আমাদের প্রত্যক্ষ করছেন, আমরা কি করছি, আমরা কি করে জাতিকে গড়ে তুলছি। তা কি তিনি দেখছেন না। আমি দুঃখের সঙ্গে সকলের নিকট এই কথা নিবেদন করতে চাই, যে বীরভূম জেলার তাঁতীপাড়ায় কোন একজন বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তি বলেছিলেন যে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্যে বিধান পরিষদে সামাজিক অযোগ্যতা দূরীকরণ বলে কোন আইন পাশ হয়নি। তিনি বলেছেন নাপিত অস্পৃশ্য জাতির চুল কাটবে? যাতে তিনি অস্পৃশ্যগণ সামাজিক অধিকার না পায় তার জন্য মিথ্যা কথা প্রচার করেছেন। একজন কংগ্রেস কর্ম্মীর এই ব্যবস্থার সমুখে নাপিত এইরূপ অভিমত প্রকাশ করায় তিনি আর নাপিতের কাছে চুল কাটবেন না বলে দাড়ি রেখে দিয়েছেন। (Laughter.) আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি আজ সমাজকে যে ভাবে গড়বার দিন এবং আমরা যারা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর প্রিয় শিষ্য বলে বড়াই করি সেখানে আমরা এইরূপ মিথ্যার বেসাতী নিয়ে খেলা করব, এবং "হিং-টিং-ছট", সেই জিনিষ নিয়ে চলব? আজকে আমাদের রাজনীতিক্ষেত্রে দৃঢ় হতে হবে এবং আমাদের যে নীতি তা স্পষ্ট ভাষায় ব্যক্ত করতে হবে। এই কথা বলে আমি আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করছি।

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTERJEE: মাননীয় সভাপাল মহাশয়, আমাদের অর্থসচিব মহাশয়ের বক্তৃতা থেকে আরম্ভ করে এই এখুনি যিনি বললেন সেই পার্লিয়ামেণ্টারী সেক্রেটারীর বক্তৃতা শুনে এবং কোরিয়া থেকে আরম্ভ করে পৃথিবীর সকল দেশের কথা শুনে, (A VOICE : চায়নার কথাও বলা হয়েছে) বুঝতে পারছিনা কাদের বাজেট আজ আমরা তৈরী করছি। সভাপাল মহাশয়, আপনার বোধ হয় মনে আছে আমরা এই কথা বলতে অভ্যস্ত ছিলাম অবিভক্ত বাংলায়, এই বিধান পরিষদে আপনার হয়ত মনে আছে ১৯৪৫-৪৬ সালে যখন লীগের তদানীন্তন অর্থসচিব বাজেট উপস্থিত করেছিলেন—ঠিক বাংলা বিভাগের আগের কথা বলছি, তখন তদানীন্তন বাজেটকে মাথাব্যেটা বলে আমরা বোধ হয় এই দলকে কাটিয়ে দেবার উপক্রম করেছিলাম।

আজ শাসন ব্যবস্থা হাতে পেয়ে আমরা সে কথা বেমালুম ভুলে গিয়েছি। আমাদের আজকের এই বাজেটেতে কোন রকম দরিদ্রের প্রতি দরদ নেই। সেই সে দিনের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর কিছুমাত্র পরিবর্তন নেই। আমরা

তখন বলতাম যারা হাটে, মাঠে, ঘাটে, সহরে, পল্লীতে ছড়িয়ে পড়ে রয়েছে যারা আমাদের দীন দরিদ্র দেশবাসী, তাদের বাজেট তাদের মতই হওয়া উচিত। আমরা বলতাম শাসন ব্যবস্থায় অত্যধিক ব্যয়, পুলিশ খাতে অত্যধিক ব্যয় হচ্ছে আর জাতিগঠনমূলক কাজে ফাঁকি দেওয়া হচ্ছে। শাসন ব্যবস্থা হাতে পেয়ে আমরা সেসব কথা একদম ভুলে গিয়েছি।

আজকে বাংলা বিভক্ত হয়েছে আমরা ১/৩ অংশ মাত্র। তখনকার অতিরিক্ত ব্যয়বরাদ্দকেও যদি টার্গেট ধরি তা হলেও ১/৩ অংশ বাংলায় শাসন বিভাগ ও পুলিস বিভাগে তাহার ১/৩ অংশ ব্যয় হওয়া উচিত। অথচ এই ব্যয় বাড়িয়া বাড়িয়া অবিভক্ত বাংলার ব্যয়কেও হারাল। অসহায় লোক আমাদের দেশে তারা হৃত সর্বস্ব—দরিদ্র লোক, তারা খুবই সহিষ্ণু; তারা জানে যে দেশ বিভাগের অনেক সমস্যার হাত হতে মুক্ত হতে গেলে তাদের অনেক ত্যাগ স্বীকার করতে হবে। এই ত্যাগ স্বীকার করতেও তারা প্রস্তুত। কিন্তু তারা গভর্ণমেণ্টের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর এতটকু পরিবর্ত্তন দেখতে পাচ্ছে না বলে হতাশ হয়ে পড়েছে।

আমাদের পার্লিয়ামেণ্টারী সেক্রেটারী থেকে আরম্ভ করে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয়রা সকলে ভাবছেন যে খুব সুন্দর ভাবে সব কিছু চলছে, এবং দেশের লোক খালি অবুঝ। আমি তাঁদের অনুরোধ করছি তাঁরা বিষয়টি একটু চিন্তা করে বিবেচনা করে দেখুন—আজ সমস্ত দেশের লোক কেন এত হতাশ হয়েছে। বর্ত্তমান শাসন ব্যবস্থায় কেন তাদের এত বিতৃষ্ণা। দেশকে তৈরী করবার কাজে সহায়তা করতে আমরা সকলেই প্রস্তুত আছি। কিন্তু কি ব্যাধি সেটা না জানলে চিকিৎসা কোন রকম হতে পারে না। ব্যাধিগুলি কি তা এখন দেখুন। ১৯৪৫-৪৬ সালে শাসন খাতে ব্যয় হয়েছিল ২ কোটি ৭৪ লক্ষ টাকা এবং এর জন্য সেই সময় কত নিন্দা আমরা করেছি। আজ ১/৩ অংশ বাংলায় অর্থাৎ পশ্চিম বাংলায় সেই অনুপাতে ব্যয় হওয়া উচিত মাত্র ৯১ লক্ষ টাকা। কিন্তু এখনও আমাদের সেই ইংরাজ আমলের standard যাকে আমরা মাথামোটা শাসন ব্যবস্থা বলছি তাকে ছাড়িয়ে ব্যয়-বরাদ্দ করা হচ্ছে।

১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালে ১ কোটি ৮০ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হয়েছে।

১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে ২ কোটি ৪ লক্ষ টাকা অর্থাৎ ১/৩ বাংলায় যা হওয়া উচিত ছিল তার দ্বিগুণ।

১৯৫০-৫১ সালে বেড়ে হল ২ কোটি ৩৮ লক্ষ টাকা। ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে সেটা ২ কোটি ৭০ লক্ষ টাকা। অর্থাৎ ১/৩ অংশ বাংলায় যা হওয়া উচিত ছিল তার তিনগুণ।

তারপরে পুলিশের খাতে ব্যয়টা একবার দেখুন। ১৯৪৫-৪৬ সালে, অবিভক্ত বাংলায় পুলিশের বাবদ ব্যয় ছিল ৩ কোটি ৫৮ লক্ষ টাকা, এবং সেই অনপাতে আমাদের পশ্চিম বাংলার হওয়া উচিত--১ কোটি ১৯ লক্ষ টাকা। কিন্তু ১৯৪৮-৪৯ সালে সেটা বেড়ে হয়েছে ৪ কোটি ১৭ লক্ষ টাকা--অর্থাৎ প্রায় সাড়ে তিন গুণ।

তারপরে ১৯৪৯-৫০ সালে ৪ কোটি ৪৭ লক্ষ টাকা, ১৯৫০-৫১ সালে ৫ কোটি ৪১ লক্ষ টাকা, আর ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে ৫ কোটি ৪৬ লক্ষ টাকা, অর্থাৎ সাড়ে চার গুণেরও উপর। এ সম্বন্ধে ওরা হয়ত বলবেন যে দুই রাজ্যের border protectionএর খরচ অনেক বেড়ে যাওয়ায় পুলিশের ব্যয় স্বভাবতই বেড়ে গেছে। আচ্ছা, তাহলে ধরুণ Presidency Policeএর খাতে ব্যয় বরাদ্দটা—অবিভক্ত বাংলায়—Presidency Policeএর ব্যয় ছিল--১৯৪৬-৪৭ সালে ৫৭ লক্ষ টাকা মাত্র। আর সেটা ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে ১ কোটি ৯১ লক্ষ টাকায় অর্থাৎ সাড়ে তিন গুণ। District Police Forceএর ব্যয় ছিল, অবিভক্ত বাংলায়--১৯৪৬-৪৭ সালে ২ কোটি ৭৮ লক্ষ টাকা, সেটাও বেড়ে ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে হয়েছে ৩ কোটি ৪ লক্ষ টাকা। Presidency Policeএর ব্যয় বৃদ্ধির মতন Civil Secretariatএর খরচ বাড়াবারও কোন কারণ আমরা খুঁজে পাইনে। এটাতেও দেখুন অবিভক্ত বাংলায়--১৯৪৬-৪৭ সালে ছিল ৪৯ লক্ষ টাকা, আর ১৯৫১-৫২ সালে বেড়ে হয়েছে--৭০ লক্ষ টাকা। প্রকৃত পক্ষে গভর্ণমেণ্টের সকল বিভাগেই দিনের পর দিন ব্যয় শুধু বেড়েই চলেছে। কিন্তু কিসের জন্য এই ব্যয় বৃদ্ধি। একদিকে দেশব্যাপী খাদ্যাভাব, বস্ত্রাভাব—অরাজকতা। পুলিশের ব্যয় এত যে বেড়ে চলেছে--এই পুলিশ কিজন্য আছে? পুলিশ আছে কি শুধু মন্ত্রীদের রক্ষা করবার জন্য না জনসাধারণের শাসন ব্যবস্থার জন্য? পুলিশের খরচ ৪ গুণ বেড়ে যাবে আর দেশের অবাধ অরাজকতা--চুরি, ডাকাতি, লুট, রাহাজানি এবং [illegible] বাড়তে থাকবে আর দেশবাসী তা নিঃশব্দে সহ্য করবে? আমি নদীয়ার পল্লীঅঞ্চলের প্রতিনিধি। সমস্ত নদীয়া

কেল্লা আজ আবার চোখের সামনে ভেসে উঠছে। সেখানকার লোকের জীবন ও ধনসম্পত্তি আজ আর নিরাপদ নয়। আমাদের মন্ত্রিগণ Writers' Buildingsএ ইংরেজ শাসকদের পরিত্যক্ত আসন দখল করেছেন, তাঁরা যে যেখানে যখন সেলুনে করে যান; তা না গিয়ে এক আধবার ছদ্মবেশে দেশটা ঘুরে দেখুন না। আগে আমরাত তাঁদের সঙ্গে সাধারণভাবে ঘোরাফেরা করতাম, এখন একবার চলুনত ছদ্মবেশে আমাদের সঙ্গে দেশটার অবস্থা দেখে আসুন। খাদ্য বেশী ফলাবেনতো একবার ঘুরেফিরে অবস্থাটা দেখুন। পল্লীগ্রামে চলুন দেখবেন—সেখানে চুরি, ডাকাতি ও রাহাজানির অন্ত নাই।

কিন্তু তা ওরা যাবেন না। অর্থাৎ ওরা ইংরেজের স্থান দখল করেছেন কিনা stiffnessটা তাদেরই মতন হয়েছে, তাদেরই মতন মোটা মাথার শাসন ব্যবস্থাকে আরো মোটা করতে চেষ্টা করছেন, কিন্তু তাদের চরিত্রে যে গুণ ছিল তা এদের নাই। একজন ইংরেজ প্রভুকে দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ কর্ম্মচারীরা ভয় করতো, এখন আর তাদের ভয় নাই। এখন পুলিশ কর্ম্মচারীরা প্রকাশ্যেই ঘুষ খায়। খালি পুলিশ বিভাগেই নয়, সর্বত্রই দুর্নীতি, Civil Supplies বিভাগ, Procurement বিভাগ, Enforcement Branch, Border Guards, Tax Assessment এবং Law Courtগুলি পর্য্যন্ত দুর্নীতিমুক্ত নয়। Enforcement Branchটা পুলিশ সাহেবের হাতে না দিয়ে ম্যাজিস্ট্রেটের হাতে দিলেও না হয় বুঝতে পারতাম যে এরা corruption দূর করতে চান। চারিদিকে দুর্নীতির এগ্নি বাড়ব চলবে--আর তাঁরা গদি আঁকড়ে থেকে দিনের পর দিন জনসাধারণের ঘাড়ে ট্যাক্সের বোঝা চাপাবেন—আর খরচ বাড়িয়ে চলবেন—তাঁরা কি মনে ভেবেছেন এ অত্যাচার জনসাধারণ সহ্য করেই চলবে?

অধিক খাদ্য ফলাও বলে যে মন্ত্রীরা ফলাও করে প্রচার করে বেড়ান --সেই খাদ্যশস্যের ফলন যাতে অধিক হয় তার জন্য ধানের দাম বাড়াতে বললেই inflationএর কথা ওঠে। আসলে এই শাসন ব্যবস্থা চলেছে কতিপয় ধনিকের অতিলাভ ও সুখসুবিধার জন্য। জনসাধারণের সুখসমৃদ্ধির দিকে মন্ত্রীদের লক্ষ্য নাই,—তাই দেখতে পাই দিন দিন administration হয়ে উঠছে top-heavy. Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Joint Secretary, Assistant Secretary তার উপর রয়েছে Parliamentary Secretary (laughter). এইসব নূতন নূতন পদ সৃষ্টি করে ওরা সকলে মিলেমিশে সেখানে আছেন। সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীরা নিজেদের জনসাধারণের ভৃত্য বলে থাকেন বটে কিন্তু প্রকৃত প্রস্তাবে তারা জনসাধারণের প্রভু। আমি ঠিক জানি না কয়জন মন্ত্রী আছেন। বিভক্ত বাংলায় প্রথমে ৯জন নিয়ে আরম্ভ হয়েছিল—ক্রমে ক্রমে তা বোধ হয় ১৩ জনে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে। এদের পার্লামেন্টারী সেক্রেটারী কতজন জানি না সে সম্বন্ধে কোন খবর পাই না, বাজেট বইএও তাঁদের তালিকা নেই। প্রয়োজন হলেই একজন করে গজান। তাঁরা কি কাজ করেন তারাই জানেন। আমি বলি এখানে Scheduled Caste যে কজন আছেন তাদের হয় Parliamentary Secretary না হয় মন্ত্রী করা হোক। দেশের লোক দুঃখেকষ্টে আছে, তারাতো কজন তার মধ্যে সুখে থাকতে পারবেন (laughter)। এই তো ওদের administration—শাসন ব্যবস্থার নমুনা, এ শাসন ব্যবস্থা ধনিকের জন্য চলছে না, তো কার জন্য চলছে?

এখন আমি পাটের ব্যাপারে আসছি। (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: কার রাজ্যপাট) শুনুন,--এদিকে পশ্চিমবাংলার চাষীদের ধানের দাম বাড়াবেন না inflationএর ওজুহাত দেখিয়ে, এবং সেদিন খাদ্যমন্ত্রী সেনমহাশয় জোর গলায় চেঁচিয়েছিলেন - কার ধানের দর বাড়াবো? এদিকে পাটের ব্যাপারে কি করেছেন দেখুন আপনারা। এখানে তো পাটের দাম বেঁধে দিয়েছে ৩৫৲টাকা মন ওদিকে *Statesman* লিখেছে পাকিস্তানী পাট এখানে আসলায় তার দাম পড়বে ৬৫৲ টাকা মন। পাটের ব্যাপারের আর একটা কারসাজি হবে এখানকার যারা Jute Boardএর মালিক, যারা পাটকলের মালিক—Indian বিড়লা, জালানের এবং European Walkerএর দল তারা নারায়ণগঞ্জে গিয়ে আফিস খুলে বসেছে। সেখানে Indian আর Europeanএ হরিহর আত্মা (laughter)। শুধু তাই নয়, ওখানকার জুট বোর্ডের কর্তারা আর এখানকার মিলমালিকেরাও একজোট হয়েছে। সেখানকার Jute Boardওয়ালাদের godown নেই, তারা এদের godownএতেই কাজ চালাচ্ছে। ভারতের চাষীর মত পাকিস্তানের চাষীও পাটের দাম পেল না। তাদের জুটেছে ১০৲, ১৫৲। লাভ লোটা যাবে ওখানকার ইস্পাহানী আর এখানকার মিলমালিকদের। যত পাটের [illegible] পাট যা পাকিস্তান থেকে এখনি আসছে তাতেই এ কজন ধনিকে মিলে কয়েক কোটি টাকা [illegible] করবে। তাইতো বাণিজ্য চুক্তি পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে হবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই তাদের চেহারা [illegible] উৎফুল্ল হয়ে উঠেছে [illegible]

ঐ সাড়ে তিন লক্ষ বেলের পর আরো যে পাট আসবে তাতে যে আরো বহু কোটি টাকা লাভ করবে, তাতে কোন সন্দেহ নেই। এই মন্ত্রিমণ্ডল যে inflation বন্ধ করার অজুহাতে পাটের দর বেধেছেন ৩৫৲ টাকা—পশ্চিমবঙ্গে উৎপন্ন পাটেরই মাত্র ৩৫৲ মণ প্রতি দাম বাঁধা হয়েছে। অথচ পাকিস্তানী পাট, "ষ্টেটসম্যান" কাগজের মন্তব্য যদি ধরতে হয় তবে ৬৫৲ টাকার কমে কলকাতায় এসে বিক্রয় হবে না। চাষী বঞ্চিত হলেও কোটি কোটি টাকা এখানকার পাটকলের মালিকেরা লাভ করবে—এবং সেই টাকা যখন তারা খাটাবে তখন spiral inflation আরম্ভ হবে। ফলে ওরা করলেন কি, না inflationও রোধ করলেন, না—অনাহারক্লিষ্ট পশ্চিমবঙ্গের চাষী producerদের উৎপন্ন শস্যের দামও এক পয়সা বাড়ালেন। দু'টাকা ধানের দর বাড়াতে হলেই inflation হবার অজুহাত দেখান। ধানের পড়তা দর পর্যান্ত চাষীকে দেন না অথচ মুখে বলে বেড়ান অধিক শস্য ফলাও, অধিক খাদ্য ফলাও। রাশিয়াতে যুদ্ধের পরে তারা control তুলে দেয় তারা কি করে inflation বন্ধ করে। এ সম্বন্ধে রিজার্ভ ব্যাঙ্ক of Indiaর একটা বুলেটিন আপনাদের পড়ে শোনাচ্ছি এটা বেরিয়েছে ১৯৪৮ সালের জুন মাসে। এটাতে দেখতে পাবেন inflation রোধের প্রকৃত পন্থাটা কি শুনুন—

When the Soviet Government contemplated discontinuing rationing towards the end of 1947,——(A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: এর মধ্যে আবার রাশিয়াতেও গিয়েছেন।) শুনুন, রাশিয়ায় তাঁরা rationing বন্ধ করতে যাচ্ছিলেন যুদ্ধের পরে। (SRI JYOTI BASU: Read in English.) খাদ্যমন্ত্রীমহাশয় শুনুন এটা আমাদের রিজার্ভ ব্যাঙ্কের বুলেটিন—

"When the Soviet Government contemplated to discontinue rationing towards the end of 1947, it feared that the large volume of money if allowed to continue in circulation, would force the prices up and lead to inequitable distribution. Therefore, before introducing decontrol the Government took measures in December, 1947, to mop up a large part of the currency which in effect meant the introduction of 'rationing by the purse', that is, a return to the free price system. The measures taken by the Government in this regard were as follows:—

(a) All cash holdings were to be exchanged at the rate of 1 new rouble for 10 old ones, the existing money continuing to be legal tender only for a brief period usually a week or more depending upon the area.

(b) Bank deposits between 3,000 and 10,000 roubles were reduced by one-third and deposits above 10,000 roubles by 50 per cent.

(c) Current accounts of co-operatives and Kotkhozes were recalculated so as to cut down their nominal assets by 20 per cent.

(d) All State Loans with the exception of one or two issued prior to 1947 and carrying, on an average, interest at 4 per cent. were consolidated into a single 2 per cent. loan and exchanged in the proportion of 1 new to 3 old.

This sudden and quick mopping up of purchasing power really amounted to the imposition of a capital levy. The measures were calculated to affect mostly the holders of cash. The Russians generally hold balances in cash and the above measures were calculated to cut down the total purchasing power in the hands of the public drastically and to bring about a redistribution of purchasing power as between the country and the urban areas in favour of the latter. The current earnings of the workers and employees in general are not expected to be affected as also the small savings of less than 3,000 roubles. Moreover, in view of the drastic reduction in the total volume of currency the workers and the employees would have their portion of currency appreciate in value. Also since controls have been lifted the incentive for production is retained."

ওখানে সেখানে ওরা করেছে। এখন দেখুন এখানে আমরা কি করছি। সেদিন আমি অনেক উদাহরণ দিয়ে দেখিয়েছি যার ১ হাজার যার জমি নেই; আগে [illegible] ৫ মণ যার ধান হয়েছে তাকেও ওরা বাদ দিচ্ছে

পারেনি তার বদলেও, প্রকিওরমেন্টঅফিসাররা লুট করেছেন। আমাদের কৃষকদরদী খাদ্যমন্ত্রী চাষীদের ধান কাড়তে আরম্ভ করেছেন। সহরের পরিচর্য্যার জন্য গ্রামগুলিকে নির্ম্মমভাবে শোষণ করে ধ্বংস করা হচ্ছে। গান্ধিজী বলতেন গ্রামগুলিকেই সর্ব্ব প্রথমে রক্ষা করতে হবে। গ্রামের জন্যই সহর। আর ওদের মতে সহরের জন্যই গ্রাম। চাষীদের ধান জোর করে নেবেন অথচ তাদের ধানের দর বাড়াবেন না, inflationএর অজুহাতে। ওদের বিড়লা-জালানদের 50 per cent. টাকা কেড়ে নিয়ে, যেমন রাশিয়ায় করেছিল, তেমনি করে টাকাগুলো হাত করতে পারলে দেখতেন inflation বন্ধ হত কিনা। চাষী আজও পরের জমি চষে খায় সে আজও জমির মালিক হলোনা--অথচ ওরা চান যে খাদ্য বেশী ফলাবে। আজ চীন কি করে ১৯৪৯ অপেক্ষা ১৯৫০ সালে ১ কোটি টন অধিক খাদ্য ফলিয়েছে, ২ লক্ষ ৬০ হাজার টন অধিক তুলা উৎপন্ন করেছে? আশ্চর্য্যের কথা যে চীন চিরদিন দুর্ভিক্ষ প্রপীড়িত, দুনিয়ার কাছে খাবারের জন্য হাত বাড়াত সেই কিনা আজ ক্ষুধার্ত্ত ভারতবাসীর জন্য চাল পাঠাচ্ছে। তারা সেখানে চাষীদের জমির মালিক করেছে বলেই সেটা সম্ভব হয়েছে। কি মজার কথা—আমরা Hamlet play করব without the Prince of Denmark! জমিদারী প্রথা ওঠাবোনা—চাষীকে জমির মালিক করবোনা—তার ধানের দর বাড়াতে গেলে কৃষকদের দেখিয়ে বলবো---কার ধান, কার ধান? অথচ ফলাতে হবে অধিক খাদ্য। কিন্তু প্রশ্নটা আমরা যখন প্রশ্ন করি—কার কাপড়? তখন ওদের মুখে উত্তর নেই। কারণ কলের মালিক ঝুনঝুনওয়ালারা বড় শক্ত জায়গা।

সেদিন আমাদের খাদ্যমন্ত্রী সহযোগিতা করার কথা বলেছেন, আসল কথা, সহযোগিতা তো করবো,—কিন্তু কিসের জন্য সহযোগিতা? তাঁদের মামুলী শাসনপদ্ধতি যে রকম চলছে, তাহাতে সহযোগিতার স্থান কোথায়, যদি দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর বদল করে আজ তাঁরা জনসাধারণের কষ্ট, জনসাধারণের দুঃখ, দুর্গতি দূর করার জন ব্যবস্থা চালাতে বদ্ধপরিকর হন তাহলে দেশের লোক এত অবুঝ নয় যে তাদেরি জন্য যাঁরা কাজ করেন তাঁদের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা না করবে। কিন্তু ওরা সে দিক দিয়ে না এগিয়ে--ভিন্ন পথ ধরেছেন এখানে আমি আর একটা জিনিষ দি চিহ্ন যুদ্ধের আগে A. I. C. C. Economic Sub-Committeeর একটি মূল্যবান রিপোর্ট প্রকাশিত হয়েছিল, তাতে প্রকাশিত হয়েছিল, যে বাংলা দেশের সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীদের মাইনে সব চেয়ে বেশী তাদের average pay হচ্ছে ১,৩০১৲ টাকা যা নাকি জাপানের সর্ব্বোচ্চ কর্ম্মচারী the topmost officerএর মাইনের তিনগুণ। এটা আমরা সয়েছি বলেই British আমলে চলেছিল কিন্তু এখনও সয়ে আছি কারণ আমরা সব কিছুই সইতে অভ্যস্ত, "কর্ত্তার ইচ্ছায় কর্ম্ম"। রবীন্দ্রনাথ যে লিখেছেন চৌরঙ্গী পরিষ্কার থাকবেই কারণ ওরা অপরিষ্কার থাকা সইবে না আর চিৎপুর নোংরা চিৎপুরই থাকবে কারণ আমরা সয়ে থাকি। জাপানের সর্ব্বোচ্চ মাইনের তিনগুণ মাইনে উপরের কর্ম্মচারীদের গড় মাইনে হবে কেননা তাঁদের তা নইলে সইবে না আর নীচের কর্ম্মচারীরা যা মাইনে পাবেন তাতে তাঁদের পেট না ভরলেও চলবে কেননা সেটা তাঁদের সইবে। সেদিন scale of pay যা নুতন করে revision হয়েছে তা যদি দেখেন তাহলে আশ্চর্য্য হবেন। যারা ৬০৲ টাকা পেত তাদের কমিয়ে ৫৫৲ টাকা করা হয়েছে, আর বেড়েছে যারা বেশী পেতো। ওঁরা দেন তেলো মাথায় তেল। এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী নিয়েই এঁরা চলেন। প্রধান মন্ত্রীও এখানে নিজেকে বুর্জোয়া বলে ঘোষণা করে গর্ব্ব বোধ করেন। অথচ তিনি কংগ্রেসী প্রধান মন্ত্রী, যে কংগ্রেস কৃষক-প্রজা-মজুর-রাজ প্রতিষ্ঠা করবে বলে প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছে। তারপর আসে motor carএর কথা। বহু motor car কেনা হয়েছে। কার কটা আছে জানি না। প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় সেটা জানিয়ে দিলে হত। শুনেছি এক বৎসর-দু'বৎসর অন্তর গাড়ীগুলি বদলান হয়। প্রত্যেক জিনিষটা যদি এই রকম হয় দেশের পক্ষে অনাবশ্যক জিনিষই খালি বাড়ান হয় আর যদি কেবল মুখে চাষী দরদী বলে চীৎকার করা হয় আর চাষীদের দুটো টাকা বেশী দিতে গেলেই যুক্তি দেখান হয় inflationএর, তবে তাদের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা কি করে করবো। ওরা দুর্নীতি ত দূর করছেনই না আরো দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ করে ফেলছেন দেশকে। কলকাতাকে cordon-এর মধ্যে রেখে এবং সীমান্তে cordon ব্যবস্থা রেখে আন্তর্প্রাদেশিক আর সব cordon উঠিয়ে দেওয়া হক। এখনত আর পাকিস্থানে চাল চালান যাবার ভয় নাই। কেননা সেখানে চালের দাম কম, উৎপাদন যথেষ্ট। এই cordonএর ফলে এমন হয়েছে যে cordonএর ভিতরে ও বাহিরে চালের দাম অসম্ভব তফাৎ। বর্দ্ধমানে যখন চালের দর ১২৲/১৩৲ টাকা তখন cordonএর এপারে নদীয়ায় চালের দর ২৫৲/৩০৲ টাকা। কলকাতাকে বেষ্টনীর মধ্যে রেখে বাহির হতে আনা চাল এবং প্রদেশ হতে অতিরিক্ত সংগৃহীত চাল সাহায্যে সেখানে রেশন-প্রথা চালু রাখা যেতে পারে। রেশন অঞ্চল বাদে প্রদেশের সর্ব্বত্র চালের দর এক প্রকার হতে সাহায্য করা উচিত। এখন সহরের রেশন অঞ্চলের লোকেরা কম দরে চাল পাবে আর গ্রামের চাষী যে চাল তৈরি করে সে নিজের

উৎপন্ন ধান হতে বঞ্চিত হবে এবং শহর অপেক্ষা বহু উচ্চ মূল্যে চাল খরিদ করে খেতে বাধ্য হবে, এব্যবস্থা অব্যবস্থা। ঘাটতি অঞ্চলে প্রকিওরমেণ্ট করার সময় এরা এলেন যদি প্রকিওরমেণ্ট না করা হয় তাহলে বড়লোকেরা সব চাল কিনে নেবে এবং গরীবেরা না খেয়ে মরবে। এবং আরও বল্লেন, এ ধান-চাল অন্যত্র যাবে না প্রয়োজন-মতে ঘাটতি অঞ্চলেই দেওয়া হবে। কিন্তু কাজে আমরা দেখি ঘাটতি অঞ্চলের চাষীর মুখের আহার কেড়ে নেওয়া হয়। যে চাষীর এক ছটাকও জমি নাই, ভাগে চাষ করে সামান্য কিছু ধান পেয়েছে তারও একমুঠো ধান না রেখে সব ধান কেড়ে নেওয়া হয় এবং তাকে অতি উচ্চ মূল্যে ধান কিনে খেতে বাধ্য করা হয়। অবস্থা এমন দাঁড়িয়েছে যে হাটে বাজারে পর্য্যন্ত ধান কেনাবেচা বন্ধ হবার উপক্রম। চাষী হাটে ধান বিক্রি করতে এলে সে ধানও প্রকিওরমেণ্টবর্গীরা কেড়ে নেয়। অথচ পল্লীবাসী ক্ষুধার অন্ন কোথায় পাবে জানে না। চমৎকার শাসন ব্যবস্থা!

চিরদিনের প্রথা অনুযায়ী নদীয়া জেলা বর্দ্ধমানে ছোলা, মটর, কলাই, প্রভৃতি ডাল প্রেরণ করে ও বর্দ্ধমান হতে চাল এনে খায়। বর্দ্ধমানের লোকদের নদীয়ার ডাল না পেলে চলে না, নদীয়ার লোকেদের বর্দ্ধমানের চাল না পেলে চলে না। সরকার নদীয়ার রেশন ব্যবস্থাও করলেন না আবার cordon বসিয়ে বর্দ্ধমান হতে চাল আনা বন্ধ করে দিলেন। যে modified ration মাথাপিছু দৈনিক দু'ছটাক কেবল সহরগুলিতে দেবার কথা তাও নিয়মিত দেন না। অতএব ঘাটতি অঞ্চলে নদীয়ায় বাধ্য হয়ে বর্দ্ধমান থেকে smuggle করে চাল আনতে হয়। এতে লোকদের জোর করে দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ করা হচ্ছে। Cordon প্রহরীদের অবশ্য পোয়া বারো, তাঁরা দুহাত দিয়ে ঘুষ খাচেছন। নবদ্বীপে এক লক্ষ লোকের বাস। পূর্ব্বে cordon ছিল গঙ্গার উপর দিয়ে অর্থাৎ নবদ্বীপ cordon areaর মধ্যে ছিল তাতে নবদ্বীপের লোকদের চাল পেতে কষ্ট হত না। এখন নবদ্বীপের পশ্চিম দিয়ে cordon দেওয়া হয়েছে এতে নবদ্বীপ পড়ে গিয়েছে cordon areaর বাহিরে। দু'ছটাক মাথাপিছু চাল তাও নিয়মিত দেওয়া হয় না। সপ্তাহের পর সপ্তাহ চাল দেওয়া বন্ধ থাকে। এক লক্ষ লোককে জোর করে সরকার দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ করছেন। তারা smuggle করে আনবে তবে খাবে। প্রকাশ্যে প্রতিদিন এই চাল smuggle করে আসছে। মাথাপিছু আট আনা আর গাড়ী প্রতি ৬৲ টাকা cordon প্রহরীদের সঙ্গে বন্দোবস্ত। মন্ত্রীরা চলন আমার সঙ্গে আমি দেখিয়ে দিচ্ছি। নবদ্বীপ সহরের পরেই বর্দ্ধমান জেলা। নবদ্বীপের অধিবাসীদের চাষের জমি সব বর্দ্ধমান জেলায়। জমি চাষ হবে ধান হবে, কিন্তু এনে খাবার উপায় নাই। সেখানে ধান বিক্রি করে আসতে হবে। আবার যাদের ধানের জমি আছে তাদের রেশন কার্ডে paddy land আছে বলে চাল পাবে না লেখা। সুতরাং তারা ধানও আনতে পারবে না আবার কালেভদ্রে modified rationএর সামান্য যে চাল দেওয়া হয় তাও তারা পাবে না। পীঠস্থান নবদ্বীপে লক্ষ লক্ষ যাত্রী সমাগত হয়। ইহারা খাবে কি? মহাপ্রভুর বাড়ী এবং অন্যান্য ঠাকুর বাড়ীতে চিরপ্রথা অনুযায়ী আতপ চালের ভোগ ব্যবস্থা আছে। সহস্র সহস্র নরনারী এই প্রসাদ পেয়ে থাকে। এ প্রথা ভাল কি মন্দ সে আলোচনায় দরকার নেই। এই অতি অবশ্য প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থার জন্য কোন আতপ চালও দেওয়া হবে না আবার ঠাকুর বাড়ীর নিজস্ব জমি হতে ধান আনতেও দেওয়া হবে না অর্থাৎ আতপ ভোগ দেবার সকল উপায় বন্ধ করা হবে। কিরূপ বিতৃষ্ণা এই সরকারের প্রতি জনসাধারণের এসেছে তা ভাষায় বলে বুঝাতে পারব না। এখানে আমার কাছে কতকগুলি চিঠি রয়েছে। নবদ্বীপ মিউনিসিপালিটির ex-Chairman, নবদ্বীপ থানা কংগ্রেস কমিটির ex-President প্রভৃতি অনেক বিশিষ্ট লোকের। সময় থাকলে আমি পড়ে শুনাতাম। কিরূপ বিরক্ত তাঁহারা সকলেই সরকারের অনাচারে তাহলে বুঝতেন। দুই হাজার বিশিষ্ট লোকের সমবেত সভায় নবদ্বীপের খাদ্য সঙ্কটের কথা আলোচনা করে প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে। ৩৫০ জনের স্বাক্ষর করা এক চিঠিতে খাদ্যমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে ৪/৫ জনে গঠিত একটি ডেপুটেসনকে সাক্ষাৎ করার অনুমতি চাওয়া হয়েছে। বার বার prepaid telegram করা হয়েছে। মুখ্য মন্ত্রীকে telegram করা হয়েছে। খাদ্যমন্ত্রী সাক্ষাতের অনুমতি দেন নি। প্রধান মন্ত্রী জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের সঙ্গে সাক্ষাৎ করার উপদেশ দিয়েছেন। অথচ ইহারা জেলা ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটে, প্রকিওরমেণ্ট ডিরেকটর সকলের সঙ্গেই ইতিপূর্ব্বে দেখা করেছেন। তাঁরা সকলেই অক্ষমতা জানিয়েছেন এবং মন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে দেখা করে এই নীতির ব্যাপারের মীমাংসা করতে উপদেশ দিয়েছেন। লোকের বিরক্তি যে কতদূর তা মন্ত্রীরা একবার উপস্থিত হয়ে দেখুন। তাঁরা Civil Supply ও সরকারী ক্ষমতা হস্তগত করে ভাবছেন নির্বাচনী বৈতরণী পার হবেন তা আর হতে হবে না। কংগ্রেসের প্রতিটি নির্দ্দেশ ইহারা ভঙ্গ করেছেন। ৩০ বৎসর ধরে কংগ্রেসকে আমরাই গড়েছিলাম। আমরা কত দুঃখে কংগ্রেস ত্যাগ করে আসিনি। উহারা সহযোগিতা চান কিন্তু সহযোগিতা করব কিসের সঙ্গে।

কোন মূলনীতি কংগ্রেসের ওঁরা পালন করছেন। কংগ্রেস ওঁহারা নন—কংগ্রেস আমরাই। প্রধানমন্ত্রী নিজেকে দুর্বল মনে করে এখানেই আস্ফালন করেন। জনসমর্থন উঁহাদের নাই। জনসমর্থন পেতে হলে সর্বাগ্রে কংগ্রেসের মূলনীতি পালন করতে হবে। সভাপতি আমাকে এত বলবার সময় দিয়েছেন সেজন্য ধন্যবাদ। আমার আরও অনেক বলবার ছিল কিন্তু সময় এখন নেই কাজে কাজেই বাজেটের cut motionএর সময় সব বিস্তৃত বলবো।

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-9 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 1st March, 1951, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Index to the
West Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings
(Official Report)

Vol. III—No. I—Third Session (Budget) 1951

(From 8th February to 28th February, 1951)

The 8th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 27th and 28th February, 1951

[(Q.) Stands for question]

Abdul Halim, Janab Molla Mohammed

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 100-101.

Abdul Wadud

Case against—for taking salami before the Rent Controller, Calcutta: (Q.) p. 202.

Abdullah, Janab S. M.

Discussion on amendment to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 71-73.

Abul Hashem, Janab

General discussion on the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 349-54.

Acquisition of lands

For road construction: (Q.) p. 158.

Address

Of His Excellency the Governor. pp. 2-6.

Adjournment motion(s)

Notice given by Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari. Consent refused: p. 337.

Regarding lathi charge on the refugees in Esplanade: p. 239.

Admissibility of adjournment motion

Regarding police firing on 27th December, 1950, in Jadavgarh Colony: p. 14.

Amendments

To the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech. Discussion on—: pp. 19-155.

Animal Slaughter Control Act, 1950, West Bengal: (Q.) p. 326.

Annual requirement

Of cereals in the State: (Q.) p. 200.

Of rice in the State: (Q.) p. 156.

Arrival

Of His Excellency the Governor into the Chamber: p. 1.

August Disturbances, 1942

Grant for repair of mosques during—: (Q.) p. 163.

Aurobinda, Shri

Obituary reference of—: pp. 11-18.

Badruddyja, Janab Syed

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 22, 91-96.

On the Point of Privilege raised by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, regarding refusal of consent to move his adjournment motion: p. 9.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 273, 275, 283, 293-96.

Bandyopadhyay, Sj. Pramatha Nath

Discussion of amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 45-48.

West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: p. 252.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath

Case against Abdul Wadud for taking salami before the Rent Controller, Calcutta: (Q.) p. 202.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 21-22, 50-55.

Elections to different municipalities in the State: (Q.) p. 203.

Banerjee, Sj. Sibnath—*concld.*

On the Point of Privilege raised by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee regarding refusal of consent to move his adjournment motion: p. 8.

Point of Privilege raised by—regarding admissibility of adjournment motion regarding police firing on 27th December, 1950, in Jadavgarh Colony: p. 14.

Point of Privilege: on non-official day: pp. 16, 17, 18.

Point of Privilege regarding non-official day: pp. 297-300.

Time-table for General Discussion of the Budget: p. 382.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 273, 280, 281, 282, 286, 287, 288, 292.

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951: p. 301.

Banerji, Dr. Suresh Chandra

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 223-28, 244.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 20, 23-24, 25, 26-29.

On the obituary reference of Sardar Patel, Shri Aurobindu, Shri A. V. Thokkar, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth: p. 12.

Point of Privilege regarding extension of days on voting on Demand for Grants: pp. 302-303, 304.

Point of Privilege regarding refusal of consent to move an adjournment by—: p. 6.

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951: pp. 206-208, 218.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951: pp. 310-12.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 262, 282, 291.

Banerjee, Sj. Susil Kumar

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951: pp. 318-19.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 272, 278, 279, 286, 287.

Basu, Sj. Jyoti

Adjournment motion by—regarding lathi charge on the refugees in Esplanade: p. 239.

Buxa Jail: p. 165.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 229-31, 241-42, 243.

Cost of Living Index in West Bengal: (Q.) p. 330.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 35-44.

Basu, Sj. Jyoti—*concld.*

Extension of time regarding cut motions: p. 323.

Extension of time for suggesting amendments to West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, Corporation Supersession Bill: p. 45.

Extension of time for submission of amendments to the West Bengal Land Requisition Bill. Spying on—in the Assembly Building: p. 70.

General discussion of the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 383-90.

Jail Code: (Q.) p. 378.

Oath: p. 1.

On the Point of Privilege raised by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, regarding refusal of consent to move his adjournment motion: p. 8.

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951: pp. 211-14, 219.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilization) Bill, 1951: pp. 315-16, 319.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 267, 268, 269, 270, 279-80, 289, 290.

West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 252-53.

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951: pp. 300, 304, 305, 306, 307.

Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVI of 1950): p. 205.

Bengal Amusements Tax (West Bengal Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XV of 1950): p. 205.

Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra

Acquisition of lands for road construction: p. 158.

Adjournment motion. Consent refused: p. 337.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 228-29, 244.

Crop failure in "Jhinkra Khal" area in Kulpi thana, 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 360.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 20-21, 63-68.

Floods in Sundarbans areas: (Q.) p. 362.

Point of Personal Explanation. Report of speech published by the Publicity Department regarding raising of food prices alleged to be delivered by him is not his: pp. 136-37.

Bhandari, Sj. Charu Chandra—*concld.*

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951: pp. 210-11.

Requisition of lands in Diamond Harbour subdivision for road development during war: p. 160.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951: pp. 312-13, 317, 320-21, 322.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 262, 263, 265, 276, 277, 284-85.

West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 250-52, 255-56.

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951: pp. 301-302, 306.

Bill(s)

Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment)—1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): p. 249.

Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment)—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): p. 309.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession((Amendment)—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): pp. 222-31, 241.

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions)—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): pp. 206-22.

Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): p. 309.

West Bengal Dentists (Repealing)—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): p. 308.

West Bengal Evacuee Property—, 1951: pp. 257-97.

West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment)—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): p. 249.

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers)—, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): pp. 300-308.

Brahmin, Sj. Ratanlal

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 86-87.

Buxa Jail: (Q.) p. 165.

Case against Abdul Wadud

For taking *salami* before the Rent Controller, Calcutta: (Q.) p. 202.

Cereals

Annual requirement of—in the State: (Q.) p. 200.

Chakravarty, Sj. Satish Chandra

Election to Nadia District Board: p. 162.

Election to the 24-Parganas District Board: (Q.) p. 204.

Chatterjee, Sj. Haripada

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 19-20, 29-35.

General discussion of the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 393-99.

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951: pp. 208-10, 218, 221.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 265, 283.

Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble Rai Harendra Nath

Acquisition of lands for road construction: p. 159.

Colleges under the Dispersal Scheme: (Q.) pp. 372-73.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 121-26.

Realisation of cost of embankment by zamindars: (Q.) p. 324.

Requisition of lands in Diamond Harbour subdivision for road development during war: p. 160.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilization) Bill, 1951: pp. 309-10, 316, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 257, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276-77, 279, 280, 286, 287, 288, 296-97.

West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing): pp. 249, 254, 256.

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951: pp. 300, 302, 308.

Choudhury, Sj. Annada Prasad

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 231-33, 243.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 106-109.

Police officers of Tamluk and Kontai subdivisions penalised in 1942: (Q.) pp. 333-34.

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951: pp. 304, 305.

Colleges

Under the Dispersal Scheme: (Q.) p. 373.

Committee on Petitions: p. 70.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVIII of 1950): p. 205.

Cost of embankment

By Zamindars. Realisation of: (Q.) p. 324.

Cost of Living Index in West Bengal:

(Q.) p. 330.

Crop failure

In "Jhinkra Khal" area in Kulpi thana, 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 360.

Cut motions

Extension of time regarding—: p. 323.

Das, Sj. Kanai Lal

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 73-74.

Das, Sj. Radhanath

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 74-76.

Das Gupta, Sj. Khagendra Nath

General discussion on the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 354-57.

De, Sj. Kanai Lal

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 22, 102-105.

Expenditure on "Vana Mahotsava". (Q.) p. 377.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951: p. 318.

Diamond Harbour Subdivision

Requisition of lands in—for road development during war: (Q.) p. 160.

Distribution of leaflets

By the office staff of the Assembly: p. 289.

Division(s): pp. 154, 220-21, 238, 248-49, 254, 257.

Dutt-Mazumdar, the Hon'ble Niharendu

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 110-13.

Election(s)

To different municipalities in the State: (Q.) p. 208.

To Nadia District Board: (Q.) p. 162.

To the 24-Parganas District Board: (Q.) p. 204.

Expenditure

On "Vana Mahotsava": (Q.) p. 377.

Floods

In Sundarbans areas: (Q.) p. 362.

Ganguli, Sj. Bepin Behari

Realisation of cost of embankment by Zamindars: (Q.) p. 324.

General discussion

On the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 337-59, 379-99.

Ghose, Sj. Bimal Comar

Annual requirement of cereals in the State: (Q.) p. 200.

On Point of Privilege regarding non-official day: pp. 18, 19.

On the Point of Privilege raised by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee regarding refusal of consent to move his adjournment motion: pp. 7, 8, 10.

Scope of authority of the Publice Service Commission: p. 165.

Ghosh, Dr. P. C.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 114-21.

General discussion on the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 337-49.

On the Point of Privilege raised by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee regarding refusal of consent to move his adjournment motion: p. 9.

Government Dairy Farm

At Haringhata: (Q.) pp. 325-26.

Grant

For repair of mosques damaged during August Disturbances, 1946: (Q.) p. 163.

Gupta, Sj. J. C.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 233-34.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 84-86.

Hasan Ara Begum, Janab

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech. pp. 79-80.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: p. 296.

Jail Code: (Q.) p. 378.

Khuda Bukhsh, Janab

Discussion of amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 55-59.

General discussion of the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 379-81, 383.

Grant for repair of mosques during August Disturbances, 1946: p. 163.

On the obituary references of Sardar V. Patel, Shri Aurobinda, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth: p. 12.

On Point of Privilege regarding non-official day: pp. 18-19.

[illegible]—contd.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 258-60, 264.

Leave of absence

Application for—of Janab A. M. A. Zaman: p. 102.

Majhi, Sj. Nishapati

Discussion of amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 48-50.

General discussion of the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 390-93.

Majumdar, the Hon'ble Bhupati

Crop failure in "Jhinkra Khal" area in Kulpi thana, 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 360.

Floods in Sundarbans areas: (Q.) pp. 362-63.

West Bengal Land (Requisition and Acquisition) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 258-54.

Mal, Sj. Iswar Chandra

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: p. 76.

Mandal, Sj. Annada Prasad

West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Act, 1950: (Q.) p. 326.

Mohamad Rafique, Shaikh

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 244-48.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: p. 293.

Mosques

Grant for repair of—damaged during August Disturbances, 1946: (Q.) p. 169.

Motion

For an address in reply to the Governor's speech: p. 6.

Mudassir Hossain, Janab

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 22-23, 59-63.

The Waste Lands (Requisitioning and Utilisation) Bill, 1951: pp. 313-14, 315.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 266-67, 291, 292.

Municipalities

Elections to different—in the State: (Q.) p. 203.

Musharruff Hossain, Janab

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 87-91.

Nandy, Maharaja Sris Chandra, of Cossimbazar

Annual requirement of rice in the State: p. 156.

Colleges under the Dispersal Scheme: (Q.) p. 372.

Government Dairy Farm at Haringhata: (Q.) pp. 395-96.

Naskar, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra

Expenditure on "Vana Mahotsava": (Q.) p. 377.

Oath

(Sj. Jyoti Basu, the Hon'ble Dr. Rafiuddin Ahmed): p. 1.

Obituary

On the death of Shri Khurshed Lall, Deputy Minister of Communications: p. 156.

Of (1) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, (2) Shri Aurobinda, (3) Shri Amritalal V. Thakkar, (4) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth: pp. 11-13.

Ordinances: pp. 205-206.

Panel of Chairmen: p. 1.

Panja, the Hon'ble Jadabendra Nath

Bengal (Aliens) Disqualification (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951 (introduction, consideration and passing). p. 249.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 222-23.

Elections to different municipalities in the State: (Q.) p. 204.

Election to the 24-Parganas District Board: (Q.) p. 205.

Election to Nadia District Board: p. 162.

Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai

Obituary reference of—: pp. 11-13.

Point of Personal explanation

Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari. The report of speech published by the Publicity Department regarding raising of food prices alleged to be delivered by him is not his: p. 136.

Point of Privilege

Regarding extension of time for suggesting amendments to West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, Corporation Supersession Bill: pp. 45, 68.

Regarding extension of days on voting on demands for grants: pp. 302-30.

Extension of time for submission of Amendments to the West Bengal Land Requisition Bill: p. 70.

Regarding non-official days: pp. 16-19, 297-300.

Regarding refusal of consent to move an adjournment motion by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee: pp. 6-10.

Police Officers

Of Tamluk and Kantai subdivisions penalised in 1942: (Q.) pp. 333-34.

Presentation of the Budget

Of the Government of West Bengal for 1951-52: pp. 173-99.

Public Service Commission

Scope of authority of the—, West Bengal: (Q.) p. 165.

Rafiuddin Ahmed, the Hon'ble Dr.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 105-108.

Grant for repair of mosques damaged during August disturbances, 1946: (Q.) p. 163.

Oath: p. 1.

Rai, Sj. Sheo Kumar

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 234-35.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 82-84.

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Ordinance, 1950 (West Bengal Ordinance No. XVII of 1950): p. 205.

Realisation

Of cost of embankment by Zamindars: (Q.) p. 324.

Requisition of lands

In Diamond Harbour subdivision for road development during war: (Q.) p. 160.

Road construction

Acquisition of lands for—: (Q.) p. 158.

Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra

The Bengal Nurses (West Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1951: p. 309.

Buxa Jail: (Q.) p. 165.

Corporation of Calcutta (Temporary Supersession) (Amendment) Bill, 1951: pp. 235-38.

Cost of Living Index in West Bengal: (Q.) p. 330.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 137-49.

Jail Code: (Q.) p. 378.

Observation on the obituary reference of Sardar V. Patel, Shri Aurobindu, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth: p. 11.

On the Point of Privilege regarding non-official day: p. 19.

Police Officers of Tamluk and Kantai subdivisions penalised in 1942: (Q.) pp. 334-35.

Roy, the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra—*concld.*

Raw Jute (Central Jute Board and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1951: pp. 214-16, 217, 219, 222.

Remarks by—on the Point of Privilege raised by Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee regarding refusal of consent to move his adjournment motion: p. 9.

Scope of authority of the Public Service Commission: (Q.) p. 165.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Bill, 1951: pp. 260-61, 263, 265, 266, 270, 283, 285.

West Bengal Dentists (Repealing) Bill, 1951: p. 308.

Roy Singh Sarkar, Sj. Satish Chandra

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 80-82.

Rules

The Bengal Motor Vehicles—, 1940. Amendments to—: p. 206.

Sen, Sj. Debendra Nath

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 96-99.

Sen, the Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra

Annual requirement of cereals in the State: (Q.) p. 200.

Annual requirement of rice in the State: p. 156.

Discussion on amendments to the motion of address in reply to Governor's speech: pp. 126-33, 134, 136, 137.

Government Dairy Farm at Haringhata: (Q.) p. 326.

West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Act, 1950: p. 326.

Sinha, the Hon'ble Bimal Chandra

West Bengal Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1951: pp. 305, 307.

Speaker, Mr.

Observations on the fixing of time-table for General Discussion of the Budget: p. 382.

Observation regarding extension of time for submission of amendments to the West Bengal Land Requisition Bill. Remarks regarding spying on Sj. Jyoti Basu: pp. 70, 102.

Observation regarding Points of Privilege by Sj. Sibnath Banerjee regarding non-official days: pp. 16, 17, 18.

Observation on the obituary reference—Sardar, Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Aurobindu, Shri Amritlal V. Thakkar, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth: p. 11.

Observations for refusing consent to adjournment motion given notice of by Sj. Charu Chandra Bhandari: p. 387.

Speaker, Mr.—*concld.*

Observations by—on the Point of Privilege regarding refusal of consent to an adjournment motion of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee: pp. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Observation by—that when the Speaker is on his legs if another member speaks it is a gross violation of the Rules of the House: pp. 134-35.

Observation by—that the Parliamentary Rule is that a Minister of the Crown is not at liberty to read or quote from a despatch or other State Paper not before the House: p. 149.

Observation by—that if he had given consent to an adjournment motion which puts for the "Sudden occurrence", etc., as a ground it would be a bad precedent: pp. 240, 241.

Observations—that short notice amendments should be given earlier: p. 270.

Ruling by—on the Point of Privilege raised by Sj. Sibnath Banerjee regarding admissibility of adjournment motion, about the police firing in Jadavgarh Colony on 27th December, 1950: pp. 14-16.

"Vana Mahotsava"

Expenditure on—: (Q.) p. 377.

Walker, Mr. J. R.

On the obituary reference of Sardar Vallabbhai Patel, Shri Aurobindu, Shri A. V. Thakkar, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth: pp. 12-13.

West Bengal Animal Slaughter Control Act, 1950: (Q.) p. 329.

West Bengal Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1951 (West Bengal Ordinance No. II of 1951): p. 206.

West Bengal Secondary Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1951 (West Bengal Ordinance No. I of 1951): p. 205.

Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.

Obituary reference of—: pp. 11-13.

Zaman, Janab A. M. A.

General discussion on the Budget for 1951-52: pp. 357-59.

WBGP-54/5-4200A-350